

**TECHNICAL TERMS
AND
TECHNIQUE OF
SANSKRIT
GRAMMAR**

Kshitish Chandra Chatterji

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THE CHURCH AND THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN

पश्चिमी चन्द्र चर्च



Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar

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Preface

It is a matter of great pleasure to place the present book in the hands of scholars and general readers. The *Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar* is an epoch-making creation of Prof. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, a scholar of an unique type, who traversed with ease over the vast and thorny fields of Sanskrit Grammar and Comparative Philology. We still remember the days of our student-life when Prof. Chatterji was seen devotedly collecting and shaping variegated contents for his highly acclaimed Sanskrit Journal *Mañjūṣā* wherein many knotty problems of Sanskrit Grammar and Linguistics were raised and solved in such an interesting and smooth way that one could not but be wondered at Prof. Chatterji's brilliant and sharp intellect. The *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, the founder-editor of which was Kshitish Ch. Chatterji himself, earned high encomium even from eminent Indologists like A.B. Keith and M. Winternitz. Two highly contemplative articles, namely, *Pāṇini as a Poet* and *The Anubandhas of Pāṇini*, full of original ideas, written by Prof. Chatterji in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (COJ) Vol-I, No.1, October 1933 are incorporated in this book for the benefit of the readers. We could not resist our temptation from including these two thought-provoking pieces of Prof. Chatterji's creation on the great Grammarian Pāṇini and his ideas, as the appendices of the present book.

The *Technical Terms*, etc. is a critical and comparative study of the technical terms found in the *Nirukta*, in the *Prātiśākyas* and in the different systems of Sanskrit Grammar. For the treatment of the subject, Prof. Chatterji scientifically utilises the views of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali and their

rules have been quoted frequently in this book. In fact, Prof. Chatterji's work is of a novel type that has not been contemplated even by modern, highly enlightened giants of learning.

We are fortunate enough to have found out some rare writings of our esteemed National Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee on the life and activities of Prof. K.C. Chatterji. These have been included in the Prefix-part of the present treatise.

We are indebted to Professor Visvanath Chatterji, the worthy son of the great father, for, he has given us consent to our request to bring out the reprint-edition of this learned book from the Department of Special Assistance (DSA) in Sanskrit, Jadavpur University. Professor Bijoya Goswami has checked the Introductory and Appendix-portions, and Professor S. R. Banerjee has on his own gone through the proof. Professor Banerjee has also given some useful suggestions for the improvement of this production. Thanks are due to them. Sri Debasish Bhattacharya of Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar is also to be thanked for undertaking the responsibility of bringing out this book in a new and neat shape.

Manabendu Banerjee
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Professor Kshitish Chandra Chatterji (Obituary)

It is with a very heavy heart that we are presenting what we apprehend would be, for the present at least, the last number of the *Mañjūṣā*. The Founder-Editor of this Journal, Prof. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, had been seeking to serve the cause of Sanskrit studies in India with a single-minded devotion for nearly the whole of his career as a Professor. Among all his serious work in this connexion, we have to give to *Mañjūṣā* a very high place. This Journal, one of the dozen Sanskrit journals that are still alive and about which India could boast of at the present day, brought in quite a new atmosphere and a distinctively modern approach in the study of Sanskrit. Prof. Chatterji had concentrated on the study of Sanskrit Grammar, in which he has made some very fruitful contributions. Grammar and Linguistics are generally considered to be dry-as-dust subjects, but Prof. Chatterji even in his *Mañjūṣā* brought in occasionally a play of his humour through Sanskrit, and that was not the least thing in ensuring the popularity of the *Mañjūṣā*.

Sanskrit studies unfortunately are at a discount in India at the present day. We had all hoped that, after Independence, Sanskrit would once again be given something like the status which is its due. It ought to have been made at least one of the Official Languages of India. Surely, for communication with the outer world, when formalities are to be observed, it should have been Sanskrit, and no other Indian language. That was the proper language for our Ambassadors to present their credentials in. Sanskrit is our mental and spiritual link with the Indo-European speaking Europe and America. It is also our great link through

Buddhism and Brahmanism with the countries of Central Asia of ancient times, and of South-East Asia, Indo-China and Indonesia, and also with Vietnam, and China, Korea and Japan. Sanskrit, as Sri Rajagopalachari, the veteran administrator and political leader of India, has rightly described, forms "the symbol of our Seniority among the Nations of the World".

Sanskrit is a great discipline, and we very frequently forget this central fact in our Sanskrit studies. To preserve the integrity of this discipline, a handful of Sanskrit scholars, who themselves were erudite and who had a whole-hearted devotion to the cause, have been trying during the last three generations to maintain the dignity of Sanskrit studies through their own exertions — through their own contributions in the domain of Sanskrit research as well as by trying to inspire students and others. Prof. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji was emphatically one of this small band of selfless scholars who had devoted themselves to this task, and whatever they did was from an inner urge : the great satisfaction which they derived from these studies formed for them its only reward. Their work was not for money, but it was as Tulasidasa said about his own great work, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, translated into his mother-tongue Awadhi, स्वान्तःसुखाय, for the happiness of his own inner being.

I need not give a sketch of the career of Prof. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji. This has been done elsewhere in this same number. I was privileged to have him as an esteemed colleague for a long number of years in the University of Calcutta. He had taken his M.A. in Sanskrit, and had studied Comparative Philology and Linguistics under Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, of illustrious memory, who was for a number of years Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta. Prof. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji spent most of his life in the University of Calcutta as a Lecturer in the Department of Comparative Philology, and in that capacity I had him as my colleague. We all admired not only his great erudition but also certain sterling qualities of his character.

He was steadfast in his own convictions, and intellectually he was absolutely honest. It is very rare to find a man of that calibre in any department of life.

Coming from not a very rich middle class family, he himself was never able to make money, and a large proportion of his slender means as Lecturer in the University of Calcutta was devoted almost entirely to the dissemination of Sanskrit learning through Journals. He brought out an Indological Journal of very high repute, *The Calcutta Oriental Journal*, which created a very favourable impression among scholars, and was responsible in publishing a number of very good articles on different aspects of Indology by eminent scholars. Then his next venture was the *Mañjūṣā*, and this *Mañjūṣā* he has been publishing, although with great financial loss, for 16 years and more. With the exception of a small grant of Rs. 2500/- from the Central Government, which came to him just before his death, all the expenses were borne by him. It was too much to expect an impecunious scholar, though of great reputation, to be the financier as well as the editor of a learned paper of this type. Up to the last Prof. Chatterji was very optimistic, and what he had closest to his heart was to make the *Mañjūṣā* a bigger and a better paper. But unfortunately this could not happen, as he fell ill, and finally, as is the fate of all human beings, he joined the majority on the 8th of November, 1961.

We now find it difficult to combine both the erudition of the departed scholar, and the wherewithal which is so very necessary and which he alone could somehow find out. It is therefore with a very sad heart that we are forced to stop the further publication of the *Mañjūṣā*. If better times come, possibly the work may be taken up again. Prof. Chatterji's only son is a Lecturer in English in Jadavpur University, near Calcutta, and he has in him the love for Sanskrit and the family tradition in Sanskrit studies. But without adequate financial resources, much as he would have liked to continue his father's work, he cannot do it, at least for the present.

We can only hope that those who have liked the *Mañjūṣā*

— and we flatter ourselves that their number is not small throughout the whole of India — will give an occasional thought to this Journal which had been so remarkably serving the cause of Sanskrit, and will have a prayer for the illustrious founder of this Journal — *requiescat in Pace*.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

Calcutta.
25th January,
1962.

Emeritus Professor of Comparative
Philology, University of Calcutta,
and Chairman, West Bengal
Legislative Council.

अध्यापक-क्षितीशचन्द्रचट्टोपाध्यायः (स्मृतितर्पणम्)

सुतरां भाराक्रान्तेनान्तःकरणेन निवेद्यतेऽस्माभिर्मञ्जूषाया इयं सञ्चिका, आशङ्क्यते चान्ततोग-
त्यायमेवास्या मञ्जूषायाः पश्चिमोऽङ्क इति। अस्याः पत्रिकायाः प्रतिष्ठाता च
सम्पादकश्चाध्यापकः क्षितीशचन्द्रचट्टोपाध्यायस्तस्याध्यापकजीवनस्य प्रायेण सर्वं कालमनन्य-
निहितया निष्ठया भारतवर्षे संस्कृतानुशीलनकर्मणि व्यापृत आसीत्। अत्र तस्योल्लेख्येषु कर्मसु
मञ्जूषेयं सविशेषमुच्चैः पदमर्हति। यास्तावद् दशद्वादशसंख्याकाः संस्कृतपत्रिका अद्यापि
जीवन्ति यदर्थमिदं भारतवर्षं प्रभवति गर्वमनुभवितुम्, 'मञ्जूषा' तासामेकतमा। संस्कृता-
नुशीलनविधौ मञ्जूषा काञ्चन नवीनरीतिं विशिष्टामाधुनिकधाराश्च प्रावर्तयत्। विशेषेण मनो
न्यवेशयदयम् अध्यापकश्चट्टोपाध्यायमहोदयः संस्कृतव्याकरणचर्चायाम्। व्याकरणे तस्य
विशेषतः फलोपधायकमवदानं विद्यते। व्याकरणं भाषातत्त्वं च साधारण्येन नितरां नीरसमिति
मन्यते, अध्यापकश्चट्टोपाध्यायस्तु तस्य मञ्जूषायामपि संस्कृतद्वारेण हास्यरसं प्रासारयत् इदमपि
मञ्जूषाया जनप्रियतायामन्यतमां प्रधानकारणतामगाहत्।

भाग्यदोषाद् वर्तमाने काले भारतवर्षे संस्कृतचर्चायाः समादरो न दृश्यते। सर्वे
वयमेवमाशामपुष्णीम् यत् स्वाधीनतालाभादूर्ध्वं संस्कृतस्य मर्यादा यथायोग्यम् अर्पिता भवेदिति,
अन्ततो भारतस्य राष्ट्रियभाषास्वन्यतमत्वेन संस्कृतं गण्येतेति। बहिर्विश्वेन सह सम्बन्धरक्षाविधौ
संस्कृतेन व्यवहारः समुचित आसीत्, न पुनरन्यथा कयापि भारतीयया भाषया। अस्माकं
राष्ट्रदूतानां परिचयप्रत्रोपस्थापने सैवासीद् युक्ततमा भाषा। 'इन्दो-युरोपीय'-भाषिणा यद्वा
आर्यवाचं प्रयुज्जानेन युरोपेन आमेरिकया च सहास्माकं मानसमाध्यात्मिकश्च योगसूत्रं
संस्कृतमेव। प्राचीन-मध्यासियास्थितदेशैरग्रिकोणस्थितासियाखण्डस्य देशैर्भारत-
चीनद्वीपान्तर- भारत-चम्पाराज्य-कम्बुज-चीन-कोरिया-जापानादिभिश्च सह संस्कृतं महद्
योगसूत्रम्। भारतस्य प्रवीणशासको राजनैतिकनेता च श्रीमान् राजागोपालाचार्यमहोदयोऽवित-
थमेवोक्तवान् यत् "संस्कृतं खलु विश्वस्य जातिपुञ्जमध्येऽस्माकं ज्येष्ठत्वस्य प्रतीकम्" इति।

संस्कृतं हि महाविनयमादधाति चारित्रिकमिति संस्कृतचर्चामूलकथा प्रायेणास्मा-
भिर्विस्मर्यते। तस्यैतस्य विनयाधारस्य विशुद्धिरक्षार्थं साधनायामचलनिष्ठा मुष्टिमेया ये नाम
कतिपये संस्कृतज्ञा विद्वांसोऽतीतपुरुषत्रयं यावत् संस्कृतस्य मर्यादारक्षार्थं संस्कृतगवेषणाविधौ
स्वकीयेन दानेन शिष्याणामन्येषाञ्चानुप्रेरणमाधातुश्च प्रयासमास्थितवन्त उत्ससृजुश्चात्मानमेतदर्थम्
एतस्याम् अल्पीयस्यां निःस्वार्थविद्वद्गोष्ठ्यां नूनमन्तर्भवत्येवाध्यापकः क्षितीशचन्द्रचट्टोपाध्यायः।

यत्किमपि ते चक्रस्तत्र सर्वत्रैवान्तःकरणमासीदेपां प्रेरकम्। विद्यानामासामनुशीलनेन या नाम महती तृप्तिस्तैरनुभूता सैवासीत्तेषामेकमात्रमुपायनम्। नैषां धनार्थं कर्म, किन्तु तुलसीदासो यथा तदीयमहत्यां कीर्तो स्वीयावधोभाषयानूदिते रामायणे कथितवान् “स्वान्तःसुखाय” इति एवमेतेषामप्यन्तरात्मन आनन्दार्थम्।

अध्यापकस्य क्षितीशचन्द्रचट्टोपाध्यायस्य कर्ममयजीवनमधिकृत्य न मया किमप्या-
लेख्यमङ्कयिष्यते, प्रदत्तं तत् पुनरन्यत्रास्यामेव सञ्चिकायाम्। कलिकाता-विश्वविद्यालये बहून्
कालान् विशिष्टसहकर्मिरूपेणैव लब्धुं सविशेषं सुयोगमासादितवान्। स संस्कृतमवलम्ब्य
एम् ए परीक्षामुत्तीर्ण आसीत् अधीतवांश्च प्रख्यातनाम्न आचार्यस्य एरज-जहांगीर-
सुहरावजीतारापुरपालकमहोदयस्य सकाशे तुलनामूलकं भाषातत्त्वं भाषाशास्त्रं च।
विश्वविद्यालयेऽस्मिन् तुलनामूलक-भाषातत्त्वस्य प्रधानाध्यापक आसीत् तारापुरपालकमहोदयः
कियतश्चिद् वर्षान्। अध्यापक-क्षितीशचन्द्रचट्टोपाध्यायस्तदीयजीवनस्य भूयसोऽंशस्तुलना-
मूलक-भाषातत्त्वाध्यापनयैव व्यतीतवान्, तदेव च सूत्रमासाद्य तमहं सहकर्मिविधया लब्ध्वांश्च।
न केवलं वयं तस्य पाण्डित्यमेव प्रशंसितवन्तः परं तस्य चारित्रिकीरकृत्रिमाः
कियतीश्विद्वत्तीरपि। स्वेषु विश्वासेषु सुतरामचलः स बुद्ध्यापि सज्जन आसीत्। जीवनस्य
तासु तास्ववस्थास्वीदृक्चरित्रो जनः स्वल्प एव दृश्यते।

प्रभूतार्थिकसमृद्धे रभाजने मध्यमवित्ते क्वचन संसारे स प्रादुरासीत्। न तेन कदाचिद् धनं
सञ्चितम्। कलिकाताविश्वविद्यालयस्याध्यापकतया यत् किञ्चन स्वल्पं धनमार्जयत्तस्य
बहुलभागान् विविधपत्रिकाद्वारेण संस्कृतविद्याप्रचारार्थं न्ययोजयत्। स भवानुच्चैर्विख्यातं
प्राच्यविद्याविषयकं किञ्चन मासिकपत्रं “दि कलकत्ता ओरियेण्टल जर्नल” नामकं प्राकाशयत्।
पत्रिकायामस्यां विदुषामुत्कृष्टताबुद्धिरासीत् प्रकाशिताश्चात्र विख्यातानां विद्वद्व्येसराणां
प्राच्यविद्याया विभिन्नदिग्दर्शिनः केचन भूरिप्रशंसाहर्हा निबन्धाः। ततः परमस्य प्रयासफलं
“मञ्जूषा”। अधिषोडशवर्षान् यावत् तेनेयं प्रकाश्यते प्रभूतमर्थापचयं स्वीकुर्वतापि। मृत्योः
कियत्कालात्पूर्वं भारतसर्वकारप्रदत्तां सार्धद्विसहस्रात्मिकामेकां क्षुद्रां वृत्तिं विना सर्वोऽपि
व्ययस्तेन स्वयमेव कृतः। तादृशः ख्यातिमान् बुधवर्य ईदृश्याः पाण्डित्यपूर्णपत्रिकायाः
सम्पादनमर्थचिन्तां चैकः करिष्यतीत्युच्चैः किलाशास्तत्रास्माभिः कृतासीदिति ध्रुवमेव।
अध्यापकश्चट्टोपाध्यायः सुतरामाशावादी आसीत्। तस्य सर्वप्रधानान्तरिकी वासना मञ्जूषामुन्नत-
तरां वृहत्तरां च कर्तुम् उदग्रासीत्। दुर्भाग्येयविलसितेन तदेतन्नाघटतं यतः स रुजाकान्तोऽभूत्
अन्ततश्च मञ्जूषाया भाग्यलिपिं प्रमाणयन् ख्रिष्टीयैकषष्ठ्यत्तरैकोनविंशशततमाब्दस्य (१९६१)
नवम्बरमासीयाष्टमदिवसे सर्वेषां गतिमगमत्।

स्वर्गतस्य सुधीवर्यस्य यथा पाण्डित्यमासीद् यथा चास्ते धनानामेकान्तप्रयोजनं — यत्
तेन जीवता कथमपि व्यवस्थापितम् — अनयोर्द्वयोरिदानीं समन्वयसाधनं सुदुष्करमस्माकम्।
अत एव सखेदमवरुध्यतेऽस्माभिरित ऊर्ध्वं मञ्जूषायाः प्रकाशः। अथ चेत्सुसमयः समापतेत्
काममिदं पुनः प्रारभ्येतापि। अध्यापक-चट्टोपाध्यायस्यैक एव पुत्रः कलिकातासमीपवर्तिनि
यादवपुरविश्वविद्यालये आङ्गलविभागीयोऽध्यापकः। अस्ति च तत्र श्रीमति संस्कृतं प्रत्यनुरागः

संस्कृतचर्चायाः कुलपरम्परागतमैतिह्यञ्च । परं यथावश्यकम् आर्थिकी व्यवस्था नास्तीति सत्यामपि पित्रारब्धकर्मणः सम्पादनेच्छायां नैतत्तेन कर्तुमर्हम् — अन्ततो वर्तमाने समये ।

वयं केवलमिदमेवाशास्महे यद् येभ्यो मञ्जूषा समरोचत — येषां संख्या निखिले भारतवर्षे नैकान्ततो न्यूनेत्यस्माकमस्त्यात्मप्रसादः — ते संस्कृतप्रचारार्थं विलक्षणं कर्म कुर्वतीम् इमां मञ्जूषामवसरे मनसि करिष्यन्ति प्रार्थयिव्यन्ते चैतस्याः प्रवर्तकस्य चिराय शान्तिमिति ॥

श्रीसुनीतिकुमार चट्टोपाध्यायः

कलिकाता-नगरी,
२५ जनवरी, १९६२ ॥

कलिकाता-विश्वविद्यालयस्य तुलनामूलक-भाषातत्त्व-विभागस्य
सम्मानितः प्रधानाध्यापकः पश्चिमवङ्ग-विधानपरिषदध्यक्षश्च ॥

Dr Kshitish Chandra Chatterji

A Brief Life Sketch

Born on the 24th of November, 1896, of middle class parents, in the ancestral home at Jorasanko in Calcutta, Kshitish Chandra Chatterji (Chattopādhyāya) was educated at Hare School, Scottish Church College and City College. He took his M.A. in Sanskrit from the Calcutta University in 1918 and later received his D. Litt. from the same University for his studies in Sanskrit grammar.

He was for a short time a Professor of Sanskrit at South Suburban College (the present Asutosh College), Calcutta. Then he joined the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University as a Lecturer in Comparative Philology and Sanskrit and served the University in that capacity for thirty five years.

A brilliant student of the Calcutta University and one of its most eminent teachers, Dr. Chatterji's aim in life was in consonance with the motto of his *alma mater* — 'Advancement of Learning'. He was a great scholar and teacher who was entirely selfless in his pursuit of knowledge. He was passionately devoted to his work and dedicated his life to the cause of learning. He had a many-sided interest, but was especially interested in literature and philology. As a scholar, he specialized in the Vedas and Sanskrit grammar. His knowledge was profound and his scholarship deep. His books, journals and research articles bear an eloquent testimony to his erudition.

The *Vedic Selections* that he edited for his University is a splendid work. It has, moreover, attained the practical end he set before himself. It was primarily meant for students and teachers in the universities and he had elucidated many a difficult point with remarkable clarity and precision. Every

single quotation in the commentary of Sāyaṇa he traced to its source. The section on the *Padapāṭha* of Śākalya appended to the book is an original contribution to Vedic scholarship. His own commentaries on the *Uṣā Sūkta*, *Devī Sūkta* and *Ā No Bhadrīya Sūkta* unfold the peculiar beauty of each word and expression in these hymns. The *Vedic Selections* remains an indispensable work for the beginners of Vedic studies. In the *Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar*, which is a critical, comparative and historical study, Dr Chatterji produced a really epoch-making book. It is a unique work dealing with and throwing a flood of light on the technical terms found in the *Nirukta*, different *Prātiśākhya*s and the different systems (from Pāṇini to *Harināmāmṛta*) of Sanskrit grammar. It offers for the first time rational explanations of even such apparently meaningless terms as *laṭ*, *ghī*, *ghu*, *bha*. It gives reasons for the use of particular letters as *Anubandhas* by Pāṇini and his successors. This book has been acclaimed as an outstanding work among modern Sanskrit studies. *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* is the first Indian edition of the work of Candragomin, critically edited, and though based upon Liebhich, utilises the quotations in the commentaries of lexicons and other systems of Sanskrit grammar current in Bengal and suggests better readings in many cases. For facility of comparison, the views of Pāṇini, Kātyāyaṇa and Patañjali have been quoted under every rule. Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* Dr Chatterji regarded as the second great revised edition of Pāṇini (*Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa*, according to him, being the first), and rules from Bhoja also have been included. This work is one of the most distinct intellectual contributions made in the series "Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography." *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya* (*Paspasāhnikā*) has been presented by Dr Chatterji with a brief but illuminating introduction, English translation, explanations in English and Sanskrit, and well-chosen excerpts from commentaries. Perhaps the best available introduction to Patañjali's great work, the present edition offers a translation which is remarkable for its lucidity and sound scholarship. And the content of the book finds a

thoroughly congenial and competent interpreter in Dr. Chatterji. *Greek Proverbs* (for students of Sanskrit) presents some fine and pithy Greek sayings in the original, with their Latin analogues and exhaustive explanation in English of all the Greek and Latin forms, parallel proverbs from English, Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi and Marathi. Dr. Chatterji was no mere insular Sanskritist. He was well-versed in many languages, and this remarkable little book, like that excellent *Ābhāṇakamālā* series by him in the *Mañjūṣā*, is a boon for all beginners of Greek and Latin. *Critical Observations on Ajayapāla's Nānārthasaṁgraha* shows one more facet of Dr. Chatterji's brilliance. His reconstruction of the corrupt text of Ajayapala's dictionary is extremely successful and shows rare lexicographical talent, *Śabdakathā* is perhaps the first work of its kind in Bengali. This lively and fascinating study of words and their use shows not only his erudition and wide reading, but also his ability so make the dry facts of grammar and philology eminently readable, often with flashes of delightful humour. These are some of his masterpieces, but there are many other works which he has left (some of these are yet to be published) and all of them show the same excellence of scholarship and critical acumen. His articles and papers in different Indological journals are also in point here.

Dr Chatterji had himself been the founder-editor of the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, *Mañjūṣā* and the Bengali monthly, *Surabhārati*. All of them won high praise in India and abroad, the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* being the most famous. It was welcomed by the most distinguished Indologists in the West like Dr Berriedale Keith and Dr M. Winternitz, to name only two. Dr Keith wrote in an appreciation that the Editor of the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* "always throws welcome light on the topics discussed." Dr Winternitz wrote about this Journal, "I have often to refer to it just now in preparing the English translation of Vol. III of my History of Indian Literature." Dr Chatterji's single-handed effort to revive the glory that was Sanskrit through the *Mañjūṣā* is bound to inspire admiration in every one. It is one of his greatest achievements. It has

recently been described by Professor Louis Renou as a 'precious' periodical. Dr Chatterji's articles in the *Mañjūṣa* show not only his wonderful command of the Sanskrit language, but also his intimate knowledge of the different branches of Sanskrit literature. His innumerable grammatical and philological discussions published in the *Mañjūṣa* deserve special mention. The *Surabhārati* was the first, and perhaps the last, Bengali monthly mainly devoted to Sanskrit literature. Many of the Editor's powerful articles on the different aspects of Sanskrit literature were published here. Dr Chatterji also edited, for some years, the *Journal of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parisad*, Calcutta, and *Oriental Literary Digest*, which contains some fine and trenchant review-articles from his pen.

Dr Chatterji had a hard start in life and financial worries clouded even his last days. This financial difficulty was mostly due to the publication expenses of his books and journals and his unstinted help to poor relations and friends in distress. An upright man, he had been ever a fighter and his unconquerable spirit never failed him. Even to the last day of his life he continued his study — which was a passion with him. After a brief illness, he passed away peacefully on the 8th of November, 1961.

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2. Upasarga and other Technical Terms.
3. Popular Etymology.
4. Greek Proverbs.
5. Critical Observations on Ajayapāla's "Nānārtha-saṁgraha".
6. The Śiva Sūtras and the Sanskrit Alphabet.

7. Śabdakathā (in Bengali).
8. Uṣār Ālo (in Bengali).

Books edited

1. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Paspasāhnika (with Eng. translation, notes, explanations in English and Sanskrit, etc.).
2. Cāndra Vyākaraṇa.
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8. Kirātārjunīya, Cantos I & II, with the commentaries of Devarāja and Mādhava.
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11. Bhaṭṭikāvya, Canto I.
12. Kirātārjunīya, Canto I.
13. Bhagavad-Gītā, Adhyāya II.
14. Convocation Address in Ancient India.

} With commentaries
critically edited.

Readership Lectures

A series of lectures, delivered at the University of Calcutta, on the predecessors of Pāṇini.

Journals edited

1. the Calcutta Oriental Journal (monthly) from October, 1933 to March, 1936.
2. The Monthly Journal of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad from March, 1930 to April, 1936.

3. The Sanskrit Monthly *Mañjūṣā* from February, 1936 to January, 1937. Revived in 1949*
4. *Surabhārati* (Bengali monthly) from November, 1935 to October, 1938.
5. Sanskrit weekly *Mañjūṣā* (for a short time).
6. The Oriental Literary Digest (monthly), Associate Editor from August 1937 to July 1939, Sole editor for Vol. IV (1941-42).

* Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D. Litt. (London), Chairman, *West Bengal Legislative Council*, wrote in a review :

The *Mañjūṣā* is run by Dr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji of the University of Calcutta, who is one of our most erudite authorities on the technical and other niceties of Sanskrit grammar. He is a student of languages and in addition, he handles Sanskrit with ease. It has been his love of Sanskrit that has made him carry on the work of editing and bringing out this paper since its inception by himself. Financially it has been a thankless task. It has brought other disadvantages also — the editing and financing of a journal without much wide appeal because of its language has been a source of worry which has had its repercussions on his health. But he has not given in, because he is an incorrigible optimist when he is convinced his cause is noble. Prof. Chatterji is quite an institution in himself. Then, he has been able to enlist a number of disinterested colleagues who help him with contributions and who are enthusiasts for Sanskrit like himself. And he himself writes, It is a remarkable thing that although he finds joy in unravelling the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar, he is not in his mental make-up a dry-as-dust grammarian. He has a wonderful sense of humour supported by an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes and stories which he brings out in racy Sanskrit. So the pages of the *Mañjūṣā* at times sparkle with laughter. Comparative linguistics he brings in frequently in his articles, and this is a remarkable "special feature" of this little paper. Further, it does not confine itself to Sanskrit alone. Proverbs, *Bon mots*, wise sayings, *Mahāvākyas*, etc. from different languages, English, French, German, Latin, etc, are rendered appropriately into Sanskrit, demonstrating the capacity of the language of the Gods to keep pace with turns of expression peculiar to various language. One can say also that there is an "English Section" to this magazine, devoted as it is entirely to the culture of Sanskrit. Thus, the editor himself is bringing out through this magazine, in instalments, his English translation and commentary on the *Mahabhashya* of Patañjali which, when completed, will be a valuable contribution to the study of Sanskrit grammar through English. A journal like this deserves a much wider appreciation which is its due.

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अध्यापक क्षितीशचन्द्रचट्टोपाध्यायः (स्मृतितर्पणम्)

१८९६ ख्रिष्टाब्दीयनभेम्बरमासस्य चतुर्विंशदिवसे (१३०३ वङ्गाब्दीयाग्रहायणस्य १०म दिवसे) कलिकातान्तर्गत-जोडासाँकोपल्ल्यां क्वचन मध्यमवित्तपरिवारे क्षितीशचन्द्र-चट्टोपाध्यायो जातः । स हेयारस्कूल-स्कटिशचार्चकलेज-सिटीकलेजइत्याद्याख्येषु शिक्षा-प्रतिष्ठानेषु शिक्षामलभत । कलिकाताविश्वविद्यालयात् संस्कृतविभागे एम्. ए. परीक्षामुत्तीर्णवान् । कियत्कालं साउथसुवार्वान् महाविद्यालये (इदानीम् आशुतोषकलेज) संस्कृताध्यापक आसीत् । अतः परं स कलिकाताविश्वविद्यालयस्य स्नातकोत्तरविभागे तुलनामूलकभाषातत्त्वस्य संस्कृतस्य चाध्यापकतया वृत्त आसीत् । एवमेव पञ्चत्रिंशद्वत्सरानत्रैव विश्वविद्यालये नियुक्त आसीत् । काले च व्याकरणमाश्रित्यानुसन्धानरतेन तेनास्मादेव विश्वविद्यालयादधिगतः डि लिट् इत्युपाधिः ।

चट्टोपाध्यायमहोदयो न केवलं कलिकाताविश्वविद्यालयस्य कृती छात्र आसीत् परमस्य ख्यातयशसामध्यापकानामन्यतमश्च । स पण्डितप्रकाण्डमध्यापकः सम्पूर्ण-स्वार्थहीनः सारस्वतसाधकश्चासीत् । कर्मणि परां निष्ठां विश्रदयं समग्रं जीवनं विद्याचर्चार्थमुदसृजत् । बहुषु विषयेष्वनुरागिणोऽप्यस्य प्राधान्येन साहित्ये भाषातत्त्वे वेदव्याकरणयोश्चासीदनुरागभूमा । वेदं व्याकरणश्चावलम्ब्य कृतं तेन सविशेषमध्ययनम् । विशाल आसीत्तस्य ज्ञानस्य परिधिः पाण्डित्यञ्च सुगभीरम् । तेन कृता ग्रन्थाः पत्रिका गवेषणमूला निबन्धाश्च तदीयवैदुष्यस्यातिप्रकटं साक्ष्यमावहति ।

तदीय-विश्वविद्यालयस्य कृते तेन सम्पादितो वेदसारसंग्रहग्रन्थः परमोत्कृष्टः । ग्रन्थोऽयं विश्वविद्यालयस्य छात्राणामध्यापकानाञ्च कृते मुख्यतः कृत आसीत् । सम्पादकेन चट्टोपाध्यायेनात्र बहूनां दुरूहभागानां सूक्ष्मसूक्ष्मं नितान्तसरलं व्याख्यानमारचितम् । सायणेन भाष्ये ग्रन्थान्तरादुद्धृतानां सर्वेषामेव वाक्यानामाकरस्थानं तेन समुद्भावितम् । उच्चासुक्तस्य देवीसूक्तस्यानोभद्रीयसूक्तस्य च स्वयंकृतासु टीकासु तेन प्रतिवाक्यं प्रतिशब्दश्च रामणीयकविशेषे निपुणतया समुद्भावितः । शाकल्यस्य पदपाठे यत्परिशिष्टमासीत् संयोजितं तदेवास्य वैदिक-वैदुष्ये मौलिकमित्यत्र नास्ति सन्देहः । एतच्च वैदिकसाहित्यस्य प्रथमशिक्षार्थिभिरपरिहार्यमेव ।

व्याकरणस्य पारिभाषिकशब्दानुपजीव्य “टेक्निकाल टार्मस् आण्ड टेक्निक् अब स्यांस्कृट् ग्रामार्” शीर्षको यो ग्रन्थस्तेन रचितो नूनमपूर्वं एव सः । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् तुलनात्मिका समालोचना कृता कृतश्च दोषगुण-पौर्वापर्यादीनां विचारः । निरुक्त-प्रातिशब्ध्य-पाणिनीय-कातन्त्र-चान्द्र जैनेन्द्र-शकटायन-हैम-संक्षिप्तसार-मुग्धबोध-सारस्वत- सुपद्म-प्रयोगरत्नमाला-

हरिनामामृतव्याकरणानां पारिभाषिकशब्दानामालोचनमत्र तथा कृतं यथैतेषां विषया अपि सम्यक् स्फुटतामभजन्। किमधिकं संज्ञार्थमुपात्तानाम् आपाततोऽर्थहीनानां लट्-घि-घु-भ-प्रभृतीनामनुबन्धानाञ्चैदम्प्राथम्येन स्वबुद्धिसमुद्भाविता अर्थास्तदाशयाश्च सम्यक् प्रदत्ता ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्। श्रेष्ठतमानामप्याधुनिक-संस्कृत-गवेषणात्मकग्रन्थानामन्यतमोऽयमित्यत्र नास्ति संशयलेशः।

चन्द्रगोमिकृतं “चान्द्रव्याकरणम्”। तदेतत् आङ्गलेन लीविशमहोदयेन कृतात् संस्करणात् परं प्रथमं भारतीयसंस्करणम्। अत्र हि वङ्गेषु प्रचरत्सु व्याकरणेष्वभिधानीय-टीकादिषु चोद्दिष्टानां पद-पदांश-वाक्यादीनां विचारमुखेन बहुषु स्थलेषु समीचीनतरो नवीनः पाठः समर्थितः। समीकरणसौकर्यार्थं प्रतिसूत्रमधः पाणिनिकात्यायनपतञ्जलिमतं प्रदत्तम्। डाः चट्टोपाध्यायस्य मतेन भोजकृतं सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणं पाणिनीयस्य पुनर्विवेचितं द्वितीयं संस्करणम्। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् भोजव्याकरणादपि सूत्राण्युद्धितानि। महार्घोऽयं मनीषाप्रसूतो ग्रन्थः।

पतञ्जलिमहाभाष्यम् (पस्पशाह्निकम्)। अत्र सम्पादकेन नातिदीर्घा भूमिका आङ्ग्लानुवादः आङ्ग्लसंस्कृतटीका ग्रन्थान्तरात् सुनिर्वाचितांशाश्च सन्निवेशिताः। इयमेव पतञ्जलिमहाभाष्यस्य प्रचलन्ती प्रधानभूमिकेति मन्ये। स्वच्छतया अप्रमाद-पाण्डित्यप्रकर्षेण चानुवादो वैशिष्ट्यमवगाहते। सुयोग्यसुष्ठुव्याख्यान निपुणस्तत्रभवान् सम्पादको विषयाणाम्।

ग्रीकप्रवादमालायां (संस्कृतशिक्षार्थिनां कृते रचितायाम्) कतिपयानि सुन्दरणि सारगर्भाणि चाभाणक-सुभाषितानि वर्तन्ते। तेषां लाटिन्रूपाण्यपि प्रदत्तानि। तेषां तेषां विशदमालोचनमपि विहितम् आङ्ग्लभाषया। संस्कृताद् वङ्गहिन्दीमहाराष्ट्रभाषाभ्यश्चानुरूपा आभाणकाः प्रदत्ताः। डाः चट्टोपाध्यायस्य ज्ञानं कौतूहलञ्च न केवलं संस्कृत एवासीत् कृतसीमं परं भाषान्तरेष्वपीति क्षुदोऽयं ग्रन्थस्तत्तद्भाषायामिदम्प्राथम्यतया व्युत्पित्सूनामाशीर्वादात्मना परिणमेत्। प्रसङ्गतश्च मञ्जूषायां प्रकाशिता तदीयाभाणकमालापि समुल्लेखमर्हति।

अजयपालकृतनानार्थसंग्रहे डाः चट्टोपाध्यायस्यौज्वलस्य दिगन्तरं प्रकाशमासादयत्। अजयपालस्य कालविकृतान् पाठान् स यथा समीकृतवान् तदतीव प्रशंसामर्हति। वहत्ययं ग्रन्थो दुर्लभस्याभिधानिकपाण्डित्यस्य साक्षिभावम्।

शब्दकथा। वङ्गभाषायामयं प्रथम एवेदृशो ग्रन्थः। शब्दतत्त्वस्य शब्दप्रयोगस्य चास्यां परिस्फुरन्त्यामालोचनायां न केवलमस्य प्रगाढपाण्डित्य-व्यापकशास्त्राभ्यासयोरेव परिचयो वर्तते परं व्याकरणस्य भाषातत्त्वस्य चातिनीरसानां विषयाणां सुखपाठ्यकरण-योग्यताया बहुत्र च निरुपमहास्यरसद्युतेः समुद्भासनविधापस्यापि दृश्यतेऽनितरसाधारणी योग्यता।

एते तस्य चट्टोपाध्यायस्य प्रवरग्रन्थाः। सन्ति तस्यान्येऽपि महार्घा ग्रन्थनिवहा येषु तस्योत्तमवैदुष्यस्य सूक्ष्माया विचारबुद्धेश्च प्रदर्शितपूर्वग्रन्थराजिष्विव परिचयो वर्तते। प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिंस्तासु तासु प्राच्यतत्त्वविषयिणीषु पत्रिकासु प्रकाशिता निबन्धाः समुल्लेखमर्हन्ति।

डाः चट्टोपाध्यायः स्वयं “क्यालकाटा ओरिएण्टलजार्नाल” “मञ्जूषा” (साप्ताहिकी मासिकी च) वङ्गभाषामयी “सुरभारती” चेत्येतेषां पत्राणां सम्पादक आसीत्। भारते बहिःश्रेष्ठां सर्वेषामेव भूयान् समादर आसीत्। तत्रापि “क्यालकाटा ओरिएण्टलजार्नाल” इत्यस्यैव

ख्यातिः समधिकासीत्। भारततत्त्वविदः प्रख्याताः डाः ह्रीन्टार्निट्ज्, डाः कीथ्प्रमुख्याः पत्रिकामिमां स्वागतसम्भाषणेन पुरस्कृतवन्तः।

मञ्जूषाद्वारेण संस्कृतस्य महतो महिम्नः पुनरुज्जीवनस्य या खलु वैयक्तिकी प्रचेष्टा तेन कृता नूनमर्हत्येवैषा सर्वेषां प्रशंसावादम्। सेयं तस्योत्तमोत्तमानां कीर्तीनामन्यतमा। मञ्जूषायां प्रकाशितासु तदीयरचनासु न केवलं तस्यापरिसीमाद्भुतस्वातन्त्र्यं सुप्रकटमासीत् परं संस्कृतस्य बहुभेदभिन्नासु शाखासु गभीरान्तरङ्गज्ञानमपि। प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन्नत्र प्रकाशिताः परःशता व्याकरणविमर्शा भाषातत्त्वविषयकनिबन्धाश्च विशेषणोल्लेख्याः।

सुरभारती संस्कृतसाहित्यचर्चार्थमुद्दिष्टा प्रथमा (सम्भावयामि पश्चिमापि) वङ्गभाषामयी मासिकपत्रिका। संस्कृतस्योच्चावचान् विषयानुपजीव्य सम्पादकेन रचिता नैके समुत्कृष्टा निबन्धा अत्र प्रकाशिता वर्तन्ते। चट्टोपाध्यायमहोदयः कियतश्चिद् वत्सरान् संस्कृतसाहित्यपरिषत्पत्रिकायाः ओरिएण्टाल्लिटारारिडाइनेष्टपत्रिकायाश्च सम्पादनामापादयत्। अन्तोद्दिष्टपत्रिकायां तस्य केचन तीक्ष्णसमालोचनात्मका निबन्धाः प्रकाशमलभन्त।

आर्थिकं दुर्योगं सहचरीकृत्य प्रवृत्तमासीत्तत्रभवतश्चट्टोपाध्यायस्य जीवनम् अन्ततश्चार्थिकी दुर्भावनैव मलिन्यकरोत्तदीयान्तिमदिनान्यपि। अर्थाभावस्य च प्रथमकारणतामासादयत् पत्रिकायाः पुस्तकानाञ्च प्रकाशजनितं व्ययबाहुल्यम् दुस्थकुटुम्बवान्धवादीनां साहाय्यञ्च। स खल्वासीत् निष्कपटो जनः। जीवनेन स संग्रामरत आसीदपराजितश्च चेतसा। अन्तिमदिवसं यावदत्सोऽध्यनरत आसीत्। कतिपयदिनानामस्वस्थताश्रयेण १९६१ ख्रिष्टाब्दस्य नवेम्बरमासीयाष्टमदिवसे सोऽन्तिमं श्वासममुश्चत्।



PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In the early stages of literature and science the symbols used are generally self-explanatory, but soon there comes a time when they become obscure. If at this stage there is a break in the tradition, the obscurity gradually increases until someone at last succeeds in unravelling the mystery. Thus in the marriage-hymn in RV. we find :

सोमः प्रथमो विविदे गन्धर्वो विविद उत्तरः ।

तृतीयो अग्निष्टे पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजाः ॥

सोमो ददद् गन्धर्वाय गन्धर्वो दददग्नये ।

रयिं च पुत्रांश्चादादग्निर्मह्यमथो इमाम् ॥

‘Soma got her first, Gandharva got her next. Agni is your third husband and your fourth one born of man. Soma gave to Gandharva, Gandharva gave to Agni, Agni gave me wealth and sons and also this wife (x. 85. 40-41).’

The sense of these stanzas must have been perfectly clear to the seers of early days, but they became obscure later on and Sāyana merely gives running paraphrase without any attempt at explanation. There is hardly any doubt, however, that three stages in the physical development of woman are referred to here. A stanza in the Grhya-Saṅgraha points in the same direction.

Again, take for instance the following stanza :

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि

तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।

गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति

तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥ ११६४४५

‘Speech is measured in four quarters, the Brāhmaṇas

who are wise, know them. Three (of these quarters) are hidden and do not bestir themselves. It is the fourth quarter of speech that men speak.'

The explanation of this stanza found in ŚB. appears to be correct. The Brāhmaṇa enumerates four stages in the evolution of speech, the first being represented by the hissing of serpents, the second by the notes of birds, the third by the sounds of beasts and the fourth by the speech of men :

तदेतत् तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यन्मनुष्या वदन्ति । अथैतत् तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यत् पशवो वदन्ति । अथैतत् तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यद्व्यांसि वदन्ति । अथैतत् तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यदिदं क्षुद्रं सरीसृपं वदति । ४।१।३।१६

The various explanations of "catvāri padāni" in Nir. xiii. 9 would lead one to think that in this case also the real meaning had become obscure, though not to so great an extent as in the case of RV, x. 85.40-41. The Nirukta (Parīśiṣṭa) says (xiii. 7) :

कतमानि तानि चत्वारि पदानि ?

ओङ्कारो महाव्याहृतयश्चेत्यार्षम् ।

नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्चेति वैयाकरणाः ।

मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिकाः ।

ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः ।

सर्पाणां वाग् वयसां क्षुद्रस्य सरीसृपस्य चतुर्थो व्यावहारिकीत्येके ।

पशुषु तूष्णेषु मृगेष्व्वात्मनि चेत्यात्मप्रवादाः ।

अथापि ब्राह्मणं भवति—सा वै वाक् सृष्टा चतुर्धा व्यभवत्—
एष्वेष लोकेषु त्रीणि, पशुषु तुरीयम् । या पृथिव्यां साम्नौ सा

रथन्तरे । यान्तरिक्षे सा वायौ सा वामदेव्ये । या दिधि सादित्ये
सा बृहति सा स्तनयित्नौ । अथ पशुषु । ततो या वागत्यरिच्यत
तां ब्राह्मणेष्वदधुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणा उभयीं वाचं षदन्ति—या च
देवानां या च मनुष्याणामिति ।

In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali naturally explains “catvāri padāni” as “catvāri padajātāni—nāmākhyāte copasarga-nipātās ca”. According to Bhartṛhari the reference is to the parā, paśyanti, madhyamā and vaikhari varieties of speech. This is a fairly late idea and must be rejected on that account.

Again there is the stanza in the R̥gveda (iv. 58. 3) :

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति
महो देवो मर्त्यां आ विवेश ॥

‘Four horns, three feet are his, two heads, seven hands are his. Bound threefold, the bull roars. The great God has entered the mortals.’

There is hardly any doubt that Soma is the great God mentioned here. In the first place the hymn is addressed to Soma. Secondly, Soma is often spoken of as entering mortals ; e.g., “amartyo martyā āviveśa” viii. 48. 12. Thirdly, “the sound made by the trickling Soma is often alluded to, generally in hyperbolical language, with verbs meaning to roar or below or even thunder ; he is thus commonly called bull among waters, which figure as cows” (Macdonell).

But the sense appears to have been lost sight of long ago. According to the Nirukta Pariśiṣṭa the great God is the sacrifice. According to the Mahābhāṣya He is Śabda. According to others He is the Sun.

Let us now take an instance from another sphere. Most people are not aware that the bishop's mitre is a modified representation of a fish's head, the fish being a symbol used by early Christians, for "that which is occult hath the fish for a symbol ; for the fish is hidden in darkness and silence : he knows the secret places of the earth and the springs of the hollow sea."

In exactly the same way the technical terms of Sanskrit grammar became meaningless after a time. Even such pre-eminently self-explanatory terms as Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada are dubbed "niranvayā saṃjñā" by a commentator of the Kātantra of all people (p. 126), of the Kātantra which more than any other system, preserved the ancient self-explanatory terms. And commentators rack their brains in vain for a rational explanation of the gigantic "Sarvanāmasthāna" which, by a curious irony of fate, has been dislodged from the rightful position in the Kātantra system and has found hospitable refuge in the system of Pāṇini (p. 38). Since in Pāṇini the suffixes -śatṛ, -kvasu, -īyasun etc. are without *n*, the name Sarvanāmasthāna (lit. 'in which the entire name is preserved') loses all significance in this system, but since the suffixes are read with *n* in the Kātantra, the name is particularly suitable for that system, where, however, it has been replaced by the mono-syllabic "dhuṭ". Most of the commentators of Pāṇini have failed to find any

meaning in the term for the simple reason that they are without any sense of historical perspective and do not take into account the fact that names perfectly significant in one system may be borrowed and become meaningless in another. The English word 'accent' is a case in point. Derived from *ad* 'to' and *cantus* 'singing, tone, melody' from *cantum* past participle of *canere* "to sing," it is a literal translation of Greek *prosodia* 'a song sung to an instrumental or vocal accompaniment' from *pros* 'added to' and *oide* 'song', and is therefore applicable to musical or pitch accent only. But though in Latin and English the stress accent is predominant, still the word 'accent' is used. At the present moment many Indian scholars are exercised over the problem of finding out a suitable term for 'stress accent' in the Indian languages. With the example of the English word 'accent' before us we can easily use "udatta" for "accented" and "nihata" for "unaccented".

To take another instance, the word 'Easter' is derived from Anglo-Saxon *Eostre*, *Eastre*, a pagan goddess of light and spring whose festival came off on the spring Equinox. In English the pagan word is used for the Christian festival commemorating the resurrection of Christ.

In this book an attempt has been made to trace the technical terms generally used in the different systems of Sanskrit grammar back to their sources and to give rational explanations of them. Even such apparently arbitrary technical terms as "laṭ", "bha", etc. have been found on examination to admit of acceptable explanations. In Bengal we have been accustomed to regard the technical terms of the *Mugdhabodha* as most

arbitrary, but a careful study of these terms reveals the fact that they are in most cases borrowed from or modelled upon those found in the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa and are susceptible of rational explanation.

In Sanskrit “ac” and “hal” have stood for vowels and consonants respectively at least from the time of Pāṇini and they are formed according to the “principal of the forceps” (sandamśa-nyāya), by taking two letters from the Śivasūtras according to Pāṇini’s rule “ādir antyena sahetā” (i. 1. 71), yet the commentators of the Prayogaratna-mālā, following the noble example of the Uṇādi-sūtras and under the impression that any possible (or impossible) derivation may be suggested for name (“saṃjñā-śabdā yathā-kathāncid vyutpādyaḥ”) explain them thus :

अच् गतौ क्किप् । प्रभाप्रकाशिका । १।७ । हल् गतौ । हलन्ति ।
स्वरानुगतं गच्छन्तीति क्किप् । गृहप्रकाशिका १।१९ ।

Owing to the difficulties created by the communal riots which caused widespread dislocation, this book had to be printed in a press which, though one of the finest printing presses in Calcutta, was not properly equipped for the printing of technical works of this type and so the printing leaves much to be desired. Following the principle “madhvabhāve guḍam dadyāt” *e* had to be used for the long *i*, *n* for the guttural nasal, mere *l* for the sonant *l* and mere *h* for Visarjaniya; no diacritical marks could be used with most of the capital letters and in Greek and Latin words *e* and *o* had to be used for both the long and short varieties. It was, moreover, a capital mistake to have the book set up in linotype which did not afford much

facility for correction of proofs and this was aggravated by the work having to be entrusted to compositors not familiar with this type of work. It is quite possible that owing to these and other causes a number of errors have remained uncorrected, specially in the numbering of the rules of grammars. Only those which have been detected at a cursory glance have been mentioned in the Errata. A full list of errors will be appended to part II which will come out next year.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA—Aitareya Āraṇyaka. AB.—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. APr.—Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya (ed. Suryakanta). Apr.—Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya (ed. Visvabandhu). Arm.—Armenian. ASS. — Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra. AV. — Atharva-Veda. BD.—Bṛhad-Devatā of Śaunaka. C.—Candra or Cāndra Vyākaraṇa. CA.—Caturadhyāyikā (Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya ed. Whitney). Gk.—Greek. Gr. Su.—Gṛhya Sūtra. Hc.—Hemacandra or Haimaśabdānuśāsana. HN.—Harināmāmṛta Vyākaraṇa of Jīva Gosvāmin. IE. — Indo-European. J. — Jainendra Vyākaraṇa of Devanandin (with Śabdārthacandrikā). JUB.—Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa. K.—Kātantra Vyākaraṇa of Sarvavarman (ed. Liebhich). KB.—Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa. KP. — Kātantra-Parīṣiṣṭa. Mbh. — Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. Mu.—Mugdhabodha Vyākaraṇa of Vopadeva (edited with the commentaries of Rāma Tarkavāgiśa and Durgādāsa by Śiva Nārāyaṇa Śiromaṇi). MW.—Monier Williams or his Dictionary. Nir.—Nirukta of Yāska (ed. Śivadatta Sarmā). P.—Pāṇini. PR.—Prayoga-Ratnamālā Vyākaraṇa of Puruṣottama with the commentaries Prabhā-prakāśikā and Gūḍha-prakāśikā. PS.—Phit-Sūtra of Śāntanavācārya (ed. Keilhorn). RP.—Rk-Prātiśākhya (Text and translation ed. Maṅgala Deva Śāstrin). RT.—Rktantra Vyākaraṇa (A Prātiśākhya of the Sāmaveda ed. Suryakanta). RV.—Rg Veda. Sam.—Saṃkṣiptasāra Vyākaraṇa of Kramadīśvara with the Vṛtti revised by Jumarānandin and the commentary of Goyicandra—(ed. Śyāmā Cāraṇa Kavi-

ratna). Śāk.—Abhinava Śākaṭāyana or Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa (Lazarus & Co). Sār.—Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa (Nirnaya Sagara Press and MS. of the original Sūtra-pāṭha in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona). ŚB.—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Venkateśvara Press). SK.—Siddhānta-Kaumudī. Skt.—Sanskrit. ST.—Sāma-tantra. SV.—Sāma-Veda. TA.—Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. TB.—Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. TP.—Taittirīya Prātiśākhya. U.—Upaniṣad. VP.—Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya. VS.—Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā. YAV.—Younger Avesta.

अ प्रा—अथर्ववेदप्रातिशाख्यम् (सूर्यकान्तेन संस्कृतम्) । ऋ त—ऋक्तन्त्रव्याकरणम् । ऋ प्रा—ऋक्प्रातिशाख्यम् । का—कातन्त्रव्याकरणम् । कौ—कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्रम् । च—चान्द्रव्याकरणम् । जै—जैनेन्द्रव्याकरणम् । तै प्रा—तैत्तिरीय-प्रातिशाख्यम् । नि—निरुक्तम् । पा—पाणिनिव्याकरणम् । प्र—प्रयोगरत्नमाला-व्याकरणम् । मु—मुग्धबोधं व्याकरणम् । वा प्रा—वाजसनेयि-प्रातिशाख्यम् । शा—शाकटायनव्याकरणम् । शि सू—शिवसूत्रम् (महाभाष्यम्) । स (सं)—संक्षिप्तसारव्याकरणम् । सा—सारस्वतव्याकरणम् । सि कौ—सिद्धान्तकौमुदी । सु—सुपञ्ज-व्याकरणम् । सु र भा—सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागारम् । ह—हरि-नामाभृतव्याकरणम् । हे—हेमचन्द्रशब्दानुशासनम् ।

English translations within double inverted commas of AA., AB., KB. and TS. are from Keith, of RP. from Śāstrī, of TP. and CA. from Whitney, of RT. and APr. from Sūryakānta, of the Naiṣadha from Handiqui.

TECHNICAL TERMS AND TECHNIQUE OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR.

The *saṃjñās* or technical terms of Pāṇini are divided by Patañjali* into two classes : *kṛtrima* or artificial and *akṛtrima* or natural. By *kṛtrima* he means terms not current in speech, but coined to meet the peculiar demands of particular sciences. By *akṛtrima* he means terms that are current in the language and that are, as a consequence, self-explanatory. The *kṛtrima* terms again fall into two groups : (i) those that appear to be entirely arbitrary like *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha* etc., and (ii) those that are abbreviations of longer words with or without certain additions and alterations. And we may add a third category, though Patañjali would hardly include it under *kṛtrima*—those that are taken as the types of certain processes, e.g., *kṛt*, *bahuvrīhi*, etc. Now what is self-explanatory in one stage of the language or to the followers of one system of grammar becomes obscure in another stage of the language or to the followers of a different system of grammar. Thus *sarvanāmasthāna* must have been clear as day to the predecessors of Pāṇini but his successors generally failed to make any sense out of it.

There is another point which must not be lost sight of in dealing with Sanskrit grammar. In a highly inflected language like Sanskrit, grammar is an absolutely essential branch of

* इह हि व्याकरणे ये चेते लोके प्रतीतपदार्थकाः शब्दास्तैर्निर्देशः क्रियते—
पशुरपत्यं देवदत्त इति, याचैताः कृत्रिमाष्टिभुभसंज्ञाकाणि ।

Mahābhāṣya, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 223 ll. 3-4.

study. And though in the early days people were gifted with prodigious memories, the demands of sacrifices and other things made them anxious to finish off the study of grammar proper in as short a period as possible. This gave rise to the principle of brevity* which was followed more and more stringently by successive generations of grammarians. It is not without reason that Aśvaghoṣa describes grammarians as "akṣaracintaka."

Under "mātropajñopakramac-chāye napuṃsake" vi. 2. 14 the Kāśikā gives as an example: Āpiśalyupajñam guru-lāghavam.† From this it is clear that the principle of brevity in the domain of grammar was first fully enunciated by Āpiśali. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the name of Āpiśali is not found in the Nirukta, nor in any of the Prātiśākhya, nor is Āpiśali mentioned as the seer of any of the mantras of any of the Vedas. Another significant fact is that a fairly large number of the rules of Āpiśali have been preserved, though hardly a single one of any other predecessor of Pāṇini has come down to us. It would therefore appear that the craze for brevity began shortly before the days of Pāṇini. But this brevity, it must be clearly understood, is concerned generally with the forms of rules only and has nothing to do with grammatical processes. In his enthusiasm for lāghava, Āpiśali regards the root *as* as *s†* and per-

* Cf. the paribhāṣā : अर्धमात्रावचनेन पुनोत्सवं सन्त्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः ।

This tendency persists even to the present day and "cold war" is regarded as an improvement on "war of nerves" because it saves four letters.

† Under iv. 3. 116 the Kāśikā says : काशिकात्सं गुरुलाघवम् ।

‡ In classical Sanskrit the root *as* is conjugated only in the pre-

petrates similar other absurdities. But the principle laid down by him was very sound. Pāṇini appears to steer a middle course between the two opposite extremes. He does not use monosyllabic technical terms like *jit*, *mud* etc., as found in VP., nor does he postulate a root *s* instead of *as*; but he does not disdain to use short technical terms like *ṭi*, *ghu*, *gha*, *bha*, *laṭ*, *loṭ*, *lañ* etc., though retaining the older and bigger terms like *prātipadika*, *sarvanāmasthāna*, *karma-pravacanīya* and *upasarjana*. Of the successors of Pāṇini, Sarvavarman follows an older school and generally avoids meaningless technical terms, though *ghuṭ* and *dhuṭ* and *ṣiṭ* and *Pañcamī* and *Saptamī* have made their way into his work also. Devanandin, the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, improved the system initiated probably by Āpiśali and elaborated in VP., RT. and ST. But the greatest name in this connexion is that of Vopadeva, the author of the Mugdhabodha, who followed the idea to its logical extreme and substituted monosyllables for all technical terms of more

sent, imperfect, imperative and optative active; of these 36 forms only 16 show the 'a', the remaining 20 are without 'a'. If we leave out the imperfect which shows 'ā' in each number and person then of the 27 forms only 7 show the 'a'. Āpiśali, therefore, thought that it would be more conducive to brevity, if we regard the root as *s* and prescribe the augment 'a' or 'ā' for the special cases. In exactly the same way Pāṇini regards the possessive secondary suffix as *-mat(u)* or *-vat(u)* instead of *-mant(u)* or *-vant(u)*, the present participial active suffix as *(ś)at(r)* instead of *(ś)ant(r)*, the perfect participial active suffix as *(k)vas(u)* instead of *(k)vans(u)* and so on, because the 'n' appears only in the strong cases and not in the middle and weak ones which are far more numerous. The Kātantra and its followers rightly regard the suffixes as *-mant(u)*, *-vant(u)*, *-(ś)ant(rñ)* and *-vans(u)*.

than one syllable. A discordant note was sounded later on by the author of the Harināmāmṛta who, intent on using the names of Hari and His associates as technical terms, casts to the winds all ideas of verbal brevity and says :

मात्रालाघवमात्रं पुत्रोत्सव इति परेऽभिमन्यन्ते ।

हरिनामाक्षरलाभाद् वयं त्वमूढक् तिरस्कुर्मः ॥

i.e., the followers of the Pāṇini school regard the mere saving of a mora* as tantamount to the joy arising from the birth of a son. We, however, repudiate this view, since we (by our prolixity) obtain words designating Hari.

Other sectarian schools also hold the same view.

The general principle on which the abbreviated technical terms are based is enunciated by Goyīcandra in his commentary on Saṃkṣiptasāra ii. 583 :

पदाद्यवर्णेनापि पदं लक्ष्यते, यथा आकामावैष्वनन्तकम् इत्यत्र आकामादिवर्णैराषाढी-कार्तिकी-माघी-वैशाख्याख्यास्तथेहापि लिचर्णेन लिङ् लक्ष्यते ।

This is evidently based on the following passage of the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 45) :

दृश्यन्ते हि वाक्येषु वाक्यैकदेशान् प्रयुज्जानाः, पदेषु च पदैकदेशान् । वाक्येषु तावद् वाक्यैकदेशान्—प्रविश पिण्डीम् [प्रविश गृहम्, भक्षय पिण्डीम्], प्रविश तर्पणम् [प्रविश गङ्गां, कुरु तर्पणम्]; पदेषु पदैकदेशान्—देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामेति ।

Similarly, Rāmānanda says in his commentary on Mug-dhabodha i. 5 :

अत्र सर्वशास्त्रप्रसिद्धाः संज्ञाः प्रायेणैकदेशेनोच्यन्ते तत्तत्-संज्ञास्मरणार्थम्, यथा स्वर्धप्लु इति ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतानां ग्रहणम् ।

* A reference to the dictum : अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः ।

संज्ञैकदेशेन च व्यवहारः शास्त्रेष्वपि प्रसिद्धः । यथा शास्त्रान्तरे दर्शितम् — आकामावैष्णवन्तकमिति* आषाढी-कार्तिकी-माघी-वैशाखीनां ग्रहणं स्मृतिषु ।

Similarly, Durgādaśa says in his commentary on the same rule :

अत्र पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धसंज्ञानामेकदेशविधानं तत्संज्ञास्मरणार्थम्, तेन ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुता एव घक्तव्याः । एषमन्यत्रापि संक्षेपघक्तुः प्रसिद्धसंज्ञानामेकदेशविधानमविरुद्धं भवति, अत एव आकामावैष्णवन्तकमिति स्मृतिः ।

Durga in his commentary on Kātantra i. 1. 15 says :

शिडिति पूर्वं संज्ञापदं निक्षिप्य इतिशब्देन सन्ताड्य यत् शादय इति संज्ञित्वेन निर्दिश्यन्ते, तदेवम्प्रकारा लघुसंज्ञाः कर्तुं शक्यन्त एव । स्वरादयो ह्यन्वर्था नित्या इत्यन्वाख्यातव्याः । वृक्षशब्दस्य वृसङ्केतं क्षसङ्केतं वा कृत्वा व्यवहरतो लोके किं नाम वैदग्ध्यमस्तीत्यभिप्रायः ।

Again Durga says under iv. 1. 45 : क्लिष्टपाठोऽक्षराधिक्यादपि गरीयान् । Under ii. 1. 80 Durga has a fling at Pāṇini : इह चिदधद् यथासंख्यं लघु-विस्पष्टार्थं प्रक्रियाविकलानुपहसतीष भगवान् (!) याट्-साट्-आट्ः प्रकुर्वाणान् ।

Trilocana, the author of the Pañjī, hits the nail right on the head when he says ::

एतिदहाकृतम्—न घयं संज्ञान्तरं विधातुमुद्यताः, अपि तु पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धसंज्ञाव्याख्याने कृतारम्भाः । ननु पूर्वाचार्या अपि वैयाकरणत्वाल्लाघवममिलषन्तः किमिति गरीयसीः स्वरादिसंज्ञाः प्रणीतवन्त इति । सत्यम्, अन्वर्थत्वात् तासामिति । अयमर्थः—द्विविधं हि लाघवं भवति—शब्दकृतम् अर्थकृतञ्चेति । तत्रार्थ-

* Similarly in Varāhamihira's Bṛhaj-jātaka we find śa, ku, bu, gu, śu, ca and sa standing respectively for śanaīścara, kuja, budha, guru, śukra, candra and savitr in श-कु-बु-गु-च-सायाः तृतिती वीर्यवन्तः २।१८

कृतमेष लाघवं परार्थप्रवृत्तत्वात् तेषामभीष्टम्, अतः सर्वघर्मापि तथा प्रतिपादयति । न हि वृक्षशब्दस्य वृसङ्केतं क्षसङ्केतं वा कृत्वा व्यवहरतो वैदग्धी काचिदस्ति ।

‘There are two varieties of brevity—brevity in regard to sound and brevity in regard to sense. Of these it is the latter that is desired by them inasmuch as their purpose is to serve others. So Sarvavarman also expounds in that way. There is nothing clever in the use of language in which *vr* or *kṣa* is the symbol for *vrkṣa*.’

The Pāṇī says in the Samāsa-section which it regards as the work of Sarvavarman :

एवमुत्तरेष्वपि योगेषु शब्दलाघवं न चिन्तनीयम्, अर्थप्रतीति-
लाघवस्य सर्ववर्मणोऽभिप्रेतत्वात् ।

Even Rāma Tarkavāgiśa, the great commentator of the Mugdhabodha, is forced to concede that sometimes brevity of sense is to be preferred to mere brevity of sound. Thus while explaining why Vopadeva uses ‘aghau’ instead of ‘pau’ in the rule “dhora ā-lopa’cyaghau” 121, Tarkavāgiśa says :

“तद्वेतोरेव तदस्तु किं तेन” इति न्यायात् क्वचिच्छब्द-
लाघवादर्थलाघवोऽपि (?) न्याय्यः (?) ।

Under ‘tad aśiṣyam samjñā-pramāṇatvāt’ i. 2. 53 Patañjali says: *kiṃ yā etā kṛtrimāṣ ṭi-ghu-bhādi-samjñās tat-prāmāṇyād aśiṣyam? netyāha, samjñānam samjñā*. From this Goldstücker concludes that “such terms as *ṭi*, *ghu* and *bha* were known and settled before Pāṇini’s grammar but that nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms”. (Ed. Panini Office, p. 127). We fail to see how such a conclusion can be drawn from the simple

statement of the Bhāṣyakāra. In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say whether *ṭi*, *ghu*, *gha* and *bha* existed before Pāṇini. They are not found in the Nirukta nor in any of the Prātiśākhya, nor in the Kātantra. Burnell accepts Goldstücker's conclusion and points out "similar symbols occur in the Kātantra and still more in Kaccāyana's grammar though (as might be expected) not identical with Pāṇini's" (p. 41). But we have not come across a single technical term corresponding to *ṭi*, *ghu* or *bha* in the prātiśākhya, though, of course, monosyllabic technical terms occur profusely in VP. and RT.

It will be found in the following pages that some technical terms are defined in some systems, while others are used without any definition. When certain terms are very well known in the locality in which the grammarian flourishes or in the system which he generally follows he does not find it necessary to define them. Hence Indra says "siddhir anuktānām rūḍheh". The Kātantra also says: "lokopacārād grahaṇa-siddhiḥ" i. 1. 23 which is abbreviated by Hemacandra into "lokāt" i. 1. 3. It is clear from this that Pāṇini does not define technical terms only when they have become established in his neighbourhood or in the system he follows, otherwise he defines terms even though they may have been used by his predecessors.

NAMES OF MOODS AND TENSES.

When we were reading in the lower classes of a high school, a student once asked the teacher of Sanskrit why *Laṭ* meant the Present Tense. The learned teacher grew furious, gave the boy an inkling into the abusive powers of the elegant Bengali language and then said, *Laṭ* means the present tense because the great Pāṇini wanted it to mean the present tense. If he had intended to use *Drum Dhrash* or *Chlorate of Potash* for the present tense what was there to prevent him from doing so? You ought to have greater respect for Pāṇini than to ask such impertinent questions. The teacher belonged to the usual class of Pandits who regard grammar as a strictly normative science and who are followers of the principle :

“Theirs not to reason why,

Theirs not to make reply”,

and at that time we were greatly impressed by the soundness of his reasoning. But as we grew older the argument gradually lost all its force for us. I am now firmly convinced that there is nothing arbitrary in language. To say that a thing or phenomenon is arbitrary is merely to confess our ignorance. If we could find out all the links in the chain of association in the mind of a writer, we could explain what on the face of it would appear to admit of no explanation. And this is true of the technical terms of Sanskrit grammar also.

अतः परं प्रकृतमनुसरामः ।

In the Sanskrit grammars that have come down to us the distinction between moods and tenses is conspicuous by its

absence. Yet one cannot help feeling that in several pre-Pāṇinian grammars there must have been a name for moods also and the Lakāras divided into two classes according as they expressed tense prominently or mood prominently.

In the Kātantra which has fortunately preserved many ancient self-explanatory terms there is the Adhikāra rule काले iii. 1.10 and the rules तासां स्वसंज्ञाभिः कालविशेषः । प्रयोगतश्च iii. 1.15-16. It is the ल of काल that led Pāṇini to use the ten technical terms लट्, लिट्, लृट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, and लृङ् (The Kāśikā says under लस्य iii. 4. 77 : षट् दितश्चत्वारो डितः । अक्षरसमाम्नायवदानुपूर्व्या कथ्यन्ते ।) For the Precative Pāṇini has no special name, he merely uses लिङाशिषि to denote it. (The Supadma uses लोट् for लिङाशिषि.)

It will be noticed that the indicatory letter ट् is used in the case of the primary endings and ङ् in the case of the secondary endings. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the indicatory letter ट् generally denotes that an Āgama will come in at the beginning and the indicatory letter ङ् shows that the Ādeśa will oust the final. आद्यन्तौ टकितौ, ङिच्च i. 1. 46, 53. When a child is born it is the head that comes out first and ट् is the first of mūrdhanya letters. ङ् stands at the end of the varga and so it denotes secondary. It is therefore fit and proper that ट् should be the Anubandha in the case of the primary endings, because they come first and ङ् the Anubandha in the case of the secondary endings, because they come later and also lose their final.

First of all Pāṇini takes the three primary tenses—present, past and future and names them लट्, लिट् and लृट् respectively according to the order of the vowel. The simple vowels अ इ उ being used up, लट् comes next as denot-

ing remote future. It comes after लुट् because in लृट् there is the added element स्य. Next Pāṇini uses the diphthongs ए and ओ for the two moods with the primary endings, viz., the Subjunctive (लेट्) and the Imperative (लोट्). And since the Subjunctive, though fluctuating between the primary and secondary endings, shows ति, सि etc. intact in many cases, it is placed before the Imperative in which the endings though primary are a bit modified. Of the Lakāras with the secondary endings the tense लङ् preceded the mood लिङ् exactly as the tense लुट् and लृट् preceded the moods लेट् and लोट्. After लङ् (Imperfect) one expected लुङ् (Aorist), but Pāṇini now places the moods and tenses alternately. Hence after the tense लङ् we get the mood लिङ्, then comes the tense लुङ् followed by the mood लृङ् which naturally comes last as being composed of the elements of लङ् and लृट्.

It is a pity the Kātantra follows Pāṇini in the matter of the Lakāras though it retains most of the self-explanatory names. It uses वर्तमाना for लट् following Pāṇini who says वर्तमाने लट् iii. 2.123. From the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana we learn that भवन्ती was another name for the same Lakāra : अस्तिर्भवन्तीपरः प्रथमपुरुषोऽप्रयुज्यमानोऽप्यस्ति ii. 3. 1. 11, प्रवृत्तस्याधिरामे शिष्या भवन्त्यवर्तमानत्वात् iii. 2.123.1. But the still earlier name would appear to be कुर्वत् or कुर्वती as in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (xx. 1. 3, xxi. 1)* करिष्यत्, कुर्वत् and कृतम् represent the future, present and past tenses respectively. In the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (xxii. 3) cakṛvat is substituted for kṛtam. It is in the later Brāhmaṇas and

* KEITH, Rigveda Brāhmaṇas, p. 80.

Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* that the neuter, भू is substituted for the active कृ and भवत्, भविष्यत् and भूतम् are used for these three tenses. Vopadeva uses भवत्, भूत and भव्य for Pāṇini's वर्तमान, अतीत and भविष्यत् (भवद्भूतभव्ये, त्रिंशः कथायाः, Mughdhabodha 933). Abhinava Śākaṭāyana uses सत् for भवत् and वत्स्यत् for भविष्यत्, thereby effecting the saving of a syllable in each case.

For लिट् (Perfect) the Kātantra has परोक्षा corresponding to Pāṇini's rule परोक्षे लिट् ii. 2.115. The name परोक्षा is found in the Caturadhyāyikā—a Prātiśākhya belonging to the Atharvaveda (अभ्यासस्य परोक्षायाम् iv. 84) and also in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana. It also occurs in the *Sloka-vārttika* : ज्ञापकान्न परोक्षायाम् i. 2.18. The Nyāsa says under i. 2.18 : परोक्षे विहितत्वाल्लिटः श्रुतिः परोक्षेत्युच्यते.

For लुट् (Periphrastic Future) we find श्वस्तनी in the Kātantra after Pāṇini's rule अनद्यतने लुट् iii. 3. 15. श्वस्तन literally means, 'belonging to to-morrow' and occurs in the Vārttika परिदेवने श्वस्तनी भविष्यन्त्या अर्थे iii. 3.15

For लृट् (Simple Future) the Kātantra has भविष्यन्ती (a term which is used by Kātyāyana in his Vārttikas) in keeping with Pāṇini's rule लृट् शेषे च iii. 3.13 immediately preceded by भविष्यति गम्यादयः.

लेट् (Subjunctive), being confined to the Vedas, is ignored in post-Pāṇinian grammars, but it appears from the Prātiśākhyas belonging to the Atharvaveda that the older name for the Subjunctive was नैगमी† from निगम, the Vedas.

* LIEBICH, p. 14.

† नैगमी वा ततोऽन्यत्र भूते वा षष्ठ्यलमिति ।

सदृशानामतोऽन्यत्र भवतीति प्रयोजनम् ॥ अ' प्रां २।११

अकारान्तानि प्रैषणा मध्यमस्यैकवचनानि । नैगमी तकारावाधे । अ' प्रां २।७

Haradatta points out that in some parts of India the periphrasis **पञ्चम लकार** is used for **लेट्** as the latter means in several Indian dialects something which can only be mentioned in works on anatomy.*

The original name for **लेट्** (Imperative) was lost in the Kātantra school which uses **पञ्चमी†** for it, because **लेट्** occupies the fifth place in the Pāṇinian scheme of moods and tenses if the Subjunctive, which is confined to Vedic, is excluded. It is just possible, however, that the ten Lakāras, like the seven cases, were at one time known as **प्रथमा, द्वितीया, तृतीया** etc. The Prayogaratnamālā, an ardent follower of the Kātantra, preferred Pāṇini's apparently arbitrary **लेट्** to Sarvavarman's apparently arbitrary **पञ्चमी** and retained **लेट्**. The Atharva Prātiśākhya use the word **प्रेषणी** for the Imperative and this reminds one of Pāṇini's rule **प्रेषाति-सर्गप्रातकालेषु कृत्याश्च** iii. 3.163.

For **लङ्** (Imperfect) the Kātantra has **ह्यस्तनी** (lit. 'belonging to yesterday'). It is the counterpart of **श्वस्तनी** for **लुट्** (Periphrastic Future) and in keeping with Pāṇini's rule **अनद्यतने लङ्** iii. 2.11. Though the word **ह्यस्तन** occurs in the Mahābhāṣya in connexion with **क्रिया** in the passage **अथ कालविशेषानभिसमीक्ष्य यश्चाद्यतनः पाको यश्च ह्यस्तनो यश्च श्वस्तनः** (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 57, ll. 4-5), still **ह्यस्तनी** as the name of a tense occurs neither in the Vārttikas nor in the Bhāṣya.-

In the case of **लिट्** (Potential) as in that of **लेट्**,

* **लेट्-शब्दस्तु वृत्तिकारदेशे लुगुप्सितः, यथाव द्रविडदेशे निविशन्द्ः ।**

The word Lakāra itself is used in that sense in Sv. 2401. पदमञ्जरी ६।१।१६२

† Durga says under ii. 1. 20 : **पञ्चमी सप्तमी परस्मैपदव्यतिरिक्तये.**

the earlier name was lost and लिङ् came to be called सप्तमी in the Kātantra system, as with the exclusion of the Vedic Subjunctive, it occupied the seventh place in the system of Pāṇini. The Prayogaratnamālā prefers लिङ् to सप्तमी. Since Pāṇini's rule for liṅ begins with vidhi (iii. 3. 161) one is inclined to suppose that the earlier name was वैधी or वैधानी.

For लिङाशिशि (Precative) of Pāṇini the Kātantra has आशीः. Padmanābha, though closely following Pāṇini, uses लोट् for लिङाशिशि in his Supadma.

लुङ् is अद्यतनी in the Kātantra and Kātyāyana's Vārttikas अद्यतन्यां च ii. 4. 3. 2, वा चाद्यतन्याम् iii. 2. 102. 6 and चाद्यतन्याम् vi. 4.114. 3.

लृङ् (Conditional) is termed क्रियातिपत्ति in the Kātantra system after Pāṇini's rule लिङ्निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ iii. 3.139.

It is remarkable that Candrar who studiously refrains from using technical terms that are not self-explanatory retains the Lakāras of Pāṇini.

Devanandin, the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa and the friend, philosopher and guide of Vopadeva, also sees no reason to reject these terms of the Pāṇini system, though Vopadeva does not follow his guide in this particular instance. He takes the consonants beginning with क, omitting the nasals and palatals for ease of utterance, and adds ई to each, both because भवन्ती, अद्यतनी, श्वस्तनी etc. end in ई and because the technical terms for the सुप् विभक्ति in the Mugdhabodha प्री, द्वी, etc., end in ई. Thus की=लट्=वर्तमाना=Present. खी=लिङ्=सप्तमी=Optative. गी=लोट्=पञ्चमी=Imperative. घी=लृङ्=श्वस्तनी=Imperfect. टी=लुङ्=अद्यतनी=

Aorist. डी=लिट्=परोक्षा=Perfect. डी=लुट्=श्चस्तनी= Periphrastic Future. ढी=लिङ्+शिषि=आशीः= Precative. ती=लृट्=भविष्यन्ती= Future. थी=लृङ्=क्रियातिपत्ति= Conditional.

It was expected that the Harināmāmṛta would use the names of the ten Avatāras or incarnations of Viṣṇu for the ten Lakāras, but as the term Daśāvatāra has already been used as the name of the first ten vowels (the Daśāvatāras of the Harināmāmṛta corresponding to the Samānākṣara of the earlier systems), it is compelled to resort to other names. For लट् it uses अच्युत which means नित्य and as लट् is used of all times the name is very appropriate. For लिङ् it uses विधि (injunction and Brahmā) and for लोट् विधाता (creator, commander). These are very apt names because लिङ् is generally concerned with injunction and लोट् with command. For the three past tenses लङ्, लुङ् and लिट् it uses भूतेश्वर, भूतेश and अधोऽक्षज. भूतेश्वर and भूतेश literally mean 'the lord of creatures' and contain भूत, the word for past time.* अधोऽक्षज means Viṣṇu and bears some resemblance to परोक्षा in that both are beyond the range of sense-perception and both contain the letter क्ष. For लिङ् आशिषि the Harināmāmṛta has Kāmapāla 'the fulfiller of one's desires'. The two futures लुट् and लृट् are named Bālakalki and Kalki respectively, because Kalki will make His appearance in the distant future. Lastly the conditional (लृङ्) is termed Ajita. Because the action has not been achieved, it is regarded as not conquered and thus the Lakāra is designated Ajita.

* It is taken as the type and since अभवत् is longer than अभूत्, the aorist is denoted by भूतेश and the imperfect by भूतेश्वर.

I have heard that in a system of grammar belonging to the Śāktas the ten Lakāras are named after the ten Mahā-vidyās—Kālī, Tārā, Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinna-mastā, Dhūmāvatī, Vagālā, Mātāṅgī and Kamalā.

The grammarian Vyāḍi, who must have been anterior to Pāṇini since his name is mentioned in the Ṛk Prātiśākhya, probably used ten *huṣas* for the ten *Lakāras*. Thus we find in the Kāśikā under ii. 4. 21 and vi. 2. 14 : व्याड्युपशं दश-
हुष्करणम्* which is explained thus in the Nyāsa : व्याडिरप्यत्र
युगपत्-काल-भाषिनां विधीनां मध्ये दश हुष्करणानि कृत्वा
परिभाषितवान्—पूर्वं पूर्वं कालमिति । On this the
Tantrapradīpa comments thus : पूर्वं प्रथमं पूर्वं भूताख्यं
कालं परिभाषितवान् । पश्चाद्वर्त्तमानादिकमित्यर्थः । अथवा पूर्वं
पूर्वमिति । प्रथमतरमित्यर्थः । पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थातिशयविवक्षायां
द्विर्वचनम् [८।१।१२।१] इति द्विर्वचनम् । अस्य दश हुष्करणा-
नीत्यनेन सम्बन्धः । प्रथमतरं दश हुष्करणानि कृत्वा कालमद्य-
तनादिकं परिभाषितवान् ।

As regards the order of the Lakāras it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion on the point from Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. In the Kātantra iii. 1. 24 ff. we find वर्त्तमाना, सप्तमी, पञ्चमी, ह्यस्तनी, अद्यतनी, परोक्षा, इवस्तनी, आशीः भविष्यन्ती, and क्रियातिपत्ति—an order followed by most later systems including Hemacandra, who inverts the order of आशीः and इवस्तनी. In K. आशीः is connected, according to मध्यमणिन्याय, with both इवस्तनी and भविष्यन्ती. Hc. wants to place the two futures in succession, so it has no alternative but to place आशीः after परोक्षा. HN. follows Hc. Mu follows K. The Prayogaratnamālā changes the order for

* In Kāśikā iv. 3. 15, however, we find : āpiśalaṃ huṣkaraṇam.

convenience of conjugation and we find here : वर्त्तमाना लिङ्, लोट्, ह्यस्तनी, श्वस्तनी, आशीः, भविष्यन्ती, क्रिया-तिपत्ति, परोक्षा and अद्यतनी. In the Saṃkṣiptasāra also the order is slightly different : लट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, आशी-र्लिङ्, लिट्, लृट्, लुट्, लृङ् and लुङ्. In the Supadma the order is entirely different, the tānubandhas coming first and the nānubandhas following them : लट् and लृट्, लोट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृङ्, लङ् and लृङ्, लिङ् and लोङ्.

It would appear from the example पाणिन्युपक्रमकालकं व्याकरणम् found in the Kāśikā under ii. 4. 21 and vi. 2. 14 and पाणिनीयमकालकं व्याकरणम् found under iv. 3. 115 that Pāṇini was the first to do away with the Kālādhikāra in Sanskrit Grammar. It follows as a corollary that Pāṇini was the first to introduce the technical terms *laṭ*, *liṭ* etc. It is interesting to note in this connexion that in German a verb is known as Zeit-wort (कालशब्दः). According to Aristotle also "the Verb is distinguished from the Noun as connoting time". Sandys, i. 98. The Mahābhāṣya also says : नान्तरेण क्रियां भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमानकाला व्यस्यन्ते.

As regards the order of the endings Devanandin stands alone in beginning with the first person—*mīp*, *vas*, *mas*; *sip*, *thas*, *tha*; *tip*, *tas*, *jhi*; *ṛi*, *vahi*, *mahi*; *thās*, *āthām*, *dhvam*; *ta*, *ātām*, *jhañ*, ii. 4. 6. So it has to use the *pratyāhāra mīñ* for Pāṇini's *tiñ*.

This is entirely opposed to the Indian point of view. Indian systems of grammar generally begin with the endings for the third person, then pass on to the endings for the second person and put in the endings for the first person last of all, while European grammarians begin with the first

person and then pass on to the second and third persons. Thus in Sanskrit we have *asti*, *staḥ*, *santi*; *asi*, *sthaḥ*, *stha*; *asmi*, *svaḥ*, *smaḥ*; but in Greek and Latin we find *eimi* and *sum* (*asmi*), *essi* and *es* (*asi*), *esti* and *est* (*asti*), *esmen* and *sums* (*smaḥ*), *este* and *estis* (*stha*), *enti* and *sur* (*santi*).

This is due to a certain extent to the requirements of the Paribhāṣā* “vipratishedhe paraṁ kāryam” i. 4. 2 i.e. in case of conflict the later is to prevail over the earlier, according to which when there is any doubt in our minds as to the person of the verb owing to the presence of nominatives of different persons, we use the first person in preference to the second and third, and the second in preference to the third. For this the Kātantra has the rule “yugapadvacane paraḥ puruṣāṇām” iii. 1. 4, but such a rule is unnecessary in the Pāṇini system, because of this arrangement.

In the matter of the mention of verbs also the same difference between Indian and European grammars is observed. In Sanskrit a verb is mentioned in the

* Poets have not been slow in making use of this Paribhāṣā of Pāṇini for their own purposes. According to them, Rādhā, torn between her loyalty to her husband and her love for Kṛṣṇa, said to her friend, ‘My husband is my first lover, Kṛṣṇa the second; what am I to do?’ Her reply was, ‘Listen, dear friend, to the rule of Pāṇini: In all cases of conflict, the later prevails over the earlier’.

“निजपतिराद्यः प्रणयौ हरिर्द्वितीयः करोमि किं गोपि ।

प्रणु सखि पाणिनिस्तु विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥”

“समुपागतवति नाथे गेहे कृष्णे करोमि किं स्वय ।

अर सखि पाणिनिस्तु विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥”

“निजपतिराद्यः प्रणयौ तदनु च हरिः किं करीतु सा राधा ।

प्रणु सखि पाणिनिस्तु विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥”

third person singular (ikṣtipau dhātunirdeśe iii. 3. 108. 2), but in Greek and Latin a verb is mentioned in the first person singular. Thus in Sanskrit we say *bharati* (to bear), but in Greek we say *pherō* and in Latin *ferō* (corresponding to Sanskrit *bharāmi*) in the same sense.

This would appear to throw a flood of light on the respective mentalities of Europeans and Indians. The former always look after number one, while the latter generally shrink from self-assertion and self-aggrandizement and firmly believe in the doctrine that in seeking the good of others, we find our own. Hence अनुदात्तेष्व् indicates आत्मनेपद्.*

सायुज्यमृच्छति भवस्य भवाब्धियाद्-

स्तां पत्युरेत्य नगरो' नगराजपुत्राः ।

भूताभिधानपदमद्यतनीमवाप्य

भीमोद्भवे भवतिभावमिवास्तिधातुः ॥'

नैषध ११।११७

"O daughter of Bhīma, just as the root *as* is transformed into the root *bhū* on reaching the aorist (*adyatanī*) which indicates the past, even so, the creatures of the oceans of the world, on arriving at this city, attain absorption into Pārvatī's consort, Śiva."

* After the ten Lakāras of Pāṇini, a poet speaks of five lakāras :

अनुकूला विमलाङ्गी' कुलजा कुशला सुशीलसम्पन्नाम् ।

पञ्चलकारा भार्या पुरुषः पण्डितवाक्त्रभते ॥

GUṆA VRDDHI AND SAMPRASĀRAṆA

Guṇa.

In Sanskrit grammar the vowels *a*, *e* and *o* are known as Guṇa-vowels.* The guṇa of *a* is *a*, of *i* is *e* and of *u* is *o*. Of *r* the guṇa is *ar* and of *l* *al*. Of these mere *a* may be left out of account, as has actually been done by many later grammarians. Pāṇini mentions it for *ar* and probably for *al* and for certain grammatical operations peculiar to the Pāṇini system. Patañjali mentions the different meanings of guṇa in the Mahābhāṣya on “prāk krītāc chaḥ” v. 1. 1 :

गुणशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः । अस्त्येव समेष्वघयवेषु वर्तते, तद् यथा द्विगुणा रज्जुरिति । अस्ति द्रव्यपदार्थकः, तद् यथा गुणवानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते । अस्त्यप्रधाने वर्तते, तद् यथा यो यत्राप्रधानं भवति स आह—गुणभूता वयमत्रेति । अस्त्याचारे वर्तते, तद् यथा गुणवानयं ब्राह्मणः इत्युच्यते यः सम्यगाचारं करोति । अस्ति संस्कारे वर्तते, तद् यथा संस्कृतमन्नं गुणवदित्युच्यते । अथवा सर्वत्रैवायं गुणशब्दः समेष्वघयवेषु वर्तते ।

Of these the first sense of ‘equal part’ or ‘strand’, the second sense of ‘property’, the third sense of ‘secondary or subordinate’ and the fifth sense of ‘refinement’ are all applicable here.

Of the eminent Sanskrit Grammarians Pāṇini alone regards *a* as a Guṇa vowel. Though it is hardly logical to speak of

* Śabara appears to regard *guṇa* and *vrddhi* as arbitrary technical terms. He says : तथाहि सर्वेष्वेव कर्मणामधेयिष्वर्थसमन्वयेनानुवादभूतो नामशब्दो वर्तते, न लौकिकार्थसिंस्कारिण परिभाषामात्रेण इतिगुणवत् । १०।६।४१

a as the Guṇa of *a*, still Pāṇini includes *a* in the list of Guṇa vowels for the sake of brevity and uniformity. He probably thought that the Guṇas of vowels should also be vowels and so he lays down that *a* is the guṇa of *ṛ*, but in this particular case *a* is 'to' be followed by *r** acc. to another rule (ur an ra-parah i. 1. 51). Again in conjugation *a* is dropped before *a*, *e* and *o* of endings. Here Pāṇini has combined *a*, *e* and *o* under the general name Guṇa (ato guṇe vi. 1. 97).

It is interesting to note in this connexion that acc. to philologists also "both *a* and *ā* represent the guṇa or normal stage in the gradation of the *a*-vowels in many roots" (Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, p. 16, f.n. 5).

The evidence of other cognate languages shows that *e* and *o* were originally pronounced *ai* and *au*. The guṇa vowels were thus looked upon as having a strand or some property, added to them or as having been refined (Saṃskṛta) by the addition of some attribute. In other words guṇa is used in the sense of strengthening.

Āpiśali is said to have regarded guṇa and vṛddhi as āgama or augment. Thus in the Mahābhāṣya on "sam-ava-pra-vi-bhyah sthah" i. 3.22 we find the examples "astiṃ sakāram ātiṣṭhate. Āgamau guṇa-vṛddhī ātiṣṭhate. Vikārau guṇa-vṛddhī ātiṣṭhate" under the Vārttika : ānaḥ sthaḥ pratiṣṭhāne. In the Kāśikā we find "astiṃ sakāra-mātram ātiṣṭhate, āgamau guṇa-vṛddhī ātiṣṭhate." This is explained by the Nyāsa-kāra thus :

सकारमात्रमस्ति धातुमापिशलिराचार्यः प्रतिजानीते, तथाहि न

* वृद्धिर्भवति, गुणो भवतीति रेफश्चिरेण गुणवृद्धिमेकैकाऽभिनिवर्तते ।
नदाभाष्यम् ।

तस्य पाणिनेरिव 'अस भुवि' इति गणपाठः । किं तर्हि ? 'स भुवि' इति स पठति । आगमौ गुणवृद्धौ आतिष्ठत इति । स त्वागमौ गुणवृद्धौ आतिष्ठते । एवं हि स प्रतिजानीते ।

Similarly Haradatta says in his Padamañjarī :

स्तःसन्तीत्यादौ सकारमात्रस्य दर्शनात् 'स भुवि' इत्येव धातुः पाठ्यः, अस्तीत्यादौ पिति सार्वधातुकेऽडागमो विधेयः, आस्ताम् आसन् इत्यादौ आडागमः स्यादित्यापिशलिना मन्यते । आगमौ गुणवृद्धौ इति । वैयाकरणः सौघश्च इत्यादौ वृद्धेरागमत्वमित्याहुः । गुणस्य त्वागमत्वे उदाहरणं मृग्यम् ।

Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabdakaustubha : आपिशलिर्हि अस भुवि इति न पठति, किन्तु सकारमात्रम् । स्तः सन्तीत्याद्युदाहरणम् । अस्ति आसीदित्यादिसिद्धये तु अडाटावागमौ प्रतिजानीते । तावेव गुणवृद्धौ इति ।

Āpiśali maintains that guṇa and vṛddhi (a and ā) are āgama in order to form the words, asti, astu, āsīt etc. from his root *s* (which is *as* in the Pāṇiniya dhātu-pāṭha) and this is referred to by the Nyāsa-kāra in explaining the two examples cited here by the Vṛtti-kāra to illustrate the Vārttika attached to the rule i. 3. 22.

As the passage is of some importance we have quoted all the different views above. We have a transcript of Maitreya Rakṣita's Tantrapradīpa but unfortunately this does not contain anything under i. 3. 22.

What emerges from the above quotations would appear to be this : Āpiśali regarded guṇa and vṛddhi as augments. Presumably he regarded the augment as *a*. In the case of guṇa the augment was added before the simple vowel, and in the case of vṛddhi before the guṇa vowel. Or he may have

regarded the augment as *a* in the case of *guṇa* and as *ā* in the case of *ṛddhi* and framed some rule on the line of Pāṇini's *āṭaśca* vi. 1.90. In RP. xi. 10 "Guṇāgamād etana-bhāvi cetana"* "guṇa" may have been regarded as an augment. Of course we can take *guṇa* as standing for the *guṇa* vowel *e* and *āgama* in the ordinary sense of 'advent, appearance.'

Guṇa may also have been used in the sense of 'secondary quality.' According to Indian grammarians the simple vowels *a i u* are regarded as forming the normal grade and the strengthened vowels are regarded as secondary ones. As Rucaka says in his commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka*: *anyasiddhy-artham upādiyamānatvaṃ guṇasya lakṣaṇam*.

Guṇa first occurs in the *Atharva Veda* in the sense of 'fold, times.' It is found in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* in the still earlier sense of 'string' or 'thread'. In the *Śaṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* xxvi. 4 it is used in the sense of 'auxiliary act' and in the *Śrauta sūtras* it means a 'secondary element, subordinate or unessential part of any action.'

In its technical sense the word is met with first in the *Nirukta*: शिव इति सुखनाम । शिष्यते वकारो नामकरणः । अन्तस्थान्तरोपलिङ्गी विभाषितगुणः । शिवमित्यप्यस्य भवति । x. 27.

The word *śeva* means happiness. The suffix 'va' has been added to the root 'śiṣ.' It replaces the final of the root and causes *guṇa* optionally. *Śiva* is derived from the same root with the same suffix.

Sanskrit grammarians of most schools use the term *guṇa*

* गुणागमात् एकारागमात् एतन्भूतम् इतन इति तत् पदम् । उवटः ।

which, in the 19th century, became practically international. Bearing in mind Pāṇini's rule *adeṇ guṇaḥ* i. 1.2 Candra uses *adeṇ* for *guṇa*. Thus for Pāṇini's *ād guṇaḥ* .vi 1.87 Candra has *ād adeṇ* v. 1.82 and for Pāṇini's *ato guṇe* Candra has *ato'deṇ* v. 1.101. Jainendra uses *ep* for *guṇa*, taking the *guṇa* vowel *e* and adding a euphonic *p* to it. Śākaṭāyana does not use any technical term corresponding to *guṇa*, but the *pratyāhāra* *eṇ* along with *ar* is pressed into service. Cf. *ikyeṇar* i. 1.82 *juspakyeṇar* iv. 2.16. The *Mugdhabodha* tries to improve on Jainendra by taking the consonant of the second syllable and the vowel of the first and calling it *nu*. The *Harināmāmṛta* takes the initial consonant of *guṇa* and uses the name of Kṛṣṇa beginning with *g*, viz., *Govinda*.

P. अदेङ् गुणः i. 1. 2.

K. अर्पूर्वे द्वे सन्ध्यक्षरे च गुणः iv 4. 31.

J. अदेङेप् i. 1. 1.

Hc. गुणोऽरेदोत् iii. 3 2.

SK. अदेङ् गुणः i. 1 81.

Sam. इक एङरलो गुणः i. 69.

Mu. इङोऽरलेङ् णुः 8.

Su. एङरलो गुण इकः i. 1. 21.

PR. इग्-युग्मानां गुणा ए ओ अरलः स्युरनुक्रमात् i 34.

गुण आमन्त्रणाध्यासगुणनेषु । अदन्तचुरादिः । गुणनानि गुणाः । गूढप्रकाशिका ।

HN. इद्वयस्य ए, उद्वयस्य ओ, ऋद्वयस्य अर्, ॠद्वयस्य अल् गोविन्दसंज्ञो गुणसंज्ञश्च 1. 180.

Guṇa is sometimes used by poets also in this sense. Thus there is the well-known stanza :

तात वाभट मा रोदीः कर्मणां गतिरोदृशी ।

दुषधातोर्वास्माकं दोषसम्पत्तये गुणाः ॥

The celebrated scholar Vābhata, it is said, had a very beautiful and accomplished daughter. Seeing her straying from the path of virtue, the learned scholar remonstrated with her. Remonstrances proving unavailing, he began to weep bitterly. At this the daughter said, "Father Vābhata, do not weep. Such is the course of action. Our virtues lead to vice, exactly as in the case of the root 'duṣ', 'guṇa' turns it into 'doṣa' (fault, vice)."

असंशयं सा गुणदीर्घभावकृतां दधाना विततिं यदीया ।

विधायिका शब्दपरम्पराणां किञ्चारचि व्याकरणेन काञ्ची ॥

नैषध १०।११

गुणोऽपि नूनं दोषाय दुषिधातोः खलस्य च ।

सन्मार्गसिद्धये वृद्धिर्मृजेः साधुजनस्य च ॥

Vṛddhi.

Vṛddhi literally means 'growth, increase, extension' and is used of the lengthened grade vowels *ai* and *au* for their perceptible increase of moras* or for their increase over the normal vowels with *ā* or *guṇa* vowels with *a*. Vṛddhi is a much older word than *guṇa* and is found from RV. downwards. As a technical term, however, it does not occur in the Nirukta, nor in RP. or TP. It occurs in VP. at the end of each chapter in the form of *vṛddam vṛddhih*, but there it is used in the sense of prosperity. This Prātisākhya prescribes *ār* for *r* and *āl* for *l* in the sūtras : *āram ṛkāro'pṛktāt*,

* वृद्ध वृद्धाविति भावे क्तिनि वृत्त्यन्तेः । पदमञ्जरी ।

lkāraścālkāram iv. 60-61, but vṛddhi in its technical sense is found in taddhite caikākṣara-vṛddhāv .anihite v. 29. It is not found in CA. but the adjective form vṛddha occurs there in the sense of that which has undergone vṛddhi.

Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī begins with the word Vṛddhi, Sarvavarman's Kātantra, as it has come down to us, ends with Vṛddhi.* Sarvavarman stands alone among Sanskrit grammarians in not admitting ā into the category of Vṛddhi vowels. He thought that since ā was a dīrgha vowel the term Vṛddhi should be confined to *ai*, *au* and *ār*. In this Sarvavarman appears to be following the predecessors of Pāṇini. It is interesting to note that modern philologists agree with these ancient grammarians. Thus we find in Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for Students : The radical vowel, as a rule, takes Vṛddhi (*a* being lengthened) in the active [of the root aorist]. The corresponding rules in K. are : [अस्योपधाया दीर्घो वृद्धिर्नामिनामिनिचट्सु ।] सिचि परस्मै स्वरान्तानाम् । व्यञ्जनान्तानामनिटाम् । अस्य च दीर्घः । ४।२।५-८

RT. appears to use "dvivarna" for "vṛddhi" in the rule "sandhyaṃ dvivarnaṃ" 95 (sandhyakṣaram dvivarnaṃ āpadyate—Vṛtti). In the Āpiśali-Sikṣā the Sandhyakṣaras are described as "dvivarna"—"dvivarnaṃ sandhyakṣaram". In the Puṣpasūtra and its commentary Vṛddhi is used in the sense of Pluta also, and the root *vṛdh* is used in the sense of 'to become prolated'.

The Kātantra uses the term in the chapter on Ākhyāta and defines it at the end of the chapter.

* वृद्धिरादैच् । पा ४।२।५ । आकृते च वृद्धिः । का ४।२।३५

Of the lesser grammarians J. alone follows Pāṇini. K. and others regard *a*, *o*, *ar* and *al* as Guṇas.

Candra uses ādaic for vṛddhi taking the hint from Pāṇini's rule. vṛddhir ādaic i. 1.1.

Śākaṭāyana uses āraic every time. Cf. āraijādyacah iv. 2.132.

Jainendra uses aip taking the vṛddhi vowel *ai* and adding a euphonic *p* to it. In most systems of grammar, however, *aip* is the ending for the imperative first person singular Ātmanepada.

Hemacandra defines vṛddhi in the third section of the third chapter of his grammar, consequently he uses this technical term only in the subsequent portions of the work.

Vopadeva takes the first syllable *vṛ*, adds the euphonic *i* to it and forms *vri*. Was *r* pronounced as *ri* in Vopadeva's time?

The Harināmāmṛta, as usual, takes the first syllable and forms a name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with it. Thus for vṛddhi it has Vṛṣṇindra.

The other systems follow Pāṇini and use vṛddhi.

P. वृद्धिरादैच् i. 1. 1, SK. i. 82.

K. आर् उत्तरे च वृद्धिः iv. 4. 35.

J. आदैगैप् i. 1. 16.

Hc. वृद्धिरादैदौत् iii. 3. 1.

Sam. वृद्धिरादैजारालैचोऽन्तः i. 1.

Mu. अच आरालैज् त्रिः

Su. वृद्धिरादैजारालोऽक ऐजेचश्च i. 1. 21.

PR. आ ऐ औ आर् आल् ऐ औ स्वरयुग्मेषु वृद्धयः i. 35.

वर्धनानि वृद्धयः । गूढप्रकाशिका ।

HN. अद्वयस्य आ, इद्वयस्य ऐ, उद्वयस्य औ, ऋद्वयस्य आर्, लृद्वयस्य आल् वृष्णोन्द्रसंज्ञो वृद्धिसंज्ञश्च i. 191.

A poet uses the technical terms *guṇa* and *ṛddhi* in the following stanza quoted in the *Kāvya-Prakāśa* :

दीधीवेवीदूस्मः कश्चिद् गुणवृद्धयोरभाजनम् ।
क्विवप्प्रत्ययनिभः कश्चिद् यत्न सन्निहिते न ते ॥

On being asked about his impressions about the character of the inhabitants of a country, a visitor said, 'Some are devoid of qualities and prosperity, even as the roots 'dīdhī' and 'vevī' and the union-vowel 'i' do not admit of *guṇa* and *ṛddhi* (acc. to *dīdhī-vevīṭām* P. i. 1. 6); some who are strangers to good qualities and prosperity are like the suffix 'kvip' (of which nothing remains, acc. to "ver apr̥ktasya" P. vi. 1. 67).

Aśvaghoṣa uses the word *ṛddhi* in the following stanza of his *Saundarananda* (xii. 9) :

बभूव स हि संवेगः श्रेयसस्तस्य वृद्धये ।
धानुरेधिरिवाख्याते पठितोऽक्षरचिन्तकैः ॥

'That perturbation of his was conducive to the growth of his well-being like the root *edh* read in the *Ākhyāta* section by syllable-grinders i.e. grammarians.'

The root *edh* is read in the *Dhātupāṭha* in the sense of 'ṛddhi', and acc. to Pāṇini's rule "etyedhatyūṭsu" vi. 1. 89 the 'e' of 'edh' contracts with the final 'a' or 'ā' of a preceding preposition into the *ṛddhi* vowel 'ai'.

Samprasāraṇa.

Samprasāraṇa literally means spreading out fully, extension, distraction. The idea is that *ya*, *va*, *ra* and *la* contain *i*, *u*,

r and *l* in a condensed form : when they are fully spread out and *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* make their appearance, the phenomenon is known as *samprasāraṇa*. *Sam-pra-sṛ* causative is used in the *Samhitās* of the *Yajurveda* in the sense of 'stretching or spreading out' and in the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* in the sense of 'drawing asunder'.

It will be noticed that two distinct views are held by Sanskrit grammarians. Acc. to Pāṇini and K., the change of *y*, *v*, *r* and *l* into *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* is *Samprasāraṇa*. Acc. to others the change of the semi-vowels *along with the following vowels* into *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* constitutes *Samprasāraṇa*.

It would appear from the derivation of "iṣṭi" in AB. i. 2. 1 that the author was unacquainted with the phenomenon of *Samprasāraṇa*, since he derives "iṣṭi" in the sense of *yāga* from the root *iṣ*, and not from the root *yaj*. But it must be remembered that the authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* were intent on showing some connexion between the name of the sacrifice and the result of the sacrifice* and consequently they often deliberately resorted to fanciful etymologies. So it would not be safe to draw any conclusion from the etymologies found scattered in the *Brāhmaṇas*.

Prasāraṇa is generally used in the *Vārttikas* in the sense of 'samprasāraṇa'. *Vyāghrabhūti* also uses *prasāraṇa* in his *anīṭ-kārikās* : वसिश्च सान्तेषु वसिः प्रसारणी (Kāśikā on vii. 2.10) but that may be due to the exigencies of metre. It is also found in CA. iv. 37 Com.

* यज्ञो वै देवेभ्य उदक्रामत्, तमिष्टिभिः प्रैषमैच्छन्, यदिष्टिभिः प्रैषमैच्छत्सदिष्टीनामिष्टित्वम् ।

See *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 77.

The Sāmatantra uses the technical term *nu* for samprasāraṇa, taking the *ṇ* of samprasāraṇa, changing it into *n* because of the absence of *r* or with a view to making it look more like an arbitrary term* and adding a euphonic *u* to round it off.

The Kātantra uses samprasāraṇa in the Ākhyāta-section though in the Nāma-section it studiously refrains from using the technical term. Cf. *caturō vā-śabdasyotvam* ii. 2. 41; *anaḍuhaś ca* ii. 2. 42, *aghuṭ-svarāḍau seṭkasyāpi vanser va-śabdasyotvam* ii. 2. 46, *śva-yuva-maghonām ca* ii. 2. 47 etc. In the fourth section of the third chapter samprasāraṇa is used and it is defined in the last section of the fourth chapter, but commentators are at a loss to explain the high-sounding word. The last but two rule in the Ākhyāta-section is “samprasāraṇam yvṛto’antasthānimittah” i.e., *i n* and *r* originating from semi-vowels are known as samprasāraṇa.

Candra takes the hint from Pāṇini’s rule *ig yaṇah samprasāraṇam* i. 1. 45 and uses *igyaṇah* for samprasāraṇa. This is not only self-explanatory but also shorter. Thus for Pāṇini’s *ṣyaṇah samprasāraṇam putra-patyos tatpuruṣe* vi. 1.13 Candra has *ṣyaṇah pradhānasya putrapatyoh svayor ig yaṇah* v. 1. 19. Sometimes other devices are also resorted to. Thus for Pāṇini’s *vasoh samprasāraṇam* vi. 4. 131 Candra has *vasor*

* Cf. परीक्षप्रिया वै देवाः AB.

Cf. Plato’s *Cratylus* 414c : You must remember that all languages are in a process of disguise or transition ; and letters are taken out or put in at pleasure, and twisted and twisted about in the lapse of ages—sometimes for the sake of euphony.

va ut v. 3. 128. Candra here took the hint from Pāṇini's rule
diva ut* vi. 1. 131.

Jainendra is fond of monosyllabic technical terms, but in this case he thinks that sufficient brevity will be secured by substituting *ik* for *sâc yaṇ* and that a new technical term would involve prolixity. Thus we find *liṭig yaṇah sâco'r-yyājyām* iv. 3. 17 corresponding to Pāṇini's *liṭy abhyāsa-syobhayeṣām* vi. 1.17.

Sākaṭāyana follows *Jainendra*.

Hemacandra uses *yvṛt* in *yajādi-vaś-vacah sasvarāntasthā yvṛt* iv. 1. 72 and explains it thus in his *Bṛhad-vṛtti* on *yvṛt sakṛt* iv. 1. 102 : *yvṛd ity antasthā-sthānikānām ikāro-kāra-ṛkāraṇām śāstre'smin vyavahārah*.

Vopadeva uses *ji* with the *y* of *yaṇ* and *i* of *ik* clearly showing that *y* etc. are changed into *i* etc., only *y* is here changed into *j*. It is just possible that in the days of *Vopadeva* initial *y* was pronounced like *j*.†

The *Samkṣiptasāra* and *Supadma* also follow the lead of *Jainendra*. Cf. *vaśāder uśādih Sam. ii. 257, vaci-svapi-yajādeh sâco yaṇa ik kiti Su. iii. 3.134, ijjādir yajādeh Sam. ii. 583, adādi-vac-svapor uc-supoh Sam. ii. 584, vasoh sâco va ut Su. ii. 3. 124 etc.*

The *Samkṣiptasāra* uses *asamprasāraṇa* only once in the

* In the case of *kvasu*, the reduction takes place before weak endings, hence Pāṇini uses the word 'samprasāraṇam'. In the case of *div* the reduction takes place before middle endings, hence Pāṇini uses *ut* instead of 'samprasāraṇam'.

† पादादौ च पदादौ च संयोगावयवेषु च ।

जः शब्द इति विज्ञेयो योऽन्तः स य इति श्रुतः ॥ लश्वमीशानन्दिनी शिवा ।

rule avād yajo'samprasāraṇaṃ ca iii. 68 on which the commentator Goyicandra remarks :—असम्प्रसारणञ्चेति पाणिनीय-
लिपिकरस्यासम्प्रसारणमिति स्वसंज्ञाभावितबुद्धेः प्रमादः, तस्मात्
अवाद् यजो नैजाद्यादेशश्चेति लक्षणम् ।

The Prayogaratnamālā uses samprasāraṇa.

The Harināmāmṛta uses Saṅkaraṣaṇa, the name of Balarāma beginning with sam and approximating in sound to sampra-
sāraṇa.

Yāska understood the phenomenon of samprasāraṇa, but does not use any technical term for it. Thus he says :
तद् यत्र स्वरादन्तरान्तस्थान्तर्धातुर्भवति तद् द्विप्रकृतीनां स्थानमिति
प्रदिशन्ति । ii. 2*

Of the Prāṭiśākhya CA. or its commentary† uses the word prasāraṇa in the sense of samprasāraṇa, but here again the metre may have something to do with the dropping of the sam :

यदा प्रसारणं तस्य पदत्वं नेष्यते तदा ।

पूर्वेणावग्रहः सिद्धो यतस्तज्जायते पदम् ॥

In APr. prasāraṇa- is used evidently in the sense of 'spreading out'. Thus the absence of the change of *d* into *dh* is spoken of as prasāraṇa in the rule prasāraṇaṃ dipsatīty

* अतः परं सम्प्रसारणचिन्ता वर्तिष्यते तदर्थमिदमारभ्यते—तद् यवेति । सम्प्रसार्य-
प्रकृतयश्चासम्प्रसार्य-प्रकृतयश्चोभयप्रकृतयश्च धातवः ।... 'यत्' यस्मिन् धातौ 'स्वरात्' अकारादेः
'अन्तरा' अन्तर्हिता अनेन व्यञ्जनेन, परा वा पूर्वा वा, 'अन्तस्था' यस्त्वानामन्त्यतो वर्षः
'अन्तर्धातु' धातुमधो भवति 'तद्' धातुरूपं द्विप्रकृतीनां द्विस्वभावनां शब्दानां 'स्थानम्' आश्रयं
'इति' एवम् आचार्याः 'प्रदिशन्ति' प्रविभागेनोपदिशन्ति । तद् यथा—यज देवपूजा-सङ्गतिकरण-
दानेषु इति । अत्र हे शब्द-प्रकृतौ भवतः । सम्प्रसारणपक्षे तावत् 'इष्टवान्' 'इष्टिः' 'इष्टयः'—
एताः शब्दप्रकृतयो भवन्ति ; असम्प्रसारणपक्षे पुनः 'यष्टा' 'यष्टुम्' 'यष्टव्यम्' इत्येताः । दुर्गः ।

† Acc. to some what was regarded as the com. by Whitney forms a part of the text.

ādyacaturtha-pratiṣedhe 153c. The first syllable of dipsati undergoes prasāraṇa in that the first letter i.e. *d* is not changed into the fourth letter of the varga i.e. *dh*. Dr. Suryakanta, however, explains *prasāraṇa* as contraction and translates the rule thus : *prasāraṇa* takes place in dipsati, the fourth (bh) is negated (replaced) by the first (p). In 217 m., however, *prasārin* is used in the sense of that which undergoes *samprasāraṇa* or reduction :

अनुदितामुदिता ससमुद्यमुद्यमानमुदिता प्रसारिणा ।

Both *samprasāraṇa* and *prasāraṇa* are found in the vārttikas as also in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus under āto'nu-pasarge kah iii. 2. 3 there are the Vārttikas : ka-vidhau sarvatra prasāraṇibhyo ḍah and ke hi samprasāraṇa-prasaṅgah and at the end of the Bhāṣya on the same rule we find :

नित्यं प्रसारणम् ।

In the Bhāṣya on bandhuni bahuvrīhau vi. 1. 14 we find : mātaj-mātrka-mātrṣu syaṇ prasāryo vibhāṣayā which appears to be a part of a śloka-vārttika. Again in a śloka-vārttika under iv. 1.78 we find :

तथा प्रसार्येत तु वाक्पतिस्ते which is explained thus by Patañjali : **तथा सति वाक्पतिः वाक्पुत्रः इत्यत्र प्रसारणं प्राप्नोति ।**

Again under iii. 2.178.2 Patañjali says :

अपर आह—वचिप्रच्छयोरसम्प्रसारणं चेति वक्तव्यम् । तत् तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । दीर्घचनसामर्थ्यात् प्रसारणं भविष्यति ।

The term *samprasāraṇa* is found in the Uṇādi-sūtra also : syandeh samprasāraṇam dhaś ca i. 12, prathi-mradi-bhrasjām samprasāraṇam sa-lopaś ca i. 29 etc. In pader nit *samprasāraṇam* al-lopaś ca iii 80 *samprasāraṇa* appears to be

used in a slightly different sense, for in Sanskrit grammar it is generally used when *r* followed by a vowel is changed into *r*.

P. इग् यणः सम्प्रसारणम् i. 1. 45.

K. सम्प्रसारणं ऋतोऽन्तस्थानिमित्तः iv. 4. 33.

Hc. ऋदित्यन्तस्थानिकानामिकारोकारऋकाराणां शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् व्यवहारः । Brhadvṛtti on ऋत् सकृत् iv. 1. 102.

Mu. यलोऽचेग् जिः 536.

PR. स्वरयुग् यवरस्थानमिदुदृत् सम्प्रसारणम् i. 36.

HN. सपर-सर्वेश्वर-यवराणामि-उ-ऋ-रामादेशः सङ्कर्षणसंज्ञः i. 602.

VRDDHA

The technical term Vṛddha means that which contains a vṛddhi vowel in its first syllable and is used in this sense by Pāṇini. Thus words of which the vowel in the first syllable is *ā*, *ai* or *au* are vṛddha. In RT. vṛddha is used in the sense of pluta or prolated vowel : tisro vṛddham RT. 46. Some predecessors of Pāṇini used "vṛddha" in the sense of Pāṇini's "gotra". "Vṛddha-śabdah pūrvācārya-samjñā gotra-sya," says the Kāśikā on "vṛddho yūnā tal-lakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣah" i. 2.65, and under iv. 1.166 quotes a rule from an ancient work on grammar : "apatyam antarhitam vṛddham" corresponding to Pāṇini's "apatyam pautraprabhṛti gotram", iv. 1.162. Hemacandra also uses "vṛddha" in this sense.

Candra cannot use vṛddhi, so vṛddha also is taboo to him, so for vṛddha he has to use ādaijādyac. Thus for

Pāṇini's "udicām vṛddhād agotrāt" iv. 1.157, Candra has "agotrād ādaijādyacah" ii. 4.90.

Śāntanavācārya uses "Yamanvā" for "vṛddha" in his *Phīṣūtra*.

Jainendra uses "du" for "vṛddha." Śākaṭāyana and Hemacandra follow Jainendra. "Du" is evidently formed by taking "d" from the last syllable of "vṛddha" and adding "u" to round it off. Śākaṭāyana would appear to connect "du" with "Devadatta."

Sam. avoids the term vṛddha by using ādisthaijāt. Thus for Pāṇini's "avṛddhābhyo nadī-mānuṣibhyas tannā-mikābhyah" iv. 1.113 and "nityam vṛddha-śarādibhyah" iv. 3.144, Sam. has "anādisthaijāto nadī-manuṣī-nāmnah" iv. 201 and "ādisthaijād-ekāc-śarāder abhakṣyavastrayoh" iv. 591 and so on.

Similarly Su. prefers using vṛddhādyac to having a new technical term vṛddha. Thus for "udicām vṛddhād agotrāt" iv. 1.157 Su. has "vṛddhyādyaco" gotrāt v. 2.107.

Since HN. uses "Vṛṣṇīndra" for "vṛddhi," its term for "vṛddha" is naturally "ādivṛṣṇīndra."

In CA. also vṛddha is used in this technical sense. Thus we have the rule "vṛddhenaikākṣareṇa svarāntena" iv. 55 on which the commentator says :

avagrhyāt svarād yas tu taddhito vṛddhimān bhavet ekajvṛddhi-svarānteṣu na caivāvagraho bhavet.

P. vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham. eṇ prācām deṣe. tyadādīni-ca. i. 1.73-75.

J. yasyākṣvādyaiḥ duh. deṣa evaiṇ śaiṣike. prāg deṣe. tyadādīh. vā khoh i. 1.83-87,

Sāk. nāma duḥ. tyadādiḥ. yasyākṣvādir ādaic. deśa evaiṇ chādaḥ. prāgdeśe. i. 1.17-21.

Hc. saṃjñā dur vā. tyadādiḥ. vṛddhir yasya svareṣ-
vādiḥ. edod deśa eveyādaḥ. prāgdeśe. vi. 1. 6-10.

PR. tyadādi-vṛddhy-ākārādi-svarā vṛddhāḥ pare tu
vā. vṛddha-saṃjñakāḥ i. 1177.

HN. ā-ai-au-rāmā yasyādi-sarveśvarāḥ sa ādivṛṣṇī-
ndrasaṃjñāḥ, tad-yad-ādayaś ca. vṛddha-saṃjñā ityanye.
Vṛtti on Taddhita 263.

The following well-known stanza containing 'vṛddha' is
found in works on Subhāṣita :

“सर्वस्य द्वे” जगति नियते सम्पदापञ्च जन्तोर्
“वृद्धो यूना” सह परिचयात् त्यज्यते कामिनीभिः ।
“एको गोत्रे” भवति पुरुषः सम्पदामाश्रयो यः
“स्त्री पुंवश्च” प्रभवति यदा विद्धि गेहं प्रनष्टम् ॥*

“Each has double”—prosperity and adversity are the
inevitable lot of every creature.

“The elder, when with the younger”—young maids get
friendly, is left in the lurch.

“One in a family”—there is only one such and he is
the one who is prosperous.

“Feminine like masculine”—when this begins, know the
house is ruined.

* This is a Samasyāpūraṇa with Pāṇini viii. 1. 1 ; i. 2. 65 ; iv.
1. 93 ; i. 2. 66. S R B reads the first half thus :

सर्वस्य द्वे सुमतिक्रमती सम्पदापत्तिहेतु
एको गोत्रे प्रभवति पुमान् यः कुटुम्बं विभर्ति ।

Then it reads our *b* and *d* in which it has *taddhi* for *viddhi*.

BHŪTA-KARAṆA

Bhūta-karaṇa is a very apt name given to the augment in the Prātiśākhya of AV. and in K. In the original Indo-European language the so-called tenses had no time-signification. They only denoted differences in the aspect of the action. The augment* was prefixed to the Imperfect, Pluperfect, Aorist and Conditional to express past time. This is why it is called "Bhūta-karaṇa" (lit. maker of past sense or past tenses) in Sanskrit grammar.

Philologists distinguish between two classes of augments. When in the parent language, it was prefixed to a verb beginning with a consonant and formed a syllable by itself, it is called the syllabic augment, e.g., I. E.* *e-bher-e-t*, Skt. *a-bhar-a-t*, Gk. *e-pher-e*, Arm. *e-ber*. This is "aṭ" in Pāṇini (luṇ-laṇ-lṛṇ-kṣvaḍ udāttaḥ vi. 4.71).

When the augment was contracted with the initial vowel of the verb, it is known as the temporal augment. Thus I. E.* *ēsṃ* (*e-es-m*), Skt. *āsam* (*a-as-am*), Gk. *ēa* (*e-es-m*). This is "āt" acc. to Pāṇini (āḍ ajādīnām vi. 4. 72).

It will be noticed that Bhūta-karaṇa is the common name for both these varieties of augment.

Bopp identified the augment with the privative particle "a" by which *elūsa* was thought to have come to mean 'I loosed once', because it started with the meaning 'I am not loosing now'. Bopp's opponents naturally asked how it was

* The augment is found in Sanskrit, Avesta, Greek, Armenian and Phrygian. It has disappeared from Latin and other I. E. languages,

possible to believe that when primitive man wished to say 'I have seen', he said, 'I do not see now'.

Mādhava says in his *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* :

लुङ्-लङ्-लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तो यः स भूतार्थस्य वाचकः ।

वाचकान् प्रत्ययानाहुस्तत्राकारं स्फुटं वदेत् ॥ १।११३।१

CA. bhūtakaraṇasya ca iii. 49.

And (the a) of the augment (with the initial *r* short or long of a root becomes *ār*).

APr. has "bhūta-kara" for "bhūta-karaṇa." Here, we find *dur-dvayayor bhūta-karasya lopah* 49c. i.e., in the two 'dur's the augment has been elided.

K. bhūtakaraṇa-vatyaś ca ii. I. 14.

'The (three) tenses with the augment are used to denote past time.'

The *Vṛtti* on this rule runs thus : *bhūtah kālah karaṇam, tad vidyate yāsām iti pārīṣeṣyād hyastanyadytanī-kriyāti-pattaya eva rūḍhāh. etā bhūtakaraṇa-vatyas tisro vibhaktayo' tīte kāle bhavanti. akarot, akārṣīt, akariṣyat.*

The dissolution of the compound as a *Karmadhāraya* would go to show, that the meaning of the word had already become obscure by the time of the *Vṛtti-kāra*. It will also be noticed that the author of the *Vṛtti* uses "vibhakti" in the sense of "lakāra" of the Pāṇinian system.

SARVANĀMASTHĀNA, PADĀ AND BHA

Indian grammarians were familiar with the distinction between strong, middle and weak endings in the declension of nominal stems from a very early period. In the *Aṣṭā-*

dhyāi the strong endings -su, -au, -jas, -am, -au in the case of masculine and feminine stems and -jas and -śas in the case of neuter ones are designated Sarvanāmasthāna. For the middle^c and weak endings there are no special names, but a stem is termed pada before the middle endings (-bhyām, -bhis, -bhyas and -sup) and bha before the weak endings (-śas, -tā, -ne, -nāsi, nās, -os and -ni). We shall deal with these terms one by one.

Sarvanāmasthāna.

Next to Karmapravacanīya, Sarvanāmasthāna is the longest technical term in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Annotators and commentators of the Pāṇini school have been hard put to it to find a rational explanation of this sesquipedalian word and they can put forward no acceptable reason for the use of the word by Pāṇini who often uses monosyllabic technical terms like ṭi, ghu, bha etc. Thus the Nyāsa says :

पूर्वाचार्यैरेवेयं प्रयोजनमन्तरेण महती संज्ञा प्रणीता । तस्या इह समाश्रयणं यत् तत् तत्कृतस्य शब्दानुशासनस्य शास्त्रस्य दोषवत्त्व-
सूचनार्थम्, तत् पुनः स्वशास्त्रस्य पुनरुक्ततादोषपरिहारार्थम् । यदि हि तदोषवद् भवति, एवमस्य प्रणयनं युज्यते, नान्यथा ।

‘It is the ancient teachers who have coined this big technical term for no reason whatsoever. The use of the term in this work is to show the defective character of the grammars composed by them. And that is done to show that our author’s work is not superfluous, for if the previous works are defective then only is the composition of a new treatise on the subject justified, not otherwise.’

Haradatta in his Padamañjarī quotes the correct views of his predecessors and yet fails to see the point. Following in the footsteps of Jinendrabuddhi he says :

अतः संज्ञा तावत् कर्तव्या । किमर्थं तु महती क्रियते ? केचि-
दाहुः—सर्वं नाम तिष्ठत्यस्मिन्निति सर्वनामस्थानम् । नाम प्राति-
पदिकम् । सर्वशब्दोऽवयवकार्तृस्त्यपरः । सर्वावयवयुक्तं यत्त नाम
तिष्ठतीत्यर्थः । तेनान्यन्न न्यूनं नाम तिष्ठतीत्यर्थो गम्यते । किं
सिद्धं भवति ? उपेयुष इत्यादौ सम्प्रसारणे कृते पूर्वकृतस्येदो
निवृत्तिः सिद्धा भवति, अन्यथा निवृत्तिकारणाभावादवतिष्ठेतेति ।
एवं तु कस्मिन् प्रातिपदिके किं न्यूनमिति न ज्ञायेत । तस्मात्
पूर्वाचार्यानुपालब्धुमेषा महती संज्ञा क्रियते । Padamañjarī, Vol. I,
pp. 88-89.

‘Thus it is established that a technical term has to be coined. But why is such a big one framed ? Some say : the whole Nāman remains in it, so it is named Sarvanāmas-
thāna. Nāman means Prātipadika or stem, sarva denotes the entirety of the parts. So the meaning is : where the stem remains with all the parts intact, the implied sense being that before other endings the stem suffers loss or reduction in some of its parts. What purpose does this serve ? When there is Samprasāraṇa in words like upeyuṣah, the disappearance of the *i* that has been already brought in is effected (because of the implied sense). Otherwise (if the term Sarvanāmasthāna were not used and consequently if the implied sense were absent) because of the absence of any ground for disappearance it would remain. Even so it is not possible to know what is wanting in what Prātipadika. So this big technical term has been framed to rebuke the older Ācāryas.’

The author of the *Prakriyāsarvasva* mentions the view of Haradatta :

सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञा कृत्स्नशब्दस्थितेरिह ।
शिसुटोः खल्वलोपादिर्न दास्ना *पपुषेतिवत् ।
पूर्वाचार्योपहासार्थं तद् वैफल्याद्भरोऽब्रवीत् ॥

'The endings are designated *Sarvanāmasthāna*, because the entire word (*Sarvanāman*) remains here. Before -*śi* and -*suṭ* syncopation etc. do not take place as in the case of '*dāmnā*' and '*papuṣā*' there is the elision of the 'i' of '*papivas*' and the reduction of '*va*' to '*u*'). Haradatta said that the term was used for holding up the older grammarians to ridicule, as no useful purpose was served by it.'

Bhaṭṭoji in his *Śābdakaustubha* is unable to explain the significance of the name and contents himself with the remark : *mahāsaṃjñākaraṇaṃ pūrvācaryānurodhād* 'the formulation of the big technical term is out of deference to older grammarians'.

Nāgeśa remarks rightly under "is-usoh sāmāthyē" S. K. 158 :

अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्निवृषु इति सूत्रं व्याकरणान्तररीत्यैष, सर्वनाम-
स्थानमिति महासंज्ञावत् ।

Sṛṣṭidhara, a Bengali grammarian of the 17th century, gives very nearly the correct explanation—the explanation rejected by Haradatta—in his commentary on the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* :

सर्वनामस्थानमिति महती संज्ञा--सर्वेषां नाम्नां प्रातिपदिकानां

* The Madras edition from which this extract is taken reads '*vapuṣetivat*' which is evidently due to the similarity of 'p' and 'b' or 'v' in several South Indian scripts.

स्यामिहेति—अत्र हि सर्वाण्येव प्रातिपदिकानि स्वरूपेणैवावतिष्ठन्ते, शसादिषु तु भत्व-पदत्वादभिर्विकृतानि भवन्तीति बोधयति ।

'The big term Sarvanāmasthāna is used, the sense being there is room for all the Prātipadikas here. All the Prātipadikas retain their forms intact in the case of these endings. Before -śas etc. they undergo syncopation etc. on account of their becoming bha, pada etc.'

The explanation rejected by Haradatta is to be preferred to that of Sṛṣṭidhara, since that does away with the necessity of vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi and is moreover the more apt and more natural explanation. But the above two explanations which ultimately amount to the same thing have not found favour with the grammarians of the Pāṇini school, because in the artificial system of Pāṇini the suffixes postulated by older grammarians were discarded in favour of what were considered simpler or more conducive to brevity (lāghava). According to the predecessors of Pāṇini comparatives are formed with īyans which is retained in the strong cases but suffers the loss of the nasal before the weak and middle endings. Similarly perfect and present participles were formed with -vans and -ant respectively. Pāṇini, however, found that these full forms occur only in five cases, whereas the reduced forms occur in the remaining sixteen cases, so he postulated the suffixes as -īyas, -vaś, -at etc. to secure lāghava (brevity) and prescribed a *n* as āgama in the strong cases of the stems. So it is not possible for the grammarians of the Pāṇini school to realise fully how the full form suffered reduction or weakening before the middle and weak endings and how it was retained before the strong endings. One really

expected Pāṇini to use the monosyllabic pratyāhāra *suṭ* for the strong endings. But the Acc. pl. of the neuter stood in his way and moreover '*suṭ*' is an augment in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

The Prātiśakhyas of AV. use the term *Pañcapadī* for the strong cases, because they comprise the first five endings.

vasvantasya pañcapadyām CA. i. 88.*

oṣadher apañcapadyām CA. iii. 5.

antahpade'pi pañcapadyām CA. iii. 59.

cakṣuṣam iti pañcapadyām APr. iii. 1. 13b

catvāri kṣaiprāś ca pañcapadyām antodāttādinyāyāt
Apr. i. 14.

The Kātantra school, ever unwilling to sacrifice simplicity to brevity, reads *-īyansu*, *-vansu* and *-śanṭrñ* for *-īyasun*, *-kvasu* and *-śaṭr* of the Pāṇini school, so the technical term *sarvanāmasthāna* is significant in the treatises of this school, yet by a curious irony of fate, this school, though preserving the ancient self-explanatory terms in most cases, has substituted the meaningless *ghut* (*pañcādaḥ ghut*) in this particular case, though it has retained the corresponding term *sārvadhātuka* in the Ākhyāta-section and uses also *guṇavṛddhisthāna* in Ākhyāta 148. '*Ghut*' is evidently coined after the pratyāhāra '*suṭ*' of the Pāṇini school. *Gh* was probably put in at the beginning as being the fourth consonant of the first varga even as *sarvanāmasthāna* comprises the first four vibhaktis, counting the two '*au*'s as one, '*ghuṭ*' comprising the four case-endings *-su*, *-au*, *-jas* and *-am*.

* It is worthy of note that CA. names the suffix *-vasu* and not *-vansu*.

With the "ghuṭ" of K. cf. Nārādī ikṣā vii. 16 :

द्विविधा गतिः पदान्तः स्थितसन्धिः सहोष्मभिः
पञ्चस्वेतेषु स्थानेषु विज्ञेयं घुटसंज्ञितम् ॥

Candra uses 'śi' and 'suṭ' for sarvanāmasthāna. Cf. "śi-suṭi" v. 3. 7 corresponding to Pāṇini's "sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau" vi. 4. 8.

Devanandin uses dha (śyanapsuṭ dham i. 1. 32). In the language of mathematics 'dhana' means *plus* and 'ṛṇa' *minus*. Since an additional element, *n* for instance, makes its appearance in many cases in the sarvanāmasthāna vibhaktis, "dha", the first syllable of "dhana", is used to denote them.

Śakaṭāyana uses 'śyanapsuṭ' throughout. Cf. śyanap suṭyan i. 2. 109.

Hemacandra and Puruṣottama follow K. and use 'ghuṭ'. Kramadīśvara uses 'suṭ'. Cf. suṭi vṛddhis tṛṇādeḥ vi. 58. On this Goyicandra says in his commentary :

सुडिति प्रथमैकवचनाद्यौर्पर्यन्तस्य ग्रहणमिति शास्त्रान्तरीयः
प्रत्याहारः । तस्यैवात्र ग्रहणम् । एतदेव सूचयितुमौट्टकारानुबन्धः
शास्त्रान्तर इवेहापि कृतः ।

Sār. uses caturṣu. Candrakīrti and others following Pāṇini and K. read 'pañcasu'. 'Caturṣu' is used in Sam. in the sense of sārva dhātuka for 'caturṣu lakāreṣu'.

Vopadeva uses 'ghi'. The 'gh' corresponds to 'caturṣu' of Sār. being the fourth consonant, *i* being added, as in the case of *ji*, for ease of utterance because "*kti*", the term for the generic word "vibhakti", ends in *i*, or the 'gh' might have been borrowed from 'ghuṭ' of K. Pāṇini uses 'ghi' in an altogether different sense. Since the nominative dual is iden-

tical' with the accusative dual in each and every case. Vopa-
deva with his hard clear intellect cannot bring himself to use
'au' for the one and 'auṭ' for the other.

Supadma compresses 'sarvanāmasthāna' into 'sādisthāna'
where 'sa' stands either for the Nominative singular ending or
for 'sarvanāman'. Viṣṇumiśra in his Supadma-makaranda
remarks :

niranvayeyaṃ saṃjñā. idam eva sarvanāmasthānam ityuk-
taṃ muninā i.e. this technical term is meaningless. This very
term has been designated 'sarvanāmasthāna' by the sage
(Pāṇini).

HN. uses Kṛṣṇasthāna for sarvanāmasthāna, just as it
uses Kṛṣṇanāman for sarvanāman and Kṛṣṇadhātuka for
Sārvadhātuka. Cf. Bhāgavata Purāṇa i. 3.28 :

एते चांशकलाः पुंसः कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम् ।

पा । शि सर्वनामस्थानम् । सुडनपुंसकस्य । १।१।४२-३

का । पञ्चादौ घुट् । जस्-शसौ नपुंसके । २।१।३४

जै । इयनपसुट् धम् । १।१।३२ (शि अ-नप्-सुट् । नप्
= नपुंसक ।)

हे । शिर्घुट् । पुंस्त्रियोः स्यमौजस् । १।१।२८-९ । स ।
जस्वच्छिः । ६।१००

मु । स्यमौजस् घिः । शिः क्लीबे । ८२-८३

सु । शिः सुट् चाक्लीबस्य सादिस्थानम् । २।३।६

प्र । घुटः स्यौजसमौ स्त्रीपुंसयोः स्युः । शिर्नपुंसके । २।१७८-९

ह । अव्रह्मपाण्डवाः शिश्च कृष्णस्थान-संज्ञाः । घुट्-संज्ञा इत्येके ।
सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञा इत्यन्ये । १।२२५

With the use of 'sthāna' in Sarvanāmasthāna we may

compare 'nivṛttisthāna' in the Nirukta and 'guṇa-vṛddhisthāna' in K.

Most of the purposes served by sarvanāmasthāna are served by suṭ, but suṭ is unfortunate for two reasons: first, there is the anubandha ṭ of au, secondly, there is the āgama suṭ.

Pada

In RV. Pada means a step. Thus Viṣṇu is said to have covered the three worlds with his three padas (trīṇi padā vi cakrame i. 22. 18) and we are often reminded of the "para-ma pada" or highest step (RV. i. 22. 20 etc.) of Viṣṇu. Now when each quarter of a stanza (or each third in the case of Gāyatrī stanzas and each fifth in the case of Pañktis) came to be regarded as a step to the expression of the full meaning of the stanza (pāde pāde samāpyante prayeṇārthā avāntarāḥ—Venkaṭamādhava on RV. vi. 8. 14) it came to be regarded as a pada (cf. arthah padam V.P. iii. 2). AB. speaks of "ekādaśākṣarāṇi padāni" i. 6 or verses consisting of eleven syllables.* AA. (ii. 2. 2) says: eṣa vai padam. eṣa hīmāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni pādi. sa yad imāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni pādi tasmāt padam. tasmāt padam ityācakṣata etam eva santam. "He is a quarter-verse, for he has entered all these beings. Because he has entered all these beings, he is a quarter-verse. Therefore they call him who is (prāṇa) a quarter-verse." When the seers proceeded still further in their

पदशब्दः पादशब्दसमानार्थकोऽकारान्तश्चन्दसि दृश्यते—"तस्याः सप्तचरमेकं पदम् ।" 'एकः पादः इत्यर्थः । Mahābhāṣya ed. Kielhorn II. 191. 26-27.

analysis and regarded each word composing a sentence as such a step, words came to be looked upon as padas. In the case of compounds the sense of each component helps to express the idea of the whole, so each component was regarded as a pada. In the case of certain suffixes and endings the base of a word behaves exactly as it does when it is used as the previous part of a compound, e.g., *vidvas* becomes *vidvad* before -bhyam, -bhis, -bhyas and -sup exactly as it becomes *vidvad* before *gaṇa*, *vṛnda* etc., so stems came to be regarded as padas before -bhyam, -bhis, -bhyas, -sup and taddhita suffixes beginning with consonants except y. Thus in the Pada-pāṭha of Śākalya not only are the words of the hymn taken separately, but compounds are often analysed into two component parts and single words into prakṛti and pratyaya, prātipadika and vibhakti.*

Every system of grammar with the exception of Mu. and HN. uses the term "pada". Even J., the guide of Vopadeva in the matter of technical terms, had not the temerity to shorten 'pada'. Vopadeva uses the second syllable 'da' for 'pada' and HN. prefixes the word Viṣṇu to it and changes it into Viṣṇupada. But centuries before Vopadeva, RT. and ST. had used 'da' for 'pada' (da mu RT. 68, de no mūrdhanyam 272. Vide Suryakanta, p. 36).

K. takes pains to define Pada at great length : pūrva-parayor arthopalabdihau padam i. 1. 20—a definition which combines the ancient definition "arthah padam" with the more modern one "vibhaktyantaṃ padam". As the Vṛtti explains : pūrva-parayoh prakṛti-vibhaktyor arthopalabdihau

* Cf. CA. iv 31-32 : bhir- bhyām-bhyām-bhyas-su. sau ca.

satyām samudāyah pada-samjño bhavati. The *Ṭikā* says : pūrva-parayoh samudāyah artha-pratipattihetuh padam. Su-
 ṣeṇa in his commentary on this rule mentions the different
 views : arthah padam āhur Aindrāh, vibhakyantaṃ padam
 āhur Āisaliyāh, sup-tiñ-antaṃ padam Pāṇinīyāh, ihārtho-
 palabdhau padam iti Vararucih. “vibhakyantaṃ padam”
 no doubt means exactly the same thing as “sup-tiñ-antaṃ
 padam,” still it serves to show that Āpiśali generally used
 the bigger technical terms and was probably unacquainted with
 the pratyāhāras *sup* and *tiñ*.

The reference to Vararuci is not clear. It appears to
 be an extract from Vararuci's *Vṛtti* on K.

According to commentators “parvan” is used in the
 sense of “pada” in VP. i. 138 : antareṇa parvaṇī. In the
 Nirukta and CA. iv. 77 “parvan” means ‘a member of a com-
 pound’.

Candra uses “pada” in “apādādaṃ padād ekavākye”
 vi. 3. 15 without defining it. The *Vṛtti* gives the orthodox
 explanation : padyate gamyate’ nenārtha iti padam.

Similarly Sam. uses the word though it does not define
 it. The middle endings -bhyām, -bhis, -bhyas and -sup it
 denotes by bhādi and the weak endings by śasādyac.

वा. प्रा । अर्थः पदम् । ३२ अक्षरसमुदायः पदम् । अक्षरं
 वा । ८।४३-४७

पा । सुप्रतिष्ठन्तं पदम् । नः क्ये । सिति च । स्वादिष्वसर्ध-
 नामस्थाने । १।४।१४-१७

का । पूर्वपपरयोरर्थोपलब्धौ पदम् । १।१।२०

कौ । घर्णसङ्घातः पदम् । २।१०।२८

जै । सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । नः क्ये । सिति । स्वादावधे ।
१।१।१६-११९

शा । सुङ् (सुप्+तिङ्) पदम् । नं क्ये । सिद्धल्यधातोः ।
न वृत्त्यन्तः । स्तं मत्वर्थे । मनुर्नभोऽङ्गिरो वति । १।१।६२-६७

हे । (स्त्यादिर्विभक्तिः १।१।१९) तदन्तं पदम् । नाम सिद्धाञ्जने ।
नं क्ये । न स्तं मत्वर्थे । मनुर्नभोऽङ्गिरो वति वृत्त्यन्त्योऽस्ये ।
१।१।२०-२५

सा । विभक्त्यन्तं पदं स्मृतम् । उपोद्घातः ।

स । सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । १।१०१ वृत्तिः ।

मु । क्यन्तान्यौ दली १४, दान्तवत् सभि ८४, अद्यच्ताच्चेप्
पिः १०१, न दं तसौ त्वस्त्यर्थे च । ४३२

सु । सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । नः क्येडौ । सुप्तद्धितेऽयचि । न
तसौ मत्वर्थे । वति नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषः । २।३।१-

प्र । ससुब्लिङ्ग-सतिङ्धात्वोरर्थानुभावकः पदम् । १।३३

ह । विष्णुभक्तिसिद्धं विष्णुपदम् । १।१५५

आलङ्कारिकाः । श्लोकपादं पदं केचित् सुप्तिङन्तमथापरे ।

परेऽवान्तरवाक्यैकस्वरूपं पदमूचिरे ॥

अर्थात् पदं स्वाभिधेयं पदाद् वाक्यार्थनिर्णयः ।

पदसङ्घातजं वाक्यं वर्णसङ्घातजं पदम् ॥ बृहद्देवता २।११७

वर्णसमुदायः पदम् । पदसमुदाय ऋक् । ऋक्समुदायः सूक्त-
मित्युच्यते । महाभाष्य २।१।२१

Bha.

The technical term "bha"* as the name of the stem before the weak endings is peculiar to Pāṇini, J. and Su.

*'Bha' is also a taddhita suffix in Pāṇini. It is added to "śam" to form the word "śambha" according to v. 2. 138.

'Bha' may be the first syllable of "bhan.ga" or "bhagna" because before weak endings the stem often undergoes reduction or syncopation. Or "bha" might have been suggested to the grammarians by the 'bha' found in -bhis, -bhyām and -bhyas, which are termed 'bhādi' by Kramadīśvara. Since in the case of these endings the prātipadika is regarded as a pada, "bha" came to denote the other class. Lucas a non lucenda! In RT. 'bha' stands for 'stobha'.

K. generally uses a-ghut-svarādi. Cf. "aghut-svare lopam" ii. 2. 37, "aghut-svarātau setkasyāpi vanser vaśabda- syotvam" ii. 2. 46, etc.

PR. follows K. Cf. "a-ghuṭsvareṣu dhātūnām ālopaḥ" ii. 216, "aghut-svareṣu lopy'ono'kārah saṃyugvamāsthitaḥ" ii. 329.

Candra uses "yac aśisuṭ" for Pāṇini's "bha". Cf. the adhikāra rule "yacy aśisuṭi" v. 3 126 for Pāṇini's "bhasya" vi. 4. 129.

Sam. generally uses "śasādyac": Cf. "śasādyacyato yugvamah" vi. 193, "dhātor āl-luk śasādyaci" vi. 49 etc. It has also the atideśa rule "taddhita-yācau śasādi" vi. 217.

HN. uses "Bhagavat" the name of God beginning with 'bha' for Pāṇini's "bha". It has a separate name Yadu for śasādi endings (śasādayo Yadu-saṃjñāḥ) and another Vṛṣṇi for the n.it endings n.e, n.asi, n.as and n.i (n.ito Vṛṣṇisaṃjñāḥ i. 181).

Mu. uses "pi" to cover most cases of "bha". "Pi" appears to have been formed with the 'p' of 'pada' with 'i' to round it off. "Pi" is thus defined by Vopadeva : aghyac tācyep pih 101 (which is thus explained in the Vṛtti : ghi-

varja-syāder ac ta-saṃjñāv ac-yakārau īp ca—ete pi-saṃjñāh syuh) i.e., the vowels of the case-terminations except the strong ones, the vowels and y of taddhita suffixes and the feminine suffix -ī are regarded as “pi”. It must be noted in this connection that in the system of Pāṇini the stem is designated ‘bha’ before these endings and suffixes, whereas in Mu. it is the endings and suffixes that are designated “pi”. It will be noticed that Mu. has three technical terms “pi”, “bhi”, and “ghi” for the case-endings. Vopadeva must have got the idea of “pi” from pada, that of “bhi” from either -bhyām, -bhis, bhiyas or from Pāṇini’s “bha”, and that of “ghi” from K’s “ghuṭ”.

“Bhi” is formed with the *bhi* contained in ‘bhyām’ and ‘bhis’ and denotes those endings and suffixes before which Pāṇini prescribes pada-saṃjñā. But Vopadeva’s definition of ‘bhi’ is peculiar. He says that the grammatical operations prescribed before *bhi* are to be understood as taking place when a consonant follows in the case of prātipadikas and when a consonant except nasals and semi-vowels follows in the case of roots. The influence of K. is clearly traceable here. In K. certain grammatical operations are prescribed in the section on declension before “virāma” and “vyañjana” (K. ii. 3. 44 ff). Many of these operations are prescribed before “dhuṭ” and “virāma” in the section on conjugation (iv. 2. 54 ff).

पा । यचि भम् । तसौ मत्वर्थे । अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि ।
१।४।१८-२०

जै । यचि भः । मनुर्नभोऽङ्गिरो वति । वृष्णोऽश्ववसौ ।
मत्वर्थे स्तौ । १।४।१२०-१२३

सु । यच्च भमसादिस्थाने । २।३।५

ह । अकृष्णस्थानसर्वेश्वरो भगवत्संज्ञस्तद्धिते यश्च । १२३२

SĀRVADHĀTUKA AND ĀRDHADHĀTUKA

Exactly corresponding to Sarvanāmasthāna in the section on declension Pāṇini has Sarvadhātuka in the section on conjugation. In ancient times the vikaraṇa was regarded as part and parcel of the root, so those endings before which the vikaraṇa was reserved were known as sārva-dhātuka endings, because the endings were added to the entire root, and those that were added to the root without vikaraṇa were known as ārdhadhātuka endings, because before these endings, only half the root i.e. a part of the root was discernible. The earlier form of the word was sārva-dhātukā* which was used by Āpiśali and which, as an adjective to vibhakti, was naturally feminine. It is clear from this that even at the time of Āpiśali the word was felt to be self-explanatory, but at the time of Pāṇini it had become fossilised and was looked upon as a mere technical term without any meaning. So after the analogy of sarvanāmasthāna, sārva-dhātukā lost its feminine suffix.

K. which uses “ghuṭ” for “sarvanāmasthāna” preserves “sārva-dhātuka” in its later neuter form, though its commentators like those of the Pāṇini system, have failed to find any sense in the word : sārva-dhātukaṁ napuṃsakam lokatah siddham pūrvācārya-saṃjñā niravayeyam Ṭikā sārva-dhātukam

* With the ā-stem “sārva-dhātukā” cf. “dārsapaurṇamāsikā” in ASS. ii. 17. 2 and “pāśubandhikā” in ASS. iii. 1. 8.

iti pūrvācārya-prasiddheyam saṃjñā niranvayā svabhāvato napumsakliṅgaṃ Pañji.

“Sārvadhātuka” appears to have been formed with ‘-ṭhak’ like prātipadika in the sense of ‘grhṇāti’ (sārvadhātum grhṇāti) or in the sense of ‘tasyedam’. Though words formed with -ṭhak and -ṭhañ take ī in the feminine, still sārvadhātuka follows the analogy of prathamā, dvitīyā, tṛtīyā, vartamānā etc., and takes ā. In the commentary (Gūḍhārthaprakāśikā) on PR. the word is derived thus :

सर्वधातुरेव सार्वधातुकः । स्वार्थे कः । तत्र भवम् इत्यण् । तत्र जातं दृश्यश्च भवं क्षुण्णं समुद्धृतम् (७।१०३२) इत्यणि आदौ वृद्धिः । अथवा सर्वधातुषु भव इत्यर्थे भवतस्तु वा (१।११८२) इति तुशब्दस्य चकारार्थतया भवतश्च हेतुसर्वधातुभ्याश्च कण् इत्यर्थतया हैतुक-सार्वधातुक-पदद्वयसिद्धिरिति ।

As has already been mentioned the endings were known as “sārvadhātukā” in the Āpiśali system. Thus Vāmana says in the Kāśikā Āpiśalās tu-ru-stuśamyamaḥ sārvadhātukāsu cchandasīti paṭhanti” (vii. 3. 95) on which Jinendra-buddhi says : “strīliṅga-sārvadhātukā-śabdasya saṃjñātvenāpiśalinā praṇītatvāt.” Haradatta also says the same thing : “tābantam tatra saṃjñātvena viniyuktam.”

APr. uses “sārvadhātuka” in “vāso dadāti bhartava iti sārvadhātuke” 125. Apr. has “dadāteh. iti sārvadhātuke” ii. 4. 1-2.

J. uses “ga” for “sārvadhātuka” and “a-ga” for “ārdhadhātuka.” Was “ga” suggested by “gaṇa” or is it a part of “samagra”, a synonym of “sarva”?

Candra, as usual, avoids these technical terms, but fol-

lowing Pāṇini's rule "tiñśit sārvaadhātukam" iii. 4. 113 uses "tiñśit" instead. For "ārdhādhātuka" Candra uses "a-tiñśit", even as K. uses "a-sārvaadhātuka."

Śākaṭāyana uses "ślela" for "sārvaadhātuka," 'ś' standing for 'śit', 'le' for* 'leṭ' and 'leñ' and 'la' for 'laṭ' and 'lañ'. Thus for Pāṇini's "sārvaadhātuke yak" iii. 1. 67 Śākaṭāyana has "ślele yak" iv. 3. 19 and for Pāṇini's "sārvaadhātukam apit" i. 2. 4 Śākaṭāyana has "ślyablau" iv. 1. 147. Śākaṭāyana uses 'leṭ' for Pāṇini's 'loṭ' and 'leñ' for Pāṇini's 'liñ.' "Lyasi" is used for Ārdhādhātuka (iv. 2. 81 ff), "li" standing for Liṭ and Liñ (Pāṇini's "liñāśiṣi") and "S" for "śit".

Hc. uses "śit" for "sārvaadhātuka" and "a-śit" for "ārdhādhātuka."

Kramadīśvara uses "catur" or "caturlaḍādi" for "sārvaadhātuka" and "a-catur" for "ārdhādhātuka" without defining the terms, as "catur" is sufficiently self-explanatory, referring as it does to the first four lakāras. Cf. śadaś caturṣu ii. 85 (laḍādiṣu caturṣu kartavyeṣu—Ṭ'ikā). caturlaḍādaṁ śaṁ bhūṇyādeh ii. 193 (kramāt kathyamaṇeṣu caturṣu laṭ loṭ lañ vidhyādiliṅṣu pareṣu. Vṛtti).

Mu. uses "ra" for "sārvaadhātuka" and "a-ra" for "ārdhādhātuka". The "ra" was probably suggested by the "ra" of "sārvaadhātuka". But unfortunately *r* occurs in 'ārdhādhātuka' also.

HN. uses "Kṛṣṇādhātuka" for "sārvaadhātuka" and

* This is the reason why Sāk. uses 'Leṭ' for Pāṇini's 'loṭ' and 'lañ' for P's "liñ".

“Rāmadhātuka” for “ārdhadhātuka,” because Kṛṣṇa is regarded as the pūrṇāvatāra (full incarnation) and Rāma as the aṃśāvatāra (partial incarnation) of the Supreme Being.

पा । तिङ्शित् सार्वधातुकम् । आर्धधातुकं शेषः । लिट् च ।
लिङाशिषि । छन्दस्युभयथा । ३।४।११३-११७

का । षडाद्याः सार्वधातुकम् । ३।१।३४

जै । मिङ् शिद् गः । शेषोऽग एव । लिट् । लिङाशिषि
२।४।९५-९८

हे । एताः शितः । ३।३।१०

एताः वर्तमाना-सप्तमी-पञ्चमी-ह्यस्तन्यः शितः शानुबन्धा
वेदितव्याः । बृहद्वृत्तिः ।

मु । पञ्च रः शिञ्च । ५३१

सु । शिल्लट्लोट्लिङ्लङः सार्वधातुकम् । शेषमलुङार्ध-
धातुकम् । ३।२।१७-१८

सार्वधातुकमिति गुरुसंज्ञा पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धेऽह निबद्धा ।
अतः स्वभावतो नपुंसकलिङ्गमपि । मकरन्दः ।

प्र । आद्या लिङ्लोटौ च ह्यस्तन्यपि च शिञ्च शित् । ८।५४

वर्तमाना लिङ्लोट् ह्यस्तनी शानुबन्धाश्च प्रत्ययाः शित्-
संज्ञाः स्युः । अनुबन्ध इदिति पर्यायौ, शित् सार्वधातुकमिति
च । वृत्तिः ।

ह । अच्युतादयः पञ्च शिवश्च कृष्णधातुकाः । सार्वधातुका-
नीत्येके । अन्ये प्रत्यया रामधातुकाः । आर्धधातुकानीत्येके ।
१।३८४-३८५

One of the most ancient rules of grammar preserved in the Kātantra, as it is now extant in Bengal, is “ṣaḍādyāḥ sārvaadhātukam” iii. 1. 34. The previous ten rules mention Vartamānā, Saptamī, Pañcamī, Hyastanī, Adyatani, Parokṣā,

Śvastianī, Āśih, Bhaviṣyantī and Kriyātipatti. One feels, therefore, naturally, inclined to take the first six viz. Vartamānā, Saptamī, Pañcamī, Hyastanī, Adyatani and Parokṣā as meant by the expression “śadādyāḥ”. But Parokṣā can by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as Sārvadhātuka, and Pāṇini distinctly lays down that Liṭ is Ārdhādhatuka (“ārdhādhatukam śeṣaḥ liṭ ca.” iii. 4. 114-5). Moreover, if Adyatani and Parokṣā be regarded as Sārvadhātukas we cannot have the union-vowel *i* in the case of their consonantal endings, for Sarvavarman prescribes the āgama “iṭ” in the case of a-sārvadhātuka endings (“idāgamo’ sārva-dhātukasyāder vyañjanāder ayakārādeḥ” iv. 3. 1). Then again the Kātantra lays down that with the exception of the first person of the Imperative, all the Ātmanepada endings are weak in the case of the Sārvadhātuka vibhaktis (“sarvesām ātmane sārva-dhātuke ’nuttame pañcamyāḥ” iv. 1. 18), yet it says that the Atmanepada endings of Parokṣā are all weak (“sarva-trātmane” iv. 1. 21). Again K. directs that the duals and plurals of the Parasmaipada in the case of the Sārvadhātukas are to be regarded as weak (“dviṭvabahutvayoś ca parasmai” iv. 1. 19), yet it says that the duals and plurals of the Parokṣā also are to be regarded as weak. It is clear from all this that Sarvavarman does not regard Adyatani and Parokṣā as Sārvadhātukas. This obvious anomaly has led the Vṛttikāra and subsequent commentators to explain the rule thus :
 saṅṇām vibhaktīnām ādyā vartamānā-saptamī-pañcamī-hyastanyaś catasro vibhaktayaḥ sārva-dhātuka-saṃjñā bhavanti.
 This explanation can hardly be accepted. In the first place, we do not generally find Tatpuruṣa-compounds with numerals like “śadādyāḥ”. Secondly, there is no reason why the

author should go out of his way to mention the first six out of the ten. Thirdly the plural in “ādyāḥ” should normally mean three and not four according to the Kapiñjalādhikaraṇa in the Mīmāṃsā philosophy (xi. 1. 38-45). We may say like the orthodox commentators : बहुत्वस्य प्रथमतस्त्रीत्व एव चरितार्थत्वात्, प्रथमोपस्थितस्य च परित्यागे कारणाभावात्, अत्र षट्सु प्राथमिक्यस्तिश्च एव विभक्तयो ग्राह्याः ।

Thus we see that the explanation rejected by the commentators as also the one offered by them are equally unsatisfactory. The first five are Sārvadhātuka acc. to Pāṇini, Vopadeva, and others. And we know that Leṭ is also Sārvadhātuka in Pāṇini. So by “ṣaḍādyāḥ sārvadhātukam” the author means the first six viz., the present, the imperfect, the aorist, the imperative, the optative and the subjunctive. As the subjunctive is confined to the Vedas and as K. studiously avoids all reference to Vedic forms, we can only conclude that this is a rule from an ancient grammar* which placed the subjunctive (Naigamī) among the first six tenses and moods, most probably after the optative. Later redactors did not think it worth their while to change this rule, as “ṣaḍādyāḥ” could be easily explained away as “ṣaṭsu ādyāś catasrah”. They, however, appear to have changed “sārvadhātukāḥ” into “sārvadhātukam” after Pāṇini’s rule “tiñ-śit sārvadhātukam” iii. 4. 113. It will be noticed that all the names of the tenses and moods are feminine in K. and we learn from commentators like Mādhava that Āpiśali used the feminine form Śārvadhātukā.

* Bhis ais vā” ii. 1. 48 is another rule of this kind.

ṬI

(“Ṭi” is one of the few monosyllabic technical terms used by Pāṇini. It stands at the head of the artificial technical terms used in grammar. It means the last vowel in a word or stem along with the final consonant or consonants, if any. It may have been suggested to the ancient grammarians by the word ‘koṭi’ which means ‘the end of a bow. It may be noted in this connexion that āgamas having ‘ṭ’ as an indicatory letter come at the beginning (ādyantau ṭakitau i. 1. 46).

ṬI occurs also in the Uṇādisūtras; e.g., “avateṣ ṭi-lopaś ca” i. 141, “siveṣ ṭer ū ca” iv. 93.

K. uses ‘svara antya’ for ‘ṭi’. Thus for Pāṇini’s “avyaya-sarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeh” v. 3. 71, K. has “avyaya-sarvanāmnāḥ svārad antyāt pūrvo’k kah” ii. 2. 64.

C. follows K. and uses ‘antyājādi’ for ‘ṭi’. Thus for Pāṇini’s “ṭeh” vi. 4. 143 C. has “antyājādeḥ” v. 3. 138.

J., Sār. and Mu. retain this word as it consists of only one syllable.

Following in the footsteps of Candra, Sāk. uses “antyājādi” for “ṭi”. Thus for Pāṇini’s “tur iṣthemeyassu” and “ṭeh” vi. 3. 154-155 Sāk. has “trantyādeḥ” ii. 3. 57.

Hc. also uses “svareṣvantya” in “tyādi-sarvādeḥ svareṣ-vantyāt pūrvo’k” vii. 3. 29 and “antya-svarādi” in “antya-svarādeḥ” vii. 4. 43.

Sam. uses “svara-taccheṣa” for “ṭi”. Thus for Pāṇini’s “ṭeh” vi. 4. 143 it has “ḍiti svara-taccheṣayor luk” vi. 224.

PR. also avoids “ṭi” and generally uses “antyasvarādi”.

HN. uses “saṃsāra” for “ṭi” probably because “saṃsāra” is the end of our wordly existence and after the extinction of ‘saṃsāra’ there is ‘salvation’.

It will be noticed that those grammars which do not recognise the technical term “*ṭi*” generally use “*antyasvarādi*” or “*antyājādi*” for it and use “*svarād antyāt*” or “*svareṣvantyāt*” or “*aco’ntyāt*” or “*akṣvantyāt*” *pūrvam* or *param* when some grammatical operation is prescribed before or after “*ṭi*”.

पा । अचोऽन्त्यादि ढि १।१।६८

जे । अन्ताद्यचः १।१।७६

सा । अन्त्यस्वरादिष्टिः १।१२

मु । अन्त्याजादिष्टिः २।३

सु । अचोऽन्त्यादि ढि १।१।३०

ह । अन्त्यसर्वेश्वरादिचर्णाः संसारसंज्ञाः १।१८६

GHU

The roots “*dā*” and “*dhā*” present many points of resemblance in conjugation—points in which they differ from other roots of their class. Hence grammarians have found it easier to have one term denoting both. The earliest term appears to be “*dā*” which is found in the *Kātantra* system (ii. 1. 8) and which is taken as an *upalakṣaṇa*.* Pāṇini uses “*ghu*”, presumably a shortened form of “*laghu*”. For some reason or other Devanandin avoids “*ghu*”; for “*laghu*” he has “*ghi*” (i. 2. 111) and for “*ghu*” of the Pāṇini system he uses ‘*bhu*’ (i. 1. 28). Sāk. sees no reason to vary the generally accepted term and retains “*ghu*” (i. 1. 23). Hc., as usual, follows K. and uses the *upalakṣaṇa* “*dā*” (iii. 3. 5) and he is followed by Vopadeva 535.

Since the most important “*dā*” and “*dhā*” are read in the *Dhātupāṭha* with an indicative *ḍu*, and since “*dā*”

* स्वप्रतिपादकत्वे सति स्वीतरप्रतिपादकत्वम् ।

contains a voiced element and “dhā” an additional aspirate element, one naturally thinks of *dhu* as the best designation for both varieties. But since there is a separate root *dhu*, Pāṇini takes the first voiced aspirate of the ordinary alphabet according to the principle “prathamopasthitasya parityāge kāraṇābhāvāt” and adds the vowel *u* to it. J. substitutes *bhu* for *ghu*, probably because it is closely allied to the root *bhū* which represents both itself and *as* before ārdhadhatuka endings and suffixes.

Padamanābha, as usual, follows Pāṇini.

Kramadīśvara alone of the well-known grammarians appears to have framed no saṃjñā for *dā* and *dhā* (cf. “dā-dhor hali ca” ii. 345).

PR. follows K.

HN. takes the name of Viṣṇu beginning with *dā* and uses “Dāmodara” as the technical term for “dā” and “dhā”.

In the Ślokavārttika “yatra vṛddhir acām ādes tatracāv atra ghor hi sā” vii. 3. 3, “ghu” is used in the sense of ‘uttara-pada’. Thus the Bhāṣya says : kim idam ghor iti ? uttara-padasyeti.

पा । दा धा घवदाप् २।१।२०

फा । अदाब् दाधौ दा ३।१।८

जै । दा धा भवपित् १।१।२८

च । दोऽपः १।१।४

सा । दा धा घवब् १।१।२३

हे । अवौ दाधौ दा ३।३।५

मु । दा धा दा ५।३।५

सु । दा धा घुरप् १।१।२३

प्र । दापिद्वाधौ १०।१७८

ह । दापदैप्दाडो विना दाघ्रा दामोदर-संज्ञाः १।४१३

HN. says "dā ity anye, dur ity eke" where 'du' is evidently a misprint for 'ghu'.

Śrīharṣa makes splendid use of this term in his Naiṣadha xix. 62 :

दाक्षीपुत्रस्य तन्त्रे ध्रुवमयमभवत् कोऽप्यधीती कपोतः

कण्ठे शब्दौघसिद्धिक्षतबहुकठिनीशेषभूषानुयातः ।

सर्वं विस्मृत्य दैवात् स्मृतिमुपसि गतां घोषयन् यो घुसंज्ञां

प्राक्संस्कारेण संप्रत्यपि ध्रुवति शिरः पट्टिकापाठजेन ॥

'This dove (whose 'ghu ghu' sound greets our ears) must certainly have been some one well-read in the science (of grammar) as propounded by the son of Dākṣī i.e. Pāṇini (in its former birth). It bears on its neck an ornamental sign, the remains of the numerous bits of chalk worn out in the process of showing the formation of hosts of words. Though it has forgotten everything that it had learnt, even now it shakes its head, owing to the impressions of a former birth due to the (constant) reading (of grammatical operations) from wooden slates, while shouting forth the technical term "ghu" (the only thing) which it has managed to remember at dawn by a stroke of good luck.'

GHA.

Pāṇini uses the monosyllabic technical term 'gha' to denote the comparative suffix 'tara' and the superlative suffix 'tama',

probably because 'gha' is the first syllable of 'ghana' meaning 'cube'. J. uses 'jha' for these suffixes. Probably J. changes the guttural into the palatal, because there is the primary suffix 'gha' of which 'a' remains, there is the secondary suffix 'gha' which is replaced by 'iya' and so on. Śākāṭyāyana prefers 'ña' to 'jha'. Hc. as a follower of K. has no term for these suffixes. Sam., Mu, Su., PR. and HN. also do not use any technical term covering these two suffixes.

It is just possible that since the letter *gh* has two elements—voice and aspiration, it was chosen to represent the two suffixes -tara and -tama which are added to two classes of words—subanta and tiñanta, *gha* being the first letter of the alphabet to contain these two elements. J. thought that though *gh* was the first voiced aspirate in the ordinary alphabet, *jh* was the first in this respect in the Pratyāhāra-sūtras, consequently he used "jha" for Pāṇini's "gha". Śak. took the "ñ" of "tiñ" and represented the two suffixes by "ña" because they were added to *tiñ* also.

Going back to earlier treatises, the Prātiśākhya do not appear to have a single name for -tara and -tama, for we find "taratamayoh" in CA. iv. 16 and "tara-tamayoś cātīsaye" dakṣiṇapratyāsaṅge" in VP. v. 2.

पा । तरप्-तमपौ घः १।१।२२

जै । (तमः प्रकृष्टे मिडश्च । द्विविभज्ये तरः ४।१।१६०-१५१)

तौ ङः ४।१।१६२

तौ तकारादी ल्यौ (= प्रत्ययौ) तम-तरौ ङ-संज्ञौ स्तः । वृत्तिः ।

शा । (तिडश्च प्रकृष्टे तमप् । द्वयोर्विभज्ये च तरप् ३।४।७१-७२)

तौ ङः ३।४।७३

ŚRADDHĀ, AGNI AND NADĪ*

Just as in conjugation ten roots are taken as typical of the ten conjugations, so in declension also a particular word was taken as the type of each declension. These are known as Nāyaka in the Agni Purāṇa. Thus the type of feminine ā-stems was “śraddhā,” of feminine ī and ū-stems that changed their ī and ū to y and v before vowels was “nadī,” the type of masculine i- and u-stems was “agni” and so on. As the earliest treatises on grammar have become lost beyond recovery, we can only surmise all this with the help of the scanty materials preserved in K. And even in very late times HN. uses “Kṛṣṇa” for a-stems, “Rādhā” for “śraddhā,” “Hari” for “agni” and “gopī” for “nadī”.

“Śraddhā”, “nadī”, and “agni”—all these are found in K. Pāṇini accepted “nadī†” but used the monosyllable “ghī” for “agni” and rejected “śraddhā” altogether as serving no useful purpose, representing as it does only feminine ā-stems which can easily be represented by the suffix -āp which has the great advantage of being a monosyllable. The “gh” of “ghī” would appear to be taken from “lāghava” and ‘i’ added to make it typical of i and u-stems. Masculine and neuter

* For greater details see K. C. Chatterji's *Some Technical Terms of Sanskrit Grammar*, in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III, No. 5.

† Feminine ī and ū-stems which change their finals to iy and uv respectively are optionally designated “nadī” before the genitive plural ending. Feminine stems ending in i and u, short or long, are also optionally designated “nadī” before the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singular endings.

stems in *i* and *u* and feminine stems in *i* and *u* when they are not termed *nadī* are known as “*ghi*”. ‘*Pati*’, though fulfilling this condition, is regarded as “*ghi*” only when it stands at the end of a compound.

Kaccāyana in his Pali Grammar uses “*jha*” for masc. *i*- and *ī*-stems, “*la*” for masc. *u*- and *ū*-stems, “*pa*” for fem. *i*-, *ī*-, *u*- and *ū*-stems and “*gha*” for fem. *ā*-stems. “*Jha*” and “*la*” were probably suggested by Pāṇini’s rule “*īko jhal*” i. 2. 9, “*gha*” by Pāṇini’s “*ghi*” and “*pa*” by Pāṇini’s “*nīp*”.

For “*nadī*” C. uses “*nyūn*”, Sāk. uses “*nityāt*” and Hc. uses “*nitya-dit*”. C. uses “*idut*” for “*ghi*”.

Devanandin uses “*su*” for “*ghi*”. This is evidently a nice word ending in *u*, just as “*ghi*” ends in *i*. For “*nadī*” he uses “*mu*” modelled on this “*su*” with an initial nasal as in “*nadī*”.

Sāk. follows Pāṇini in the matter of “*ghi*”, but does not make use of any technical term corresponding to “*śraddhā*” or “*nadī*”. For “*dīrgha*” he uses “*dī*”.

Hc., though an ardent follower of K., rejects all these terms. Compare “*iduto*’ *strer idūt*” i. 4. 21 ff.

Sam. follows C.

Vopadeva uses “*ghi*” for Pāṇini’s ‘*suṭ*’ (syamaujas *ghih* 81), but follows Hc. in not having any technical terms corresponding to K.’s “*śraddhā*” and “*agni*”. For “*nadī*” he uses “*dī*”, the second syllable. This is a vast improvement on J’s “*mu*”.

Su. follows Pāṇini.

PR. retains all the three terms “*śraddhā*”, “*agni*” and “*nadī*” of K.

In several rules of Pāṇini “nādī” is used in the sense of the feminine suffix ‘ī’ e.g., āc chī-nadyor num vii. 1. 80, śatur anumō nadyajādī vi. 1. 173. In “nādī bandhuni” vi. 2. 109, “nādī” is used in the sense of feminine ī-stems. All this would lead one to suppose that originally “nādī” represented feminine ī-stems only and that there was a separate term for feminine ū-stems.

For “ghī” C. has “īdūt” (vi. 2. 49). For “nādī” Hc. has “Nitya-dī”, i.e., that which always takes on endings with an indicative *d*. Thus for Pāṇini’s “nadyṛtaś ca” v. 4. 153 Hc. “ṛn-nitya-ditaḥ” vii. 3. 171. The fact is Hc. adds an indicative *d* to the substitutes for the *nī* endings in the case of the stems designated “nādī” by Pāṇini and others. The idea of this *d* was evidently suggested by “nādī”.

पा । यू खाख्यौ नदी । नेयडुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री । वामि । ङिति ह्रस्वश्च । शेषो घ्यसखि । पतिः समास एव । षष्ठोयुक्तश्छन्दसि वा । १।४।३-९

का । इदुदग्निः । ईदुत् खाख्यौ नदी । आ श्रद्धा । २।१।८-१०
जै । यू खाख्यौ मुः । स्त्री । आमीयुवोः । वा । ङिति प्रश्च (प्र=ह्रस्व) । स्वसखिपति । १।२।१०५-११०

शा । घ्यसख्यद्वन्द्वपतीदुत् । १।१।४०

मु । यूत् रूपेव दी । नास्त्रोयुवः । वामि । स्त्रीयुञ्च ङिति । ९७-१००

सु । उदितौ घिः सख्यसमासपतिवर्जम् । स्त्री स्त्रीयू चानियुवौ नदी । वामङितोः सेयुवावस्त्री स्त्रीत्वे हि । ङिति ह्रस्वौ च । २।३।७-११

प्र । आप्रत्ययान्तशब्दाः श्रद्धासंज्ञाः स्युः । इदुदग्निः । २।१।८-२
वा इवत्सु नदी स्त्रियाम् । २।२।४५

ह । अरामान्तः कृष्णसंज्ञः । १।१५९। इउरामान्तो हरिसंज्ञः ।
 १।१७८। तत्रावन्तलक्ष्मी राधासंज्ञा श्रद्धासंज्ञा च । १।२१०।
 ई ऊ लक्ष्मी गङ्गीसंज्ञा नदीसंज्ञा च । १।२९८। (राम=वर्ण,
 लक्ष्मी=स्त्रीलिङ्ग) ।

Even such an apparently arbitrary technical term has not escaped the attention of poets, one of whom has utilised it to make his heroine go into raptures over her lover in the following stanza :

मञ्जुलघौ सम्भावितगुणे क्वचिन्नापदाधारे ।
 अयि सखि तत्रोपपतौ मे चेति न त्वनीदृशे पत्यौ ।

‘O my friend, my heart is set on the lover who is young and handsome, whose qualities of head and heart command respect and who is a stranger to troubles, and not on the husband who is the reverse of all these.’ The other sense is —‘my heart is set on the word ‘upapati’ which has got the sweet designation ‘ghī’ (according to Pāṇini’s rule “patih samāsa eva*” i. 4. 3), in whose case guṇa is possible according to “gher niti” vii. 3. 111) and which is the receptacle of the particle nā in one case (*i.e.* in the Instrumental sing. according to āno nāstriyām vii. 3. 120)’.

This reminds one of a similar stanza found in works on Subhāṣita :

अयि सखि शस्तः सखिवत् पतिरिति किं त्वं न जानासि ।
 शस्तोऽतिसखिवदुपपतिरिति कथं त्वयापि नाबोधि ॥

‘Do you not know, dear friend, that the husband is commended as a friend?’ ‘And is it not known to you, my friend,

* The corresponding rule in K. is patir asamāse ii. 2. 2. which has been made the subject of the following samasyā-pūraṇa stanza :

that the lover is commended as a super-friend ?' The other sense is : 'Do you not know, O friend, that grammarians direct that the word 'pati' is to be declined like the word 'sakhi'?'* 'And do you not know that the word 'upapati' is to be declined like 'ati-sakhi' ?'

Fortunately such stanzas are rare in Sanskrit.

Regarding 'agni' a stanza has been preserved in the Vṛtti-traya-vārttika :

हरिः स्यान्ममाप्येतच्छर्वधर्ममतं मतम् ।
दन्दहीतितमामङ्गं कामिनां कथमन्यथा ॥

'Śarvavarman's view that i (the word i or words ending in i, and Cupid) should be regarded as fire (agni) is also my view ; otherwise, how does it consume the bodies of those that are in love, causing exquisite torture ?'

Critics have not been slow in pointing out the paradox of Pāṇini in connection with the technical term "nadi". Thus one scholar says :

पाणिने न नदी गङ्गा यमुना वा नदी स्थली ।
प्रभुः स्वातन्त्र्यमापन्नो यदिच्छति करोति यत् ॥

Vṛttitrayavārttika 80.

'According to Pāṇini neither the Gaṅgā nor the Yamunā is a river ; it is land that is a river. A master possessed of

अयं नुं दति च अन्तुदति नान्दाय देवरो नुदति ।
प्रियसखि तथापि गेहे पतिरसमासे समाश्रित्य ॥

Subhāṣitāvali, 2396.

Sam. also has the rule. पतिरसमासे सखिबद्धादौ vi. 127.

independence does what he pleases.' Similary we may say of Sarvavarman :

नानलः पाषको घाग्निर्न दावो वाडवस्तथा ।

सर्ववर्ममते चित्तं वार्यग्निर्व्यपदिश्यते ॥

Though the word "stri" changes its final into 'iy' before vocalic endings, it is designated "nadi" by grammarians. Poets have been enthusiastic in according their support to this view. Thus one bard observes :

स्त्री नदी तदिदं सत्यं रसेनाकुलिता सती ।

यतो ध्वंसं विधत्ते सा कूलघत् कुलयोरपि ॥

Vṛttitrayavārttika 109.

'Woman is river. This is a fact, for wild with passion she brings ruin on both the families (of her father and her husband), even as the river filled to over-flowing with water plays havoc with both her banks.*'

PRĀTIPADIKA

Commentators of Pāṇini do not generally take the trouble of explaining this term of five syllables. According to some it is merely for the sake of varying the monotony of the monosyllabic technical terms (prātipadikam iti mahāsaṃjñā-

* The idea is very common in Sanskrit literature. Compare :

व्यपदेशमाश्लियितुं किमौहसे जनमिमं च पातयितुम् ।

कूलङ्गेष्वेव सिन्धुः प्रसन्नमम्भसटतरुश्च ॥ शाकुन्तल ५।२१

जामातृसम्पत्तिमचिन्तयित्वा पिता तु दत्ता स्वमनोऽभिलाषात् ।

कुलद्वयं हन्ति मदेन नारौ कूलद्वयं क्षुब्धजला नदीव ॥ अविमारक १।३

नद्यश्च नार्यश्च सङ्कम्पभावास्तुल्यानि कूलानि कुलानि तासाम् ।

तोयैश्च दीपैश्च निपातयन्ति नद्यौ हि कूलानि कुलानि नार्यः ॥ पञ्चतन्त्र १।२२३

karaṇaṃ vaicitryārtham—*Tantrapradīpa* i. 2. 45). “It is out of deference to earlier grammarians”—rightly remarks Bhaṭṭoji in his Śabdakaustubha (mahāsaṃjñā-karaṇaṃ prācām anurodhāt). Others hold that it is Pāṇini’s great veneration for the Vedas that led him to use this big term, for in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Atharva Veda we find the questions : What is a Dhātu and what is a Prātipadika ? (mahāsaṃjñā-karaṇaṃ śrutyanurodhāt. tathā cātharvaṇe paṭhyate—ko dhātuḥ kim prātipadikam kaḥ pratyaya iti).

Sṛṣṭidhara, a Bengali commentator of the 17th century, derives the word “prātipadika” from *pratipada* ‘every word’ with the suffix -ṭhak, acc. to the rule “padottarapadaṃ grhṇāti” iv. 4. 39. So prātipadika means that which embraces every inflected word *i.e.* words like vṛkṣa etc., which are inherent in all the different inflected forms like vṛkṣam, vṛkṣān etc. (prātipadikam iti mahatyāḥ saṃjñāyaḥ pratipādanena prātipadaṃ grhṇāti’ ti vyutpattyā “padottarapadaṃ grhṇāti”*) (iv. 4. 39) iti ṭhaki sarveṣveva padeṣu yāni yāni vṛkṣādīni samavayanti teṣāṃ eva saṃjñā).

It is just possible, however, that ṭhak has been added to ‘pratipada’ in the sense of ‘prayojana’ (v. 1. 109) and the word “prātipadika” means that which is necessary for each inflected word (‘prayojana’ being tantamount to ‘phala’ here) since no inflected word (subanta or denominative) can be formed without the help of the prātipadika.

Monier Williams notes that ‘pratipada’ occurs in the Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra in the sense of ‘forming the commen-

* It will be noticed that Pāṇini makes provision for “prātipadika”, but not for “sārvadhātuka”.

cement.' This sense is singularly applicable in our case. The prātipadika merely forms the beginning of words which cannot be used as full-fledged words unless and until the case-termination is added.

Pāṇini defines "prātipadika" thus : arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam. kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca i. 2. 45-46, *i.e.* that which conveys sense and is neither root nor suffix (nor a word ending in a suffix) is a prātipadika. Compounds as well as words ending in primary and secondary suffixes are also prātipadikas. Thus words like 'dittha,' 'ḍavittha' etc., which are without any suffix, 'karṭṛ', 'harṭṛ' etc., formed with the primary suffix ṭṛ, Aupagava, Kāpaṭava etc. formed with the secondary suffix aṇ and compounds like rāja-puruṣa, Brāhmaṇa-kāmbala etc. are all prātipadikas. It is curious Pāṇini does not regard words ending in feminine suffixes as prātipadikas. The mention of 'ñip' and 'āp' in the rule "ñyāp-prātipadikāt" iv. 1. 1 and of 'liṅga' in the rule "prātipadikārtha-liṅga-parimāṇa-vacana-mātre prathamā" ii. 3. 46 conclusively proves this point.

K. uses "nāman" in the sense of 'an inflected word' in "nāmna ātmeccchāyāṃ yin" iii. 2. 5 (syādyantam iha nāmeṣṭam), but "liṅga" in "iṇi liṅgasyānekākṣarasyaṅtyasvarāder lopah". In the Samāsa-section, which is not the work of Sarvavarman, we find "nāmnāṃ samāso yuktārthaḥ".

Under Nir. i. 1. 9 Durga explains "nāman" thus :

नमन्त्याख्यातशब्दे गुणभावेन, नमन्ति वा स्वमर्थमाख्यातशब्द-
वाच्ये गुणभावेनेति नाम ।

The Pañjī on K. ii. 1. 1 explains "liṅga" thus :

अन्वर्थसंज्ञा चेयम् । लिङ्गयते चिह्नयतेऽनेनैकदेशेनार्थो गम्यत इति लिङ्गम् । अविस्पष्टार्थप्रतीतिहेतुरुच्यते । अत एव वाक्यस्यार्थवतोऽपि लिङ्गसंज्ञा न भवति, तस्य विवक्षित-सम्पूर्ण-स्पष्टार्थप्रतिपादकत्वात् तर्था कृत्तद्धित-समासानामप्यर्थवत्त्वात् लिङ्ग-संज्ञा सिद्धा ।

In the Kāvya-lamkāra-sūtra of Vāmana "nāman" is used as opposed to "dhātu" :

तद्धातुनामभागभेदे स्वरसन्ध्यकृते प्रायेण । २।२।४

The word "liṅga" is used in the sense of 'a characteristic' in the Upaniṣad. Thus it came naturally to mean 'gender' and then, by synecdoche, substance which is the substratum of gender. Mu. follows K., but intent on having monosyllabic technical terms shortens "liṅga" to "li." J. uses "mṛd" for "prātipadika", evidently taking the 'm' of 'Nāman' and the *d* of Prātipadika and shaping it after the pattern of 'kr̥t' and 'hr̥t' (Taddhita suffix) and at the same time making up a common word expressive of meaning. In the Cāndra system "śabda" is used in the sense of "prātipadika." Su. follows Pāṇini and uses the big term, while PR. follows K. and uses "liṅga." Hc., Sam. and HN. use "nāman" for "prātipadika."

In the earlier systems of grammar the choice appears to have lain between "prātipadika" and "nāman." Pāṇini uses the former, while the Nirukta, Prātiśākhya, BD. and other works use the latter. A śloka-vārttika also says : nāma ca dhātujam āha Nirukte vyākaraṇe Śakatasya ca tokam. The Mahābhāṣya, while enumerating the four parts of speech, mentions nāman, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipāta ("nāmākhyāto-pasarga-nipātāś ca"*).

* This is the reading in every single printed edition of the

Nāman is defined in the Nirukta as "sattva-pradhāna" (sattva-pradhānāni nāmāni). In RP. we find "tan nāma yenābhidadhāti sattvam" and "sattvābhidhāyakam nāma." The same thing is expressed in a different way in a well-known stanza of BD. (i. 42) :

शब्देनोच्चारितेनेह येन द्रव्यं प्रतीयते ।
तदक्षरविधौ युक्तं नामेत्याहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

From another stand-point BD. defines "nāman" thus (i. 43) :

अष्टौ यत्र प्रयुज्यन्ते नानार्थेषु विभक्तयः ।
तन्नाम कथयः प्राहुर्भेदे वचनलिङ्गयोः ॥

The Mīmāṃsā Sūtra defines "nāman" from another stand-point : yeṣāṃ utpattau sve prayoge rūpopalabdhis tāni nāmāni ii. 1. 3. "Those words are nouns, on the utterance whereof in actual usage, the forms of the objects denoted by them become apprehended."

Nāman corresponds to Greek *onoma* and Latin *nōmen*.

The word nāma-karaṇa is used in the Nirukta in the sense.

Mahābhāṣya we have come across. This is also found in the printed edition of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. VP. reads "nāmākhyātopasarganipātāḥ" without 'ca'. This appears to be the correct reading here also. RP. has nāmākhyātam upasargo nipātāḥ xii. 17 and CA. nāmākhyātopasarga-nipātānām i. 1. In the Nirukta we find "nāmākhyāte co'pasarganipātāś ca" i. 2. which is also possible here. For the confusion of 'ca' we may compare Pañcatantra (N. S. Press) iv. 22 ;

सर्वनाशे च सञ्जाति प्राणानामपि संशये ।

अपि शत्रुं प्रणम्यापि रक्षेत् प्राणधनानि च ॥

where the correct reading is undoubtedly प्राणान् धनानि च.

of a *kṛt* suffix. *avater gatyarthasyā'sau nāma-karaṇaḥ* i. 17, *kakṣo gāhateḥ, kṣa iti nāma-karaṇaḥ* ii. 2, *gaur iti...gāter vaukāro nāma-karaṇaḥ* ii. 5, *ghaser vero nāma-karaṇa uśīram iti yatkā-* ii. 5, *mithunau kasmāt? minotiḥ śrayatikarmā thu iti nāma-karaṇaḥ* vii. 29, *śeva iti sukhanaḥ, śiṣyater vakāro nāmakaraṇaḥ, arthāntaropaliṅgī* x. 17. The commentators explain "nāma-karaṇa" as 'pratyaya', but from a consideration of the above passages it is clear that "nāmakaraṇa" means 'kṛt-pratyaya'. The word for a suffix in general in the Nirukta would appear to be "antakaraṇa."

It may be mentioned in passing that "nāma-karaṇa" means *saṃjñā* in PR.

"Nāma-vibhakti" is used in the sense of case-ending in the Nirukta (vii. 1) and in BD. (*namākhyaṭa-vibhaktiṣu* BD. ii. 94). In the Sābara Bhāṣya (ii. 1. 3) and Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya "nāmikī vibhakti" is used in this sense. Though Pāṇini uses "prātipadika" for "nāman," still his followers use "nāma-dhātu" for denominatives.

It may be mentioned in passing that *nāmin* is entirely different in meaning, denoting, as it does, the vowels that induce 'nati' or the change of dental *s* into cerebral *ṣ* (*namayanti dantyam santam mūrdhanyam kurvanti'ti nāminaḥ—Uvaṭa under RP. i. 65*).

In some systems "nāman" is used in the sense of *saṃjñā*. Cf. J. (*Mahāvṛtti*) i. 1. 71, Śāk. ii. 1. 53 etc. The Kāśikāvivaraṇa-pañjikā says :

ये पुंसां व्यवहाराय सङ्कीर्त्यमानाः शब्दा देवदत्त इत्येवमादय-
स्तेषामेव संज्ञा वेदितव्या, तेष्वेव नामधेयशब्दो रूढः, न तु ये
जाड्यादिनिमित्ता गवादिशब्दा अनादिव्यवहारान्तःपातिनस्तेषु ।

It will thus be seen that the difficulty in regard to “līṅga” is that it is used in the sense of gender also and in regard to “nāman” is that it is used in the sense of samjñā also. So the good old word “prātipadika” with its “learned length and thundering sound” is retained in many later works also.

It is not unlikely that originally there was some difference between “nāman” and “prātipadika”. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa mentions both in the following well-known passage :

ओङ्कारं पृच्छामः को धातु किं प्रातिपदिकं किं नामाख्यातं किं लिङ्गं किं वचनं का विभक्तिः कः प्रत्ययः कः स्वर उपसर्गो निपातः ।

In Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra also we find the division into nāman, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipāta and yet prātipadikārtha is mentioned in three consecutive stanzas. From “ko dhātuḥ kiṃ prātipadikam” of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, “prātipadikārtha-yuktaṃ dhātvartham utsrjanti ye svārthaiḥ” of the Nāṭyaśāstra (Chap. XV, ed. Chowkhamba), and “taṃ prātipadikārthaṃ ca dhātvarthaṃ ca pracakṣate” of the Vākya-padīya it would appear that “dhātu” was opposed to “ākhyāta” and “prātipadika” to “nāman”. Now it is not mere words (śabda) but inflected words that are divided into the four classes—nāman, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipāta, so “nāman”* must have meant ‘a name with the case-termination,’ just as “ākhyāta” must have meant ‘a finite verb with the proper ending.’ Then “nāman” came to signify a name alone to the exclusion of the ending, even as “ākhyāta”

* Namisādhu says in his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvya-lamkāra ii. 2 :

वस्तुवाचि पदं नाम । क्रियाप्रधानं तिङन्तमाख्यातम् । नामाख्यातयोः समुच्चयार्थ-
प्रख्यातिनिमित्तं निपाताः । क्रियाविशेषप्रतिपत्तिनिबन्धनमुपसर्गाः ।

followed the opposite direction and meant in later times the verbal ending itself to the total exclusion of the root.

The word “nāman” is mentioned by Pāṇini along with “ākhyāta” in “...nāmākhyātāḥ ṭhak” iv. 1. 12, but neither nāman” nor “ākhyāta” is used by him as a technical term in his Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Of course Pāṇini could have invented a monosyllable for “prātipadika”, but in spite of his passion for brevity he uses technical terms of five syllables like ‘prātipadika’, ‘ārdha-dhātuka’ and ‘sārvadhātuka’, of six syllables like ‘sarvanā-masthāna’, of seven syllables like ‘karmapravacanīya’ out of deference to his teachers or the school he was following, or it may be that these technical terms had taken such a firm hold on his mind that he could not bring himself to discard them and consciously or unconsciously he made use of them in his Aṣṭādhyāyī to the great discomfiture of his commentators.

Sāntanavācārya in his *Phit-sūtra* uses “phiṣ” for “prātipadika”, evidently taking the initial consonant of the common word ‘phala’ and rounding it off with ‘iṣ’.

पा । अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । कृतद्धितसमासाश्च
१।२।४५-४६

का । धातुविभक्तिवर्जमर्थवह्लिङ्गम्* २।१।२ (a very clever combination of the two rules of Pāṇini).

जै । अधु मृत । कृद्धृत्साः । (हृत्=तद्धित, स=समास)
१।१।५-६

* साम्प्रतं वेदविज्ञानमर्थवह्लिङ्गसन्निभम् ।

धातुविभक्तिवर्जत्वात् पण्डितैः परिगीयते ॥

वृत्तिवयवार्चिकम् ६८

अग्निषु । धातुप्रत्ययहीनं यत् स्यात् प्रातिपदिकं तु तत् ३५१-१९
हे । अधातुविभक्तिवर्जमर्थवन्नाम १।१।२७

मु । क्यन्तान्यौ दली १४

सा । अविभक्ति नाम ६।१ but uses लिङ्गार्थे प्रथमा in the
Kāraka section.

सु । अधातुविभक्त्यर्थवत् प्रातिपदिकम् २।२।१

प्र । शब्दोऽर्थवाल्लिङ्गसंज्ञो विभक्तिधातुवर्जितः १।१६८

ह । अधातुविष्णुभक्तिकमर्थवन्नाम (विष्णुभक्ति=विभक्ति)
१।१४९

SARVANĀMAN

Sarvanāman is a good old term and is found from Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra downwards. Thus Āpastamba says : “sarvanāmnā striyo rājanya-vaiśyau ca, na nāmnā” i. 4. 20, ‘women as well as Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are to be saluted by means of the name common to all i.e. pronoun (abhivādaye’ham) and not by (means of one’s proper) name (Devadatto’ham abhivādaye). The contrast between “sarvanāman” and “nāman” here brings out the original sense of the term “sarvanāman”*.

The word also occurs in the Nirukta :

अथ तिप् तस् इत्यारभ्य ड्योः सुप् इति तिप्-प्रत्याहारो भाष्य-
सिद्धः । तस्माद् अतिप् प्रातिपदिकमित्येव सूत्र्यताम्, कृतमर्थ-
वदिति सूत्रद्वयेन । समासग्रहणं च नियमार्थमस्तु । तथाच अतिप्
तिबन्तभिन्नं प्रातिपदिकमित्यर्थात् समासस्यापि सा स्यादिति चेत्,

* With K.’s definition of “liṅga”, cf. Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra (ed. Bombay Sanskrit Series, p. 482) :

तथापि प्रत्येकं वर्णेषु संज्ञावारणायार्थवत्त्वावश्यकत्वेन समासा-
व्याप्तितादवस्थ्यमेव ।

Medhātithi says under Manu ii. 122 :

‘ असौ इति सर्वनाम सर्वविशेषप्रतिपादकम् ।

Does Yāska use “saṃkhyā-nāman” for numerals in Nir.
iv. 6 : त्रितस्तीर्णतमो मेधया बभूव । अपि वा संख्यानामैवाभि-
प्रेतं स्यात् । एकतो द्वितस्त्रित इति त्रयो बभूवुः ।

Durgādāsa says in his com. on Mu. : sarveṣām buddhis-
thānām nāma. The Prakriyā-Sarvasva says :

महासंज्ञा इहान्वर्थाः सर्वनामपदं यथा ।

सर्वान्वयात्तदाद्या हि सर्वार्थस्यापि वाचकाः ॥

त्व इति विनिग्रहार्थीयं सर्वनामानुदात्तम् । अर्धनामेत्येके । १।७

सममिति परिग्रहार्थीयं सर्वनामानुदात्तम् । ५।२३

अथाध्यात्मिक्य उत्तमपुरुषयोगाः, अहमिति चैतेन सर्व-

नाम्ना । ७।२

It occurs in APr. also :

कमिति निपातः । त्रिधानुदात्तम् । अन्ययम् । सर्वनाम ।

सुखनाम च । ९।४३

Here also the contrast between “sarvanāman” and “sukha-
nāman” arrests attention.

The Mahābhāṣya (i. 1..27) explains the significance of the
name thus :

अन्वर्थग्रहणं तत्र विज्ञायते । सर्वेषां यन्नाम तत् सर्वनाम ।...
यद्येवं सकलं कृत्स्नं जगदित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । एतेषां चापि
शब्दानामेकैकस्य स स विषयस्तस्मिंस्तस्मिन् विषये यो यः शब्दो
वर्तते ।...एवं तर्ह्युभयमनेन क्रियते पाठश्चैव विशेष्यते संज्ञा च ।

Whitney explains the full significance of the term very
clearly under CA. ii. 4 : “The term *sarva-nāman* ‘all-name’,

used to denote a pronoun, is an ingenious and interesting one....*Nāman*, 'name', includes substantives, adjectives and pronouns; but while the two former, being descriptive of quality, are restricted in their application to certain objects or classes of objects, a pronoun may be used of anything indifferently; it is a title of universal applicability."

Under Pāṇini vi. 4. 174. 4 Patañjali says: "ekaśrutiḥ svara-sarvanāma, yathā napuṃsakam liṅga-sarvanāma" where *sarvanāma* is used in the sense of 'general'. Similarly we find "*sārvanāmya*" used in the sense of 'universality' in "*prakṛti-sārvanāmyāc ca*" in the *Nirukta* (vii. 4).

It is to be noted that in *sarvanāmasthāna*, *sarvanāma* is a *Karmadhāraya* (*sarvaṃ nāma*), whereas as a technical name for the pronoun it is a *Tatpuruṣa* (*sarveṣāṃ nāma*).

K. uses "*sarvanāman*" without defining it: *sarvanāmnas tu*...ii. 1. 43, *smai sarvanāmnaḥ* ii. 1. 25. The *taddhita* form "*sārvanāmikman*" is used in the rule "*nānyat sārvanāmikam*" ii. 1. 33.

J. takes the first sound *s* of the first element '*sarva*' and the first sound *n* of the second element '*nāman*' and forms the technical term "*sni*".

Candra (ii. 1. 6), Sāk. and Hc. use "*sarvādi*" for "*sarvanāman*". This sometimes leads to curious sentences. Thus in the *vṛtti* on "*na sarvādiḥ*" Sāk. i. 2. 170 we find "*dvandva-samāse sarvādiḥ sarvādir na bhavati*" where the first "*sarvādiḥ*" means 'words beginning with '*sarva*' in the *sarvādi* list' and the second means '*sarvanāman*'.

Vopadeva follows in the foot-steps of J. but concentrates on the first member of the compound from which he extracts

s and r and like J. adds i, the favourite device for rounding off a name. So the name for a pronoun, acc. to Vopadeva, is "sri". Kramadīśvara defines "sarvanāman" in the Kārika :

सर्वादिः सर्वनाम स्याद्वाल्पादिर्जसि नान्यतः ।

तोयश्च इति पूर्वादिर्जसिङोर्वान्यतः सदा ॥ स ६।२९३

Su. and PR also use "sarvanāman". As usual HN. substitutes "Kṛṣṇa" for "sarva" acc. to the dictum "Kṛṣṇastu bhagavān svayam" and uses "Kṛṣṇanāman" for "sarvanāman."

पा । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि १।१।२७

जै । स्त्रिः सर्वादिः १।१।४० । (सर्वादि सर्वनाम—महावृत्ति १।१।३५)

मु । सर्वविश्वोभोभयः...८७

सु । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि स्वार्थेऽसंज्ञायाम् २।४।१

प्र । अथ सर्वनामशब्दाः ।

संज्ञोपसर्जने हित्वा विशेषार्थव्यवस्थया ।

सर्वाद्याः सर्वनामानि चत्वारिंशत् समीरिताः ॥ २।२।१८

ह । सर्वादीनि कृष्णनामानि ३।१।१०

Some modern writers use "pratināma" which is not found in Sanskrit but which appears to have been coined as an equivalent to 'pronoun' after the analogy of 'pratiśabda', 'prativākya', etc. Sāntanavācārya, the author of the *Phit-sūtra*, uses "siṭ"* for "sarvanāman," taking the first letter s and adding iṭ to round it off. Similarly some writers use "sādi" for "sarvanāman".

Sanskrit *sarvanāman* is more acceptable than Greek *antōnumia* or Latin *prōnōmen* meaning 'a word used for or

* Hence the reading "siṭ" is to be discarded.

instead of a noun'—a definition which leaves much to be desired. As Jespersen says in *The Philosophy of Grammar* : "This does not suit all cases, and the definition breaks down in the very first pronoun ; it is very unnatural to the unsophisticated mind to say that "I see you" stands instead of "Otto Jespersen sees Mary Brown," on the contrary most people will say that in *Bellum Gallicum* the writer uses the word *Caesar* instead of "I". We may also say "I, Otto Jespersen, hereby declare....", which would be preposterous if "I" were simply a substitute for the name. And grammatically it is very important that "I" is the first person, and the name is in the third, as shown in many languages by the form of the verb. Further : no one doubts that *nobody* and the interrogative *who* are pronouns, but it is not easy to see what nouns they can be said to be substitutes for."

ĀKHYĀTA

"Ā-khyā-ta" literally means 'that which has been described fully', then it came to mean 'that which describes fully† i.e., the finite verb'. The root with the upasarga is

† "The power of expressing Time by those variations which we call Tense (after an old form of the French word for time), has attracted notice as the most salient feature about the verb. Aristotle defined a verb as a word that included the expression of Time. The established German word for a verb is Zeit-wort, that is to say, Time-word. Others have thought that the power of expressing Action is the real and true characteristic of the verb. Ewald, in his Hebrew Grammar, calls the verb accordingly That-wort, that is to say, Deed-word. But in these expressions the essential is obscured by that which is more conspicuous. The Danish scholar Madvig, in his

preserved in *ākṣhṇā* 'to say' in Panjabi where we can except a continuity in language from the earliest period and which, in fact, preserves many ancient forms not found in other Indian vernaculars. In the Nirukta (i. 1) and BD. (ii. 121) Akhyāta is defined as "bhāva-pradhānam" i.e., 'having becoming or action as its fundamental meaning'. RP. xii. 19 says : (tan nāma yenābhidadhāti sattvam) tadākhyātaṃ yena bhāvaṃ sadhātu i.e. that is a verb by means of which one denotes a becoming or an action and which contains a root. Some commentators apparently read 'sa dhātuh' for 'sadhātu' and identify Akhyāta with Dhātu. Kauṭilya defines Akhyāta thus : aviśiṣṭaliṅgam ākhyātaṃ kriyāvāci (Arthaśāstra, ii. 10. 28) i.e. the Akhyāta shows no distinction of gender and denotes action. In the printed Nāṭyaśāstra the definition of ākhyāta would appear to be as follows : sampratyaṭīta-kālaprayojitah kriyādi-saṃyogah prathitah xv. 24 which reminds one of Yāska's "pūrvāparī-bhūtaṃ bhāvaṃ ākhyatenācaṣṭe" i.e. a becoming or action* arising from a former to a later state is denoted by the verb. In the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, Akhyāta is defined thus : yeṣāṃ tūtpattāv arthe sve prayogo na vidyate tānyākhātāni ii. 1. 4. "Those words, on the other hand, are

Latin Grammar, seems to put it in the right light. He designates the verb as Udsagnsord, that is Outsayings-word ; because it 'udsiger om en Person eller Ting en Tilstand eller en Virksomhed,' outsays, pronounces, asserts, delivers, about a person or thing a condition or an action. *It is the instrument by which the mind expresses its judgments, or (in modern parlance) makes its deliverances.*" EARLE, *The Philosophy of the English Tongue*.

* See under Upocegraha. Cf. also BD. i. 31 :

verbs, on the utterance whereof what is denoted by them is not in existence." This reminds one of Bhartṛhari's Kārikā :

यावत् सिद्धमसिद्धं वा साध्यत्वेनाभिधीयते ।

आश्रितक्रमरूपत्वात् क्रियेति व्यपदिश्यते ॥

Under "sa-viśeṣaṇam ākhyātam vākyaṁ" i. 1. 21 Hc. says "tyādyantam padam ākhyātam" which is explained thus in the Laghunyāsa : ākhyāyate' nena kriyā-pradhānatvenā sādhyārthābhīdhāyitayā vetyākhyātam, tac ca tyādyantam iti.

The word is not used by Pāṇini as a technical term in the Aṣṭādhyāyī though it occurs in Pāṇini's rule : dvyaj-ṛd-brāhmaṇa-ṛk-prathamādhvara-puraścaraṇa-nāmākhyātāt ṭhak and in the Gaṇasūtra "ākhyātam ākhyātena kriyāsātatyē".

Yāska uses "ākhyāta" in the sense of 'finite verb,' but his predecessors appear to have used the word either exclusively in the sense of 'root' or both in the sense of 'roots' and 'finite verbs'. Thus in "tatra nāmāny ākhyāta-jānīti Śākaṭāyano nairukta-samayaś ca" i. 12 where Yāska appears to be quoting from Śākaṭāyana, Ākhyāta is used in the sense of roots. It is interesting to note that in later times 'dhātu' was substituted for 'ākhyāta' here and we find in the Mahābhāṣya : nāma ca dhātujam āha Nirukte vyākaraṇe Śakaṭasya ca tokam (iii. 1. 1). In sarvānyākhyātajāni nāmāni etc., Yāska merely follows Śākaṭāyana. Again in "tribhya ākhyātebhyo jāyata iti Śākapūṇih" vii. 14 where the view of Śākapūṇi viz., Agni is derived from three roots, is quoted, Ākhyāta seems to have been used in the sense of roots. In all other places viz. catvāri

नाकर्मकोऽस्ति भावो वै न नामास्ति निरर्थकम् ।

नान्यत्र भावाग्रामानि तस्मात् सर्वोऽपि सर्वतः ॥

paḍajātāni nāmākhyāte copasarga-nipātāś ca i. 1, pūrvāparībhūtam bhāvam ākhyātenācaṣṭe i. 1, udāttaṃ tvevam ākhyātam abhaviṣyat vi. 28, atha parokṣa-kṛtaḥ sarvābhir nāmavibhaktibhir yujyante prathama-puruṣaiś cākhyātasya vii. 1, “ākhyāta” appears to be used in the sense of ‘finite verb.’

“Ākhyāta” is used in the sense of a finite verb in the Gaṇa-sūtra “ākhyātam ākhyātena kriyā-sātatye” (tiñantaṃ tiñantena samasyate kriyā-sātatye gamyamāne—Nyāsa) under “mayūra-vyaṃsakādayaś ca” ii. 1. 72.

Jagadīśa says in the Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā 97: tiñākhyātayoh paryāyatvāt.

Since in ancient times roots were denoted by means of śtip “ākhyāta” may very well mean ‘root’ also.

In the Kātantra the third chapter is known as Ākhyāta, but the word itself does not appear to have been used by Sarvavarman. Commentators generally explain the word thus: ākhyāyante mukhyatayā pratipādyante yāni tāni ākhyātāni tyādīni.* According to this view “ākhyāta” means the verbal endings. In the sense of the finite verb, “ākhyāta” is explained thus: ā samyak prādhānyena nirākāṅkṣatvena sādhyatvena vā khyātāḥ pratipāditāḥ pacanādirūpāḥ kriyāḥ kāla-kartṛtrādi-rūpo’rthaś ca anena ityākhyātam pacatya-dirūpam.

Similarly the chapter on conjugation in HN. is known as the ākhyāta-section, and the word “ākhyāta” occurs several times in the rules though it is not defined anywhere.

* आख्यायन्ते कथ्यन्ते अर्थात् निर्यायन्ते भवादिनां रूपाणि येन तदाख्यातम् । अथवा आख्यायन्ति आचक्षते कर्तृव्यापारमित्याख्याताः । चन्द्रकोटिः ।

PR. uses “ākhyāta” in the sense of ‘verbal ending’ as is clear from its rule : vibhakti-taddhitākhyāta-kṛtaś ca pratyayā matāḥ i. 172, i.e., the case-endings, the secondary suffixes, the verbal endings and the primary suffixes are known as pratyayas.

In the Kādambarī (para 85) both “ākhyāta” and “kriyā” are mentioned in the same compound : व्याकरणमिव प्रथम-मध्यमोत्तमपुरुष-विभक्तिस्थितानेकादेशकारकाख्यात-सम्प्रदानक्रिया-व्यय-प्रपञ्चसुस्थितम् ।

DHĀTU.

Dhātu (from dhā ‘to lay, put’) originally meant ‘lay-er, constituent part’, then it meant ‘element, primitive matter (the five Mahābhūtas—kṣiti, ap, tejas, marut, vyoman or the constituent elements of the body—vāyu, pitta and kapha, or rasa, asṛk, māṃsa, medas, asthi, majjan and śukra, or the five jñānendriyas or the five tanmātras viz. gandha, rasa, rūpa, sparśa, śabda)’. In grammar it means ‘elements or essential ingredients’ of words and is first found in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.* In the Nirukta it is correctly derived from the root dhā : etāvantah samāna-karmāṇo dhātavaḥ dhātur dadhāteh, i. 20. It is found several times in BD. (ii. 101—104) :

लिङ्गं धातुं विभक्तिं च सन्नमेत् तत्र तत्र च ।

यद् यद् स्याच्छान्दसं मन्त्रे तत्तत् कुर्यात्तु लौकिकम् ॥

* Dhātu is found in Chāndogya U. vi. 5. 13 ff. :

अन्नमशितं तेषां विधीयते । तस्य यः स्थविष्ठो धातुस्तत् पुरीषं भवति, यो मध्य-मस्तन्मांसम्, योऽणिष्ठस्तन्मनः ।

यावतामेव धातूनां लिङ्गं रुढिगतं भवेत् ।
 अर्थश्चाप्यभिधेयः स्यात्तावद्भिर्गुणविग्रहः ॥
 धातूपसर्गावयवगुणशब्दं द्विधातुजम् ।
 बह्वेकधातुजं वापि पदं निर्वाच्यलक्षणम् ॥
 धातुजं धातुजाज्जातं समस्तार्थजमेव वा ।
 वाक्यजं व्यतिकीर्णं च निर्वाच्यं पञ्चधा पदम् ॥

“Gender, root and inflexion, one should, in their respective places, adapt (to the sense). Whatever is Vedic in a formula one should turn into everyday speech (*laukika*). The analysis of the secondary elements (*guṇa*) may be (effected) by the aid of all roots (*dhātu*) which possess a traditional characteristic form (*liṅga*), and the sense of which can be stated. A word (*pada*), the definition of which can be expressed, whether it be derived from two roots, many (roots), or one root, is one consisting of a sound (*śabda*) that contains root, preposition, members (*avayava*), and secondary elements (*guṇa*). A word may be explained in five ways (*viṣ.*) as derived from a root, as derived from the derivative of a root, as derived from a compound meaning (*samastārtha*), as derived from a sentence (*vākya*), and as (of) confused (derivation).”

The term “*dhātu*” is used by Pāṇini and retained in most systems of grammar. J. takes the ‘dh’ of the first syllable and ‘u’ of the second and combines them into ‘dhu’. Mu., as usual, follows J.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that roots are generally represented by their past participial forms in AB. Thus a formula containing “*āpyāyasva*” is described here as

“āpīna-vat”, another containing “arūrucat” as “rucita-vat” and so on. No doubt in several cases roots are denoted by verbal nouns etc., but this is the more usual way. (Liebich, pp. 15-17). This, as Liebich points out, gave rise to the suffix ‘ktavatu’ in later Sanskrit.

Pāṇini does not define “dhātu” but merely names two important roots—one of the first conjugation and one of the second, and says that roots are of the nature of these. His rule is “bhū-vādayo dhātavaḥ” i. 3. 1. A śloka-vārttika explains that the v in the rule is for auspiciousness* : bhū-vādīnāṃ vakāro'yam maṅgalārthah prayujyate iii. 1. 5. The second half is found in the Kāśikā : bhuvo vārthaṃ vadantīti bhvarthā vā vādayah smṛtāḥ, i.e., bhūvādi is to be derived with the aupādika agent suffix thus : bhuvo'rthaṃ vadanti iti.

It is just possible that in some ancient Dhātupāṭha vā stood at the head of adādi roots and so some predecessor of Pāṇini framed the rule “bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ” which was taken over by Pāṇini.

Kātyāyana says : kriyā-vacano dhātuḥ i. 3. 1 which is sufficiently clear. K. says : kriyā-bhāvo dhātuḥ ii. 1. 9. which commentators explain thus : yah śabdaḥ kriyām bhāvayati partipādayati sa dhātu-saṃjño bhavati. Thus it becomes identical with Kātyāyana's definition. It is just possible, however,

* भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं लक्षणार्थः प्रयुज्यते ।

स्यवधानमिकी यण्भिर्वायुवस्वरधोरिव ॥

भुवो वार्थं वदन्तीति वादेरौणादिके इति ।

भूवादय इति क्रिया भूवोऽर्था वादयोऽप्येव ॥

J. i. 2. 1 foot-note.

that we have here nouns from the two very general roots—‘to do’ and ‘to be,’ in the words of Sanskrit grammarians : parisbandana-sādhana-sādhya gamanādi and a-parisbandana-sādhana-sādhya avasthānādi (Rāma Tarkavāgīśa’s commentary on Mu. 11), and that the author intended us to understand ‘that which denotes action and that which denotes existence are roots’.

C. uses “kriyārtha” for “dhātu”. Cf. C. i. 1. 40 with Pāṇini iii. 1. 22. Śāk. often has “edhādi”, because his Dhātupāṭha begins with the root *edh*.

In the Uṇādisūtra “mithune’ pi pūrvavac ca sarvam” v. 222 ‘mithuna’ is explained by Ujjvaladatta thus : yatropasargo dhātu-kriyayā yuktas tan mithunam.

- पा । भूवादयो धातवः । १।३१
 भाष्यम् । क्रियावचनो धातुः । १।३१
 का । क्रियाभावो धातुः । ३।१।९
 जै । भूवादयो धुः । १।२।१
 शा । क्रियार्थो धातुः । १।१।२२
 हे । क्रियार्थो धातुः । ३।३।३
 सा । भ्वादिदशगणा णिङ्सनाद्यन्ताश्च धातवः । २।२
 मु । भ्वादि धुः । ११ (लिङ्धुः=नामधातुः ।)
 सु । भुवादि-सनाद्यन्ता धातवः । ३।१।४९
 प्र । एधादयो धातवः स्युः । १।१७०
 ह । भूसनन्ताद्या धातवः । १।३६३

The Taddhita suffix “dhā” is probably a broken down part of “dhātu.” In RV. ‘tri-dhātu’ means containing three elements *i.e.* three-fold.

“Dhātu” in its technical sense is used by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa :

रामादेशादनुगता सेना तस्यार्थसिद्धये ।

पश्चादध्ययनार्थस्य धातोरधिरिवाभवत् ॥

‘The army which followed him at the command of Rama served to fulfil his mission, even as the preposition ‘adhi’ prefixed to the root (i) meaning ‘to study’ serves to bring out its sense’ (xv. 9).

स हत्वा घालिनं वीरस्तत्पदे चिरकांक्षिते ।

धातोः स्थान इवादेशं सुग्रीवं सन्न्यवेशयत् ॥

‘The hero slew Vālin and set Sugrīva in what he had long coveted, viz., his brother’s place, like one root substituted in place of another’ (xii. 58)

After l. 18, add.: In Kuṭṭanīmata 12 we have “पदवेदिषु यत्र धातुवादित्वम्” ‘where speaking of dhātus is found only among grammarians (and not among alchemists)’.

विभज्य सेनां परमार्थकर्मा सेनापतींश्चापि पुरन्दरोऽथ ।

नियोजयामास स शत्रुसैन्ये करोतिरर्थेष्विष सर्वधातून् ॥

Attributed to Bhaṭṭi in the Śabdakaustubha

एकोऽप्यनेकानधिहीनसत्त्वो विहीनसत्त्वान् प्रपलायमानान् ।

जग्राह शक्रो हृदयेषु दैत्यान् करोतिरर्थेष्विष सर्वधातून् ॥

Quoted by Vidyāsāgara under K. ii. 4. 13.

In the Nandikeśvara kāśikā (Mbh. N. S. vii. vol. I, p. 133) in used :

अत्र सर्वत्र सूत्रेषु अन्त्यवर्णं चतुर्दशम् ।

धात्वर्थं समुपादिष्टं पाणिन्याक्षीष्टसिद्धये ॥

where धात्वर्थं would appear to be a send his son for लघ्वर्थे

ABHYĀSA AND ABHYASTA

“Abhyāsa” is formed exactly like samāsa from the root ‘as’ preceded by ‘abhi’ meaning ‘to throw towards, repeat’ and means ‘repetition’ in Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra : abhyāsā-nupapattaḥ jyotiṣṭomaḥ pūraṇaḥ xxiv. 7. 18 and the Nirukta : abhyāse bhūyāmsam artham manyante, yathāho darśanī-yāho darśanīyēti x. 42. “Abhyāsa” is used in the sense of ‘repetition’ (of ṛk) in AŚS. iii. 1. 11 “anabhyāsam eke” (prathamottamayor anabhyāsam ity arthaḥ—Com.). See also AŚS. vii. 10 6, viii. 1. 13 etc. In Pāṇini also it is used in this sense in “mithyopapadāt kṛṇō’bhyāse” i. 3. 71 where Jayāditya explains : abhyāsaḥ punaḥ punaḥ karaṇam, āvṛttiḥ. From this it easily passes on to its technical sense of ‘reduplication’ which is first found in the Nirukta : kakṣo gāhateḥ, kṣa iti nāma-kāraṇaḥ, khyāter vānarthaḥ ‘bhyāsaḥ’ ii. 2, cakadrāti kadrātīti sato ‘narthako’ bhyāsaḥ ii. 3, ādinā-bhyāsenopadhām ādatte. bahastir atti-karmā. iv. 12.

“Abhyasta” in the sense of ‘reduplicated’ is also found for the first time in the Nirukta : rarāṇo rātir abhyastaḥ ii. 12, erire itīrtir upasṛṣṭo ‘bhyastaḥ’ iv. 23, rarivān rātir abhyastaḥ iv. 25, sararūkaṃ vā syāt sarter abhyastāt vi. 3. In the sense of ‘repeated’ it occurs in “ayutaṃ niyutaṃ prayutaṃ tattad abhyāstam” iii. 10.

In Pāṇini the term “abhyāsa” is restricted to the reduplicated portion of the root (pūrvo’bhyāsaḥ vi. 1. 4) and “abhyasta” to the root along with the reduplicated portion

(ubhe abhyastam vi. 1. 5.). K. uses the term in exactly similar senses (iii. 3. 4-5).

For “abhyāsa” Devanandin uses ‘ca’ (iv. 3. 11) and for “abhyasta” ‘tha’ (iv. 3. 9). ‘Ca’ means ‘addition, repetition’ and is a good substitute for “abhyāsa”, ‘tha’ probably represents the final syllable of ‘abhyasta’ in its Prakrit form (cf. thara for stara).

Taking the hint from Pāṇini’s rule “pūrvo’bhyāsaḥ” vi. 1. 4, Śāk. uses ‘pūrva’ for ‘abhyāsa’ and thus saves one syllable. (Cf. “pūrvasvāsve’cīyuvyoh” iv. 1. 76 corresponding to Pāṇini’s “abhyāsasyāsavarṇe” vi. 4. 78). For “abhyasta” following in the footsteps of Candra he uses “aj-jhi” which is explained thus in the Vṛtti on i. 2. 14 : ad bhavati jhir yasmāt (acc. to i. 4. 89). Thus, for Pāṇini’s “sij-abhyasta-vidibhyaś ca” iii. 4. 109, Śāk. has ‘sivid-ajjher abhvaḥ’ i. 4. 107 and for Pāṇini’s “śnābhastayor ātaḥ” vi. 4. 112 he has “śnāj-jhīr ātaḥ” iv 2. 47. Śāk. also uses ‘dvyukti’ for ‘abhyasta’. Cf. i. 4. 89.

Candra uses “dvir-ukta” for “abhyasta”. Thus for Pāṇini’s “ad abhyastāt” vii. 1. 4, Candra has “dvir uktād at” i. 4. 4. C. uses si-jhi also. Thus for Pāṇini’s नाभ्यस्तादीतु vii. 1. 75. C. has नाज्भे शातुः v. 4. 32. The reference here is the rule द्विरुक्तादत् i. 4. 4. For “abhyāsa” he uses “dvitve pūrva”. Cf. “dvitve pūrvasyāsāme” v. 3. 84 corresponding to Pāṇini’s “abhyāsasyāsavarṇe” vi. 4. 78.

Vopadeva uses “khi” for “abhyāsa”. Thus the rule corresponding to Pāṇini’s “abhyāsasyāsavarṇe” vi 4. 78 is “kher yor iyuv arṇe” in Mu. ‘Khi’ is evidently the ‘kh’ of ‘khaṇḍa’

with a euphonic 'i'. For 'abhyasta' Mu. has 'dvi', the first syllable of 'dvirukta'.

Hc. follows Śāk. and uses "pūrva" for "abhyāsa", e.g., "aṅe-hi-hāno ho ghaḥ pūrvāt" iv. 1. 34, "Pūrvasyāsve svare yvor iyuv" iv. 1. 37. For "abhyasta" he uses "dvyukta", e.g. "dvyuktopāntyasya śiti svare" iv. 3. 14.

Su., Sam., and PR. use "abhyāsa" and "abhyasta".

HN. uses "nara" for "abhyāsa" and "Nārāyaṇa" for "abhyasta", probably because "Nārāyaṇa" contains a larger number of syllables including 'na' which is also the first syllable.

In the Uṇādi-sūtras "abhyāsa" is used in the sense in which it is used by Pāṇini; e.g. pṛ-vṛṇām dveruk cābhyāsasya iv. 55.

From PR. we learn that "prān" was another name for "abhyāsa".

पा । पूर्वोभ्यासः । उभे अभ्यस्तम् । ६।१।४-५
का । पूर्वोभ्यासः । द्वयम् अभ्यस्तम् । ३।३।४-५
जै । पूर्वश्च । ४।३।११, थः ४।३।९ (ते द्वे समुदिते थ-संज्ञे
स्तः—वृत्तिः ।)

मु । द्वेः पूर्वः खिः । ५।१९ (द्विरुक्त-जक्षादी द्विः १७५) ।

प्र । तत् पूर्वं प्राङ्भ्यासश्च कथ्यते । १३।४०६ । अभ्यस्ताः
शास्त्रचकास्य(ज)क्षि दरिद्राजाप्रनेकिताः । ८।१०९ । (अनेकिताः
कृतद्विर्वचना धातवः । वृत्तिः । अनेकं करोतीत्यर्थे इन्कप्रत्यये
अनेकिताः । प्रभाप्रकाशिका ।)

ह । पूर्वो नरः । परो नारायणः । १।४३५-६ । पूर्वमभ्यासः
परमभ्यस्तमिति प्राञ्चः । वृत्तिः ।

PRATYAYA

“Pratyaya” is derived from *prati-i* ‘to go towards or against’ and means ‘that which follows’ and is used in the Prātiśākhya and their commentaries in the sense of ‘subsequent word or sound’ (sparśe coṣaḥ pratyaye pūrvapadyaḥ” RP. i. 80) ‘uṣaḥ’ forming the first member of a compound is designated ‘riphita’ when a mute follows; “Medhātithau Varuṇānta-vratāntau sparśāntasthāpratyayaū nirhrasete” RP. 90—in the Medhātithi-hymns compounds ending in ‘Varuṇa’ and ‘vrata’ are shortened, when a mute or semi-vowel follows; “sparśaḥ sve pratyaye pūrvāntasasvaro bhavati”—commentary on RT. 25). In VP. the word is used both in the sense of ‘following’ and in the sense of ‘a suffix’. Thus in “pratyaya-savarṇaṁ mudi Śākaṭāyanaḥ” iii. 9—‘Śākaṭāyana prescribes the change of a visarjanīya into the homogeneous letter of the following sound when a sibilant follows’, “pratyasavarṇa” is used in the sense of ‘parasavarṇa’. In “hrasva-vyañjanābhyāṁ vakārādaḥ vibhakti-pratyaye” v. 13, however, “vibhakti-pratyaye” means ‘a suffix which is a case-ending’. In CA. “pratyaya” is used in the sense of a suffix. Cf. nāmika-rephāt pratyaya-sakārasya ii. 86, vyavadhāv apratyaye iii. 3. But in the commentary it is used in the sense of subsequent also :

पूर्वरूपस्य मात्रार्थं समानकरणं परम् ।

प्रत्ययेन भवेत् कार्यमेतत् संयुक्तमिष्यते ॥ १।५०

In TP. “pratyaya” is used in the sense of augment in “akurva iti ca pratyayāt paraḥ” v. 7. In Pāṇini we find the

word used in the specialized sense of a suffix exactly as “apṛkta” is used in reference to a suffix. In the Śrauta sūtras and Nirukta the word is used in the sense of conception, assumption, notion, idea. “Artha-pratyaya” occurs in the Nirukta (i. 15) in the sense of ‘certainty of meaning.’

In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa i. 1. 26 quoted under KṚT, “pratyaya” appears to be used in the sense of ‘case-ending’.

From the Prātiśākhya it would appear that “pratyaya” at one time included suffixes, prefixes, infixes and augments. “Pratyaya” is used in this sense only once by Pāṇini in “aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ” i. 1. 69. Hence the objector urges in the Mbh.: atyālpam idam ucyate—apra-tyaya iti. apratyayādeśaṭit-kin-mita iti vaktavyam.

The etymological sense is thus shown in Mbh. iii. 1. 2.8: yas tam artham sampratyāyayati sa pratyayaḥ.

“Anta-karaṇa” and “upabandha” would appear to be the earlier names for a “pratyaya.” Both are met with in the Nirukta.

While explaining “kim punar dvigu-saṃjñā pratyayot-tarapadayor bhavati” under “taddhitārthottarapada-samāhāre ca” ii. 1. 50, Kaiyaṭa says: “Kāśakṛtsnasya ‘pratyayottarapadayoḥ’ iti sūtram.” From this it is clear that Kāśakṛtsna also used “pratyaya” in the sense of a suffix.

All the different systems of Sanskrit grammar use “pratyaya” for a suffix, with the exception of J. and Mu. J. uses the second syllable “tya”. for “pratyaya” and Mu. follows J.

K., Sam. and Su. use “pratyaya” without defining it.

That to which the suffix is added is known as the “Prakṛti.”

“Prakṛti” has the sense of ‘original form’ in the Nirukta,* Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini. Sam. uses ‘Prakṛti’ in this sense in “prakṛtivad dvir. guṇādiś ca” ii. 566 etc. In ii. 289 mūla-prakṛti is used. Goyicandra explains it thus : Prakṛti-pedena yasmāt pratyayotpattis tasyaiva grahaṇe siddhe mūla-prakṛtīti kṛtam—yasmād dhātoḥ śabdaḥ vyutpāditas tad-graṇānāṁ ; dhātur eva śabdasya mūlaprakṛtiḥ, dhātu-jatvāt sarvaśab-Raghuvaṁśa :

It would appear that the words “Prakṛti” and Mūlaprakṛti” as used in grammar are borrowed from the Sāṃkhya philosophy.

Two of the greatest poets of India have made use of these two technical terms in their poems. Kālidasa says in his Raghuvaṁśa :

ता नराधिपसुता नृपात्मजैस्ते च ताभिरगमन् कृतार्थताम् ।
सोऽभवद् वरवधूसमागमः प्रत्ययप्रकृतियोगसन्निभः ॥

“The princesses attained the object of their being on being united with the princes, as did the princes by being joined together with the princesses. The union of the bride and the bride-groom was like the combination of the base with the affix” (xi. 56).

Bhāravi has the following stanza in his Kirātārjunīya :

स भवस्य भवक्षयैकहेतोः सितसप्तेश्च विधास्यतोः सहार्थम् ।
रिपुराप पराभवाय मभ्यं प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोरिवानुबन्धः ॥

“The enemy came for his own overthrow between Śiva, the

* Cf. Nir. ii. 2 : अद्यापि प्रकृतय एवैकेषु भाष्यन्तै, विकृतय एकेषु । (घातो-
राख्यातपदभावेन यः प्रयोगः सा प्रकृतिः । नामीभूतस्य तस्यैव यः वियोगः सा प्रकृतिः । दुर्गः)

The Kātantra school uses “prākṛta” for “āṅga” of the Pāṇini school.

sole cause of the end of creation, and Arjuna of the white steeds, both about to accomplish their object simultaneously, even as the indicatory letter comes for elision between the base and the suffix which together express the meaning' (xiii. 19).

It may be mentioned in passing that though Bhāravi is indebted to Kālidāsa for the simile, his borrowed light is dim and obscure before the effulgence of the original. In Kālidāsa's simile the masc. 'pratyaya' and the fem. 'prakṛti' are the upamānas for the bride-groom and the bride respectively. In Bhāravi's simile the upamāna 'prakṛti' is fem., but the upameya 'bhava' is masc., and since the sense of the 'prakṛti' is subordinate to that of the 'pratyaya' Śiva becomes inferior to Arjuna. Moreover, in most cases the anubandha comes at the end of the suffix and not between the base and the suffix.

Bhaṭṭoji quotes the following stanza in his Prauḍhamano-ramā under "kim-idambhyāṃ vo ghaḥ" 1841 :

उदितवति परस्मिन् प्रत्यये शास्त्रयोर्नौ
गतवति विलयं च प्राकृतेऽपि प्रपञ्चे ।
सपदि पदमुदीतं केवलः प्रत्ययो यत्
तदियदिति मिमीते को हृदा पण्डितोऽपि ॥

'When the supreme knowledge which has its spring in scripture arose and the visible world created by Māyā or Illusion melted away, lo ! there arose an entity which is pure knowledge. Who, however learned he may be, can now measure its extent ?'

When the suffix (gha) which comes after the base and

which is prescribed in grammar was added (to idam), and when everything belonging to the base was elided, lo! there sprang into existence a word which is solely a suffix. That word is 'iyat'. Who, however learned he may be, can thoroughly understand and explain this?

The suffix-vat is added to 'idam' and the va of vat is changed into gha (*i.e.* iya) acc. to "kim-idambhyām vo ghaḥ" v. 2. 40, so that we get idam iya t. At this stage idam is changed into i acc. to idama ís v. 3. 3 so that we get i iyat. The i is now elided acc. to "yasyeti ca" vi. 4. 148 so that the whole base is elided and only the suffix remains. This is acc. to the prakriyā of Pāṇini. The commonsense view is that the stem here is i and the suffix yat. Followers of Pāṇini however, are inclined to regard kiyat, adhunā etc., as mere pratyayas, just as in English we have 'bus' which is an abbreviation of *omnibus*, the dative plural of Latin *omnis* and which corresponds to the Sanskrit case-ending -bhyas. Similarly in the Gathic Avesta we have 'tā' (Yas. xlvii. 3) for Sanskrit 'pitā,' in the Y. Avesta we find tuiryo (Vis. xii. 15) for Skt. pitṛvya.

Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha has a similar stanza in the Rasagaṅgādhara :

गुणवृद्धी परे यस्मिन्नैव स्तः प्रत्ययात्मके ।

बुधेषु सदितिख्यातं तद् ब्रह्म समुपास्महे ॥

'We worship that Brahman in whom, the Supreme Being consisting of pure thought, there is neither any attribute nor any growth or development, who is known among the wise as the existent or eternal one.'

There is a subhāṣita :

हरिहरयोरिह भेदं कलयति लोको विना शास्त्रम् ।

अनयोः प्रकृतिरभिन्ना प्रत्ययभेदाद् विभिन्नवद् भाति ॥

'People here regard Hari and Hara as different and dig their own graves, (vināśa astram) though there is nothing in the Śāstras to warrant this. Their nature (root) is the same but appears different owing to difference in knowledge (suffix).'

Pratyayas, as a rule, come after the base to which they are added. Hence Pāṇini frames the adhikāra-rule "paraś ca" immediately after the rule "pratyayaḥ" iii. 1. 1. Hence Bāṇabhaṭṭa uses the pariśamkhyā "pratyayānām paratvam" in his Kādambarī (para. 47). The only exception is the suffix 'bahuc.' Pāṇini says : "vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt tu" v. 3. 68, but Candra (iv. 3. 54 Vṛtti) and his followers refuse to regard 'bahuc' as a suffix.† 'Bahu' can easily have the secondary sense of 'to a large extent' (cf. Germ. *fast* and Fr. *assez*) and both the position of 'bahu' and the accent along with the gender of the word show that it is a compound of 'bahu' and a following word. In the Madhyama Vyāyoga attributed to Bhāsa we find "rūpaṁ sattvaṁ balaṁ caiva pitṛbhiḥ sadṛśaṁ bahu" (39) where 'bahu' is used separately as also "janayati ca mano-jvaraṁ svarō'yam bahu-sadṛśo hi dhanañjaya-svarasya" (25) where 'bahu' has been

* also विनाशास्त्रम् weapon of destruction ;

† Cf. 'more' and 'most' as forming comparatives and superlatives in English. Cf. also Mahābhāṣya iii. 1. 2.:

इयसजादीनां च केवलानां प्रयोगो दृश्यते । किमस्य इयसम्, किमस्य मावम्, काय तिथीति । इयसजादयो वै वृत्तिजसदृशा अवृत्तिजा यथा बहुस्तथा ।

compounded with 'sadrśa.' Goyīcandra in his commentary on Sam. Taddhita Pariśiṣṭa 1149 tries to controvert this view, but he is not convincing. See Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik. II. 1. 236.

पा । प्रत्ययः । परश्च । आद्युदात्तश्च । ३।१।१-३

महाभाष्यम् । प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययः ।

यदि प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययः, अविकादीनां प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति । न हि ते किञ्चित् प्रत्याययन्ति ।

एवं तर्हि प्रत्याययत इति प्रत्ययः ।

एवमपि सन्नादीनां न प्राप्नोति ।

एवं तर्ह्युभयसाधनोऽयम्, कर्तृसाधनः कर्मसाधनश्च ।

एवं तर्हि कुत एतत् समानेऽपूर्वोपदेशे त्रापुषं जातुष-
मित्यत्राकारस्तमर्थं प्रत्याययति, न पुनः षकार इति ।

अन्यत्राप्यकारेण तस्यार्थस्य प्रत्यायनान्मन्यामहे—अकारस्तमर्थं
प्रत्याययति, न पुनः षकार इति ।

कान्यत्र ?

“बिल्वादिभ्योऽण्” (४।३।१३६) । वैल्वः ॥ ३।१।१

शब्दकौस्तुभम् । प्रतियन्यनेनार्थमिति हि प्रत्ययः । घिकारागमौ
त्वनर्थकौ । न चैवम् “अवेः कः” (५।४।२८) इत्यादीनां समासान्तानां
च प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न स्यात्, अनर्थकत्वाद् इति वाच्यम् । स्वार्थिका अपि
प्रत्ययार्थेनार्थवन्तः । ३।१।१-२

जै । त्यः । परः । ३।१।१

शा । प्रत्ययः कृतोऽषष्ठ्याः । (इजाद्यायात्तद्धितः । ध्याद्यतिङ्
कृत् ।) परः । १।१।४१-४४

हे । अनन्तः पञ्चभ्याः प्रत्ययः । १।१।३८

मु। परस्त्यः। १८

सु। सुबाद्याः प्रत्ययाः परे २।२।२

सुस्-सनादि-लडादि-घिकरण-कृत्-तद्धिताः प्रत्ययरुंक्षकाः प्रकृतेः परे भवन्तीति परिभाषिताः। कथं बृहुत्तृणम्? सुपो बहुर्घा पूर्वे तु [५।४।२०३] इति विशेषवचनात्।

प्र। विभक्ति-तद्धिताख्या-कृतश्च प्रत्यया मताः। २।१७२

ह। प्रकृतिः पूर्वा। प्रत्ययः परः। १।१५०-१

निरुक्तटीकाकारो दुर्गः। धातोराख्यात-पदभावेन यः प्रयोगः सा प्रकृतिः। नामीभूतस्य तस्यैव यः प्रयोगः सा विकृतिः। (अथापि प्रकृतय एवैकेषु भाष्यन्ते विकृतय एकेषु २।२।१ इत्यत्र।)

न्यासः। प्रत्ययात् प्रथमं क्रियत इति प्रकृतिः। १।१।१

कातन्ववृत्तिः। प्रत्ययात् प्रथमे क्रियत इति प्रकृतिः। ३।२।१

कातन्वीय-दुर्गटीका। प्रक्रियतेऽस्यामिति वा प्रकृतिः।

हेमचन्द्रबृहद्वृत्तिः। यस्मद् यः प्रत्ययो विधीयते स तस्य प्रकृतिः। ७।४।११५

सुपञ्जविवरणपञ्जिका। प्रत्ययात् पूर्वं क्रियते इति प्रकृतिः। प्रत्ययमवधिं कृत्वा यत् पूर्वमुपादीयते सा प्रकृतिरिति प्रसिद्धमेवतत्। उपोद्घातः।

प्रसादः। प्रत्ययमवधिं कृत्वा यः पूर्वमुपादीयते शब्दः सा प्रकृतिः, प्रकर्षेण नियमेनास्मात् प्रत्ययः क्रियते इति वा प्रकृतिः भू इत्यादिः। धातुप्रातिपदिक-ड्यन्ताबन्त-सुबन्त-तिङन्तानि।

प्रकृतिः सा जयत्याद्या यया धात्वादिरूपया।

व्यज्यन्ते शब्दरूपाणि परप्रत्ययसन्निधेः॥ प्रक्रिया-कौमुदी।

प्रकृतिप्रत्ययोपेतः सद्रुत्तः साधुसम्मतः।

अर्थार्पणसमर्थश्च सुश्लोक इव सज्जनः॥ सु र भा ४६।५४

यदिन्दोरन्वेति व्यसनमुदयं वा निधिरपा-
मुपाधिस्तत्रायं जयति जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिता ।
अयं कः सम्बन्धो यदनुहरते तस्य कुमुदं
विशुद्धाः शुद्धानां ध्रुवमनभिसन्धिपूणयिनः ॥ ५१।२३५

APRKTA.

The word "Aprkta" is hardly found outside grammatical literature. But 'prkta' is a good old word occurring from RV. downwards and means 'mixed or mingled with, brought into contact with,' from *prc* 'to mix, unite, join.' Hence "aprkta" means 'not united, uncombined.' In the Prātiśākhya it is used in the sense of 'a word consisting of a single letter.' Pāṇini restricted it to *suffixes* consisting of a single letter. Later grammarians thought it better to use "ekāl" for "aprkta" which, besides having a larger number of syllables, had become practically obsolete.

RP. does not define "aprkta" but uses it several times : ukāraś ceti-karaṇena yukto rakto'prkto drāghitaḥ Śākalena i. 75, aprktam ekākṣaram xi. 3. The word is used exactly in the same way in CA : ukārasyetāv aprktasya i. 72, nipāto'prkto'nākāraḥ i. 79, trīni padāny aprkta-madhyāni iv. 113.

VP. defines "aprkta" thus : eka-varṇaḥ padam aprktam i. 151.

TP. has eka-varṇaḥ padam. so'prkta-saṃjñāḥ* i. 54-55.

* Whitney reads : eka-varṇaḥ padam aprktaḥ.

Pāṇini defines "apṛkta" thus : apṛkta ekāl-pratyayaḥ i. 2. 41, 'a suffix consisting of a single letter is Apṛkta' and uses the word generally in the sense of a single consonant : ver apṛktasya vi. 1. 67, hal-nyābbhyo dīrghāt su-ti-syapṛktaṃ hal vi. 1. 68, guṇo'pṛkte vii. 3. 91, asti-sico'pṛkte vii. 3. 96.

It is difficult to determine if the rule defining "apṛkta" was composed by Pāṇini himself or borrowed by him from his predecessors. In the case of "vṛddhir ādaic" i. 1. 1 Patañjali apologises for Pāṇini : idam ekam ācāryasya maṅgalārthaṃ mṛṣyatām. He does not, however, raise the question of Vidheyāvimarśa in the case of "apṛkta ekāl-pratyayaḥ" i. 2. 141 as in the case of "vṛddhir ādaic" i. 1. 1.

In his *Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī* Pawate draws attention to the fact that in "apṛkta ekāl-pratyayaḥ" i. 2. 41 "apṛkta" is masculine, whereas in "hal-nyābbhyo dīrghāt su-ti-syapṛktaṃ hal" vi. 1. 68, the word is neuter. But there is nothing peculiar in this. In the latter rule "apṛkta" is an adjective to 'hal' and as the pratyāhāras are both masculine and neuter* in the Aṣṭādhyāyī it is neuter. In "apṛktaṃ ekākṣaram advi-yoni" RP. xi. 3 "apṛkta" is neuter because 'akṣaram' is neuter, in "eka-varṇaḥ padam apṛktaṃ" VP. i. 151, "apṛkta" is neuter, because 'padam' is neuter. In 'ukāro'pṛktaḥ" VP. 95 "apṛkta" is masculine because 'ukāraḥ' is masculine. In "apṛktaḥ sau" VP. iii. 110 "apṛkta" is used as a substantive and therefore masculine.

* Under "halantyaṃ" i. 3. 3. the Bālaṃanoramā remarks : hal-śabdo napuṃsaka-liṅgo'pyasti, antyaṃ iti napuṃsakasāmānādhikaranyāt. In "halo'nantarāḥ saṃyogaḥ" i. 1. 7 'hal' is masculine.

KṚT.

The name for the primary suffix is 'kṛt' in almost every system of grammar. It is formed from the root 'kṛ' with the agent suffix 'kvip' and being itself an instance of a word formed with a primary suffix became a generic name for the suffix. In exactly the same way 'kṛtya' stands for the gerundive suffixes. In AB. 'kurvat' 'kariṣyat' and 'kṛtam' represent the present, future and past tenses respectively. The generic word "kāraka" as also the names of most of the individual kārakas are also derived from the root 'kṛ'. Similarly "ñic" is known as "kārita", "san" as "cikīṛṣita", "yañ" as "cekriyita" and "yañluk" as "carkarīta".

In the technical sense "kṛt" occurs for the first time in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa : ko dhatur ityāpir dhātuh. avatim apy'eke. rūpa-sāmānyād arthasāmānyam nedīyah. tasmād āper omkārah. sarvam āpnotītyarthaḥ. kṛdantam arthavat prātipadikam. adarśanam pratyayasya. nāma sampadyate. nipāteṣu cainam vaiyākaraṇā udāttaṁ samāmananti. tad avyayī-bhūtaṁ anvartha-vācī śadbo no vyeti kadācaneti. i. 1. 26.

Next we find in the Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra (ii. 8. 14) : "kṛtam nāma dadyāt"—a passage similar to which is quoted in the introductory chapter of Mbh. : Daśamyuttara-kālam putrasya jātasya nāma vidadhyād ghoṣavad-ādyantar-antastham avṛddham tri-puruṣānūkam anari* pratiṣṭhitam. taddhi

* In the corresponding passage in the Caraka Saṁhitā viz. tatrā-bhiprāyikaṁ ghoṣavadādyantasthāntam ūsmāntaṁ vā'vṛddham tripuruṣānūkam anari-pratiṣṭhitam, nākṣatrikaṁ tu nakṣatra-devatā-samānā-

pratiṣṭhitatamaṃ bhavati. dvyakṣaraṃ catur-akṣaraṃ vā nāma kṛtaṃ kuryān na taddhitam.

Next we find in the Nirukta (ii. 2) : athāpi bhāṣikebhyo dhātubhyo naigamāḥ kṛto bhāṣyante damūnāḥ kṣetraśādhā iti, 'again, from roots of classical Sanskrit are derived Vedic names ending in primary suffixes as 'damūnāḥ,' kṣetraśādhāḥ' etc. Durga explains 'kṛtaḥ' here as "kṛtpratyayāntāḥ śabdāḥ".

Kṛt is not found in RP. and TP., but occurs several times in VP. : tiṅ-kṛt-taddhita-catuṣṭaya-samāsāḥ śabdamayam i. 27, etc. Both commentators take 'catuṣṭaya' as an adjective to 'samāsa' and explain 'catuṣprakārāḥ samāsā avyayibhāva-tatpuruṣa-dvandva-bahuvrīhayāḥ'. In K., however, catuṣṭaya means nāman, kāraka, sandhi and strīpratyaya and something like that may well be the meaning here.

शब्दानां साधनं यत्र कारकाणाञ्च निर्णयः ।

समासस्तद्धितो यत्र स चतुष्टय उच्यते ॥

In the corresponding stanza of the Nāṭyaśāstra we find :

एभिर्व्यञ्जनयुक्तैर्नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातैः ।

तद्धितसन्धिविभक्तिभिरधिष्ठितः शब्द इत्युक्तः ॥

Following K., the Nāṭyaśāstra does not mention kṛt.

Sarvarman, the author of K., did not frame rules for kṛtpratyayas. These were supplied by Vararuci who says in his introduction :

khyam dvyakṣaram caturakṣaram vā (iv. 8. 50), 'anari-pratiṣṭhitam. has become 'anavapraṣṭhitam' in MSS. and printed editions through the error of scribes who mistook *r* for *v* owing to the very great similarity of the two letters in Bengali script.

वृक्षादिषदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कृतः ।

कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धिपूतिबुद्धये ॥

still the name of the suffix was kṛt according to him also, for we find “kartṛ-karmaṇoḥ kṛti nityam” ii. 4. 41 corresponding to Pāṇini’s “kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti” ii. 3. 65.

The Prātiśākhya of AV. also contain the word :

कृदन्ते द्वुपसर्गे यत् पूर्वण घिप्रहः ।

अनर्थकः कर्मप्रघचनीयो व्यूढो वा विगृह्यते ॥ i. 1. 10

पा । कृदतिङ् ३।१।९३

जै । कृदमिङ् २।९।९९

शा । घ्याद्यतिङ् कृत् १।१।४३

घ्यणादिप्रत्यय-संज्ञं (४।३।६०) तिङ्घर्जितं कृत्संज्ञ

भवति । वृत्तिः ।

हे । आ तुमोऽत्यादिः कृत् ५।१।१

स । लङ्लृङ्ङ्वत् कृच्छतृशानौ ३।१

मु । कृद्धोः कभावे ९।३३

सु । कृद्धुलम् ४।१।१

प्र । कृतः कर्तरि १६।२

ह । धातुं सर्वमुपादाय सर्वं रूपं करोति यः ।

कृत् स एवेति विस्मित्य तद्धर्मा कृत् प्रशस्यते ॥

धातोः कृद्धुलं कर्तरि । ५।१-२

KṚTYA

Kṛtya is a sub-class under kṛt and is the name of the gerundive suffixes tavya, tavyat, anīyar, yat, nyat, kyap and kelima. It is formed from the root kṛ with the gerundive

suffix-kyap and, like kṛt, is taken as the representative of all gerundive suffixes. As the Prakriyā-sarvasva says :

कर्तरि क्पि कृच्छब्दो येषां मध्ये हि दृश्यते ।

छत्रिन्यायात् कृतस्ते स्युरेवं कृत्यसमाख्यया ॥

Another very great advantage of the term is that its form also distinctly shows that it is a sub-class of 'kṛt'. C uses "tavyādi-ṣaṭ" for "kṛtya". Thus for the dictum "lumped avaśyamaḥ kṛtye" C. has "tavyādi-ṣaṭke'vaśya-maḥ" v. 2. 90.

The suffixes are known as "vya" (the second syllable of tavya) in J. In RT. 'vya' stands for 'tālavya'.

Vopadeva is compelled to call these "lya" as "vya" has already been used for "avyaya". He takes the letter nearest to 'v' and adds 'ya' to it. In the Pāṇini system 'lya (p)' stands for the gerundial suffix 'ya', but as the 'l' here serves the purpose of indicating the accent and as Mu., like other grammars of classical Sanskrit, does not take accentuation into account, Vopadeva substitutes 'yap' for 'lyap'. (Śāk. uses 'pya' for 'yap'.)

Śāk. uses "ghyap" (1. 3. 168) for "kṛtya". "Ghyap" is a pratyāhāra formed with the 'ghya' of 'ghyaṇ' (Pāṇini's nyat) and 'p' of 'kyap'.

Sam. uses kṛtya in v. 38.

HN. uses Viṣṇukṛtya for Kṛtya.

पा । कृत्याः ३११९५

कात्यायनः । कृत्यसंज्ञायां प्राङ्ण्वुल्बचनम् ३११९५१२

जै । ण्वोढ्याः २११२०१

हे । ते कृत्याः ५११४७

ते घ्यण् तव्य अनीय य क्यप् इत्येते प्रत्ययाः कृत्यसंज्ञा भवन्ति ।
बृहद्वृत्तिः ।

मु । ते ल्याः शक्यार्ह्यप्रेष्यानुज्ञाप्राप्तकाले वा । ९९०

सु । कृत्याः प्राङ् णकात् ४।१।८

प्र । तव्यानीयौ केलिमयौ क्यप् घ्यण् केन्य त्व केतवै । कृत्या
लिङ्गार्थाः । १६।९६

ह । विध्याद्यर्थे तव्यानीय-यत्-क्यप्-ण्यत्-केलिमा विष्णुकृत्य-
संज्ञा भावकर्मणोः । ५।१४९

The term 'kr̥tya' is very happily used by Kalhaṇa (iv. 635) :

नितान्तं कृतकृत्यस्य गुणवृद्धिविधायिनः ।

श्रीजयापीडदेवस्य पाणिनेश्च किमन्तरम् ॥

“Wherein lies the difference between His Majesty King Jayāpīḍa who has fully performed his duties and has developed all good qualities, and Pāṇini who has treated of the gerundive suffixes fully and has prescribed Guṇa and vṛddhi ?”

In Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* (Vani Vilasa Press ed., p. 334) occurs the line : व्याकरणमिव स्त्री-नदी-कृत्य-बहुलम् 'abounding in the actions of rivers even as grammar abounds with feminine forms, words technically termed "nadi" and gerundive suffixes.'

NISTHA AND SAT.

Niṣṭhā

“Niṣṭhā”, the name given to the past participial suffixes -kta and -ktavatu by Pāṇini, was originally “niṣṭhā,” even

as the word “antasthā” so familiar to us in grammatical literature was originally “antaḥsthā”. The visarga of “niḥsthā” must have been dropped later on according to the Vārttika “vā-sar-pṛakarane kharpare lopah” viii. 3. 36. 1. “Niṣṭhā” is derived from the root *sthā* preceded by the upasarga *nir* with the primary suffix *añ*. *Niḥ sthā* means ‘to stand firm’, hence ‘niṣṭhā’ means ‘firm decision, perfection, completion,’ and thence came to mean ‘a completed action’. The exactly corresponding English word ‘perfect’ is used in the same sense in such expressions as ‘present perfect tense.’ The word “niṣṭhā” goes back to RV. and is analysed in the Pada-text as “niḥ-sthāḥ” (ix. 110.9). It is used in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (vii. 20. 1) in our sense :

यदा वै निस्तिष्ठत्यथ श्रद्धधाति, नानिस्तिष्ठञ् श्रद्धधाति, निस्तिष्ठ-
न्नेव श्रद्धधाति । निष्ठा त्वेव विजिज्ञासितव्येति । निष्ठां भगवो
विजिज्ञास इति ।

Though the chapter on primary suffixes in K. is by Vararuci still we learn from a rule in the Kāraka-section (na niṣṭhādiṣu ii. 4. 42) that Sarvavarman also used the term ‘niṣṭhā.’

RT. uses Niṣṭhā in the rule “niṣṭhayām it tādau” 234.

Candra uses “ta-tavat” every time. Thus for Pāṇini’s “niṣṭhāyām seṭi” vi 4. 52 C. has “ta-tavatiṭi” v. 3. 68 and for “radābhyām niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ” viii. 2. 42 C. has “radāt ta-tavator daś ca” vi. 3. 74.

J. uses “ta” as the upalakṣaṇa for “-ta” and “-tavat.”

Śāk. and Hc. use “kta” in the dual for -kta and -ktavatu.

Sam. does not use “niṣṭhā” but mentions -kta and -ktavatu each time.

Mu. follows Sam.

Su. and PR. follow Pāṇini and use “niṣṭhā”.

HN. prefixes the word Viṣṇu to “niṣṭhā” and calls these suffixes “Viṣṇu-niṣṭhā,” even as it calls “pada” “Viṣṇu-pada” and the kṛtya-suffixes “Viṣṇu-kṛtya.”

Sār. uses “ktādi” for “niṣṭhā.”

The Prakriyā-sarvasva explains “niṣṭhā” thus :

निष्ठा परिसमाप्तिः स्यात् सा च भूतार्थयोर्द्वयोः ।

अर्थः स्यादित्यभेदेन निष्ठाख्यो प्रत्ययावपि ॥

पा । क्त-क्तवत् निष्ठा १।१।२६

का । क्त-क्तवत् निष्ठा । कृदृत्ति ८४

सु । क्त-क्तवत् निष्ठा ३।२।१६

प्र । क्त-क्तवन्त् निष्ठा संज्ञौ भूते २०।२७९

ह । अतीतादौ क्त-क्तवत् विष्णुनिष्ठासंज्ञौ ५।२८

The Rāja-taraṅgiṇī (iv. 637) uses this technical term also :

कृतविप्रोपसर्गस्य भूतनिष्ठाविधायिनः ।

श्रीजयापीडदेवस्य पाणिनेश्च किमन्तरम् ॥

‘Wherein lies the difference between His Majesty King Jayāpīḍa who brought down calamity on the Brāhmaṇas and who put an end to people and Pāṇini who laid down the preposition *vi* and *pra* and who prescribed the suffixes *-kta* and *-ktavatu* to denote past time?’

अङ्गीकृततितिक्षः सेङ् गुणिनिष्ठापरो यथा ।

मृषिस्तथा विजयते श्रीरामो राजसत्तमः ॥

पद्यामृततरङ्गिणी ४५

‘Rāma, the best of kings, whose accepted creed is forgiveness, who is given to devotion, who is an object of praise

and who is possessed of all good qualities is all conquering like the root *mṛṣ* which with the union vowel *i(t)* takes *guṇa* in the past participle in the sense of forgiveness (P. i. 2. 20)'.

Sat.

“Sat” is the name of the present participial suffixes *-śatṛ* and *-śānac* in the systems of Pāṇini and Devanandin (*tau sat* P. iii. 2. 127, J. ii. 3. 15). *Sat* is itself a present participle, being derived from the roots *as* to be’ with the suffix *-śatṛ*, and is taken as the type of all present participles, active and middle. HN. uses “acyutābha” for these suffixes (*vartam-ānādaṁ śatṛ-śānacāṁ acyutābhau phalāntaraprayoge parapadā-tmapadayoḥ* v. 3). “Acyuta” stands for the present (*laṭ*) in this system and so “Acyu-tābha” (literally ‘resembling the present’) very properly stands for the present participial suffixes. The other systems find it unnecessary to have a single name for the two suffixes and generally use *śatṛ-śānacau*, *śatrānau* etc. for them.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that HN. alone of all the systems of Sanskrit grammar uses the technical term “adhokṣajābha” for the perfect participial suffixes *-kvasu* and *-kānac* and *ki* (*parokṣātīte kvasu-ki-kānā adhokṣajābhā-saṁjñāḥ parapadūtmapadayoḥ* v. 20).

TADDHITA.

“Taddhita” is evidently formed from “tasmai hitam.” Probably in the older grammars instead of “tasmai hitam” the rule for hitārthaka taddhita was “taddhitam” and since

the word was auspicious, containing as it did *hita*. it came to stand for all the secondary suffixes. In recent times, however, a class of indigenous scholars gives a wide berth to the *taddhita* section on the ground that it is beneficial to others but not to one's own self. K. also uses the term "*taddhita*" though it deals with the very important suffixes only and Sarvavarman does not appear to have composed this portion of the work. The ancient tag has it—*Kālāpās taddhite mūrkhāḥ*. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* preserves an ancient adage—*taddhitaniūḍhāḥ Pāṇinīyāḥ* which appears to be absurd on the face of it. The correct reading would appear to be "*taddhita-mūḍhāḥ Kātantrīyāḥ*". J. in its search for a suitable monosyllabic term takes 'h' and 't' of *taddhita* and throws a 'ṛ' in between to form a word with some meaning and gets the name 'hṛt' which evidently follows the analogy of *kṛt* and 'mṛt'. Śākaṭāyanaprakriyā uses the word the "*taddhita*" as the name of the section. Hc. also uses the term. Sam. includes feminine suffixes under *taddhita*. Mu. uses the first syllable *ta* for *taddhita*. Su., PR. and even HN. use the term "*taddhita*".

The word occurs in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Nirukta*, *Dharmasūtras*, V. P. (i. 27), CA. (ii 83), BD. (ii. 106)* etc.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* explains the significance of the name

लोप-प्रकृति-प्रत्यय-विभाग-संयोगतत्त्ववचनैश्च ।

तस्मात् पूरयतेऽर्थान्स्ततो यतस्तद्धितस्तस्मात् (?) ॥ १५।२९

* विग्रहान्निर्वचः कार्ये समासेष्वपि सञ्ज्ञिते ।

प्रविभज्यैव निम्नूयाद् दृष्टार्हो दृष्ट इत्यपि ॥

"In compounds, as well as in a secondary derivative, explanation

The Prakriyā-sarvasva says :

तस्मै हितमिति ह्यर्थो यन्मध्ये ते च तद्धिताः ।

The Gūḍhaprakāśikā says :

तेभ्यश्छात्रेभ्यो हितः सुकरत्वात् नानापदव्युत्पादकत्वाच्च तद्धितः ।

Candra does not use the term. For Pāṇini's taddhiteṣ vacām ādeḥ. kiti ca." vii. 2. 117-8, Candra has "kiti cāpatyā-dāvacām ādeḥ" vi. 1. 11.

The Nirukta gives "daṇḍya" as an instance of 'ekaparvan taddhita' and "kakṣyā" as an instance of 'anekaparvan taddhita'. It is clear from this that Yāska included the feminine suffixes under taddhita. Pāṇini, however, though treating of both in the same chapter, puts in the adhikāra-

should proceed from analysis : one should explain after separating the parts ; thus 'punishable' (daṇḍ-ya) as 'deserving punishment' (daṇḍa-arha). Macdonell.

This is based on Nirukta ii. 2 :

अथ तद्धितसमासश्चैकपर्वस्तुनैकपर्वसु च पूर्वं पूर्वसपररुपरं प्रविभज्य निर्वृयात् ।

In BD. i. 3 :

तद्धितांस्तदभिप्रायानृषीणां मन्त्रदृष्टिषु ।

विज्ञापयति विज्ञान कर्माणि विविधानि च ॥

"Taddhita" appears to be used in the sense of 'contained in them'.

Cf. Nyāsa iv. 1. 76 : संहत्याः संज्ञायाः कारण एतत् प्रयोजनम्, अन्वयसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायते—तेभ्यो हितस्तद्धिताः । तदित्यनेन लौकिका वैदिकाश्च शब्दाः प्रत्यवसृज्यन्ते, तेषां बुत्पायत्वेन प्रकृतत्वात् । तेन तत्रैव भवन्त्याणादयो यत्र च भवन्त्येवामुपकारिणो भवन्ति, नात्यत्रेति । तेनाभिधानलक्षणत्वं तद्धितानामुपपन्नं भवति ।

rule "taddhitāḥ" at the end of the feminine suffixes* Su Sam. and others follow the older method, while J., Mu. and others follow the new method.

Sāk. uses the pratyāhāra "syat" for the feminine suffixes. Cf. pratyaya-nyak-syat prakṛtyādeḥ i. 1. 59 where the commentary Cintāmaṇi says : syad iti "gurūpottamasyānārṣe"-patye'ñiṇaḥ śyañ" i. 3. 2. ityārabhya "yūnas tit" i. 3. 76 ityatas takāreṇa pratyāhāraḥ. This pratyāhāra is formed after the analogy of suñ i. 1. 62 for sup and tñ.

The samāsāntas are regarded as Taddhita by Pāṇini. Sam. distinctly says : "sa ca taddhitāḥ" vii. 253

पा । तद्धिताः ४।१।७६

जै । हतः ३।१।८२

शा । इजाद्यायात् तद्धितः १।१।४२

हे । तद्धितोऽणादि ६।१।१

स । नाम्नोऽतः स्त्रियामात्तद्धितः ४।१

मु । आदिस्तः ५।२।८

चैक्याच्चुदप्रहोः (३२४) इत्यकारमारभ्य यस्त्यः (प्रत्ययः) उक्तः

स तसंज्ञः स्यात् ।

सु । तद्धिते ५।१।१

* अथ तद्धिताधिकारः स्त्रीप्रत्ययानामादित एव कस्यान् क्रियते ? किमेवं सति भवति ? ङाप्रत्ययमपि तद्धितान्नत्वात् प्रातिपदिकमिति ङाप्प्रातिपदिकात् [४।१।१] इत्यत्र ङाप्रत्ययहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति, प्राचां षस्तद्धिते [४।१।१७] इत्यत्र च तद्धितग्रहणम्, यस्मिन् च [६।४।१४८] इतीकारग्रहणं च, तद्धित इतीवं सिद्धत्वात् । अशक्यमेवं कर्तुम् । एवं हि क्रियमाणे तत्र ङाप्-ग्रहणस्य यत् पूर्वं प्रयोजनमुक्तं तन्न स्यात्, ङीप्-ङीष्-ङीनाच्च ङकारसिद्धान्तः, 'अतद्धिते' [१।१।८] इति प्रतिषेधात् । इह च पट्वीति 'ओ गुणः' [६।४।१४६] इति गुणः स्यात् । न्यास ४।१।७६

- प्र । चित्रार्थपदनिर्माणनिदानप्रत्ययश्रियाम् ।
 निधानं तद्विताध्यायप्रायमाराधये हरिम् ॥
 एकवाक्ये तद्विता वा पदादर्थानुसारिणः । ७।९६०-१
 ह । अथ तद्विताः । ७।९२

TADRĀJA

“Tadrāja” literally means ‘king of that’ and stands for the suffixes añ, aṇ, ñyañ, ŋya and iñ prescribed by Pāṇini in rules iv. 1. 168-173. Though these suffixes have been enjoined in the sense of ‘apatya’, still because of the atideśa “kṣatriya-samāna-śabdāj janapadāt tasya rājanyapatyavat” iv. 1. 168. 3 which though not distinctly formulated by Pāṇini must have occurred in some form or other in the works of his predecessors, these suffixes are known as tadrāja. Thus the Prakriyā Sarvasva says :

तस्य राजन्यपत्यार्थतुल्यप्रत्ययशासनात् ।
 तदर्थवन्तस्तद्राजा अपत्यप्रत्यया अपि ॥

K. has nothing corresponding to tadrāja. J. takes “dra” from the second syllable, adds an ‘i’ to round it off and forms “dri”. Śāk. changes “dri” into “vri”. The first example given in the commentaries is Videhānām rājā. Śāk. evidently takes the *v* of Videha and *r* of rājan and like J. adds the vowel *i* for ease of utterance. Candra uses “ñyādi” for “tadrāja”. Cf. “ñyādīnām bahuṣu luk” iv. 3. 94 corresponding to “tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām” P. ii. 4. 62. Hc. follows J.

Kramadiśvara and Vopadeva do not use the term.

Padmanābha also does not use *tadrāja*. Cf. “*yaskādi-janapada-rājanyebhyo bahuṣvastriyām*” v. 2. 126 for Pāṇini’s “*tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām*” ii. 4. 62.

PR. also does not use the term ; cf.

अस्त्रीलिङ्गे देशनामप्रसिद्धक्षत्रियस्य तु ।

तदन्तेन बहुत्वोक्ताघपत्यप्रत्ययस्य लुक् ॥ १।१०१९

HN. does not use the technical term “*tadrāja*” but uses “*rājāpatyayoh*” in vii. 312 and says under ‘*kekayād vā*’ vii. 315 : *ukte rājāpatye. atra tadrājasamjñā Pāṇinīyānām.*

पा । ते तद्राजाः ४।१।१७४ । ज्यादयस्तद्राजाः ५।३।११९

जै । ते द्विः ४।२।९ । द्विः ३।२।१९९

शा । राष्ट्रराज्ञः सरूपाद् राजापत्येञ् द्विः २।४।९८ त्रिजोऽमुख्य-
कात् पूगात् ३।४।१८१

हे । राष्ट्रक्षत्रियात् सरूपाद् राजापत्ये द्विरञ् ६।१।११४

पूगादमुख्याञ् ज्यो द्विः ७।३।६०

GOTRA AND YUVAN.

“Go-tra” literally means ‘that which protects (tra) cows (go)’ and is used in RV. in the sense of ‘cow-stall, cow-pen, hurdle’, then it meant ‘family enclosed by the hurdle’, then it came to signify the family-name. Grammarians use this word in connexion with ‘*apatya*’ and distinguish between ‘*gotrāpatya*’ and ‘*yuvāpatya*’ and the use of the former is restricted to the grandson and his descendants, if no older offspring of the same ancestor than his grandson lives. If the son lives, then the fourth descendant is known as “*yuvan*”.

so also if some older offspring lives. "Gotra" was termed "vṛddha" by the older grammarians. Both "gotra" and "vṛddha" are sufficiently self-explanatory. Pāṇini uses the word "gotra", as he had to use "vṛddha" in another sense (vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham i. 1. 73).

J. and Śāk. follow Pāṇini.

K. deos not distinguish between 'gotrāpatya' and 'yuvāpata.' Mu. follows K.

Candra generally avoids the use of "gotra" by using 'pautrādi' instead (cf. apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram P. iv. 1. 162). e.g., "pautrāder astriyām gurvāyatte" ii. 4. 18 corresponding to Pāṇini's "gotrād yūnyastriyām" iv. 1. 94, "ṛṣeḥ pautrādau" ii. 4. 23 and "pautrādeḥ striyāḥ kutsite ṇa ca" ii. 4. 79 corresponding to Pāṇini's "gotra-striyāḥ kutsane ṇa ca," iv. 1. 147. "Gotra" is used by Candra in its ordinary sense e.g. "bāhvādibhyo gotrādibhyaḥ" ii. 4. 20 for Pāṇini's "bāhvādibhyaś ca" iv. 1. 96.

Kramadīśvara also uses "pautrādi" (iv. 276, 280, 302, 350) for 'gotra' where necessary. In the rule "pautrādi-pratyayāntād yūni" (iv. 283) the term 'yuvan' is used. It is explained thus in the Vṛtti: jīvaj-jyeṣṭhabhrātṛko'strī yuvā. Jīvat-pūrvaḥ prapautrādīś ca. Jīvañ jīvad-vṛddhatara-bhrātryanya-sapiṇḍo vā. The next rule which would appear to be a part of the vṛtti is "pautrādīḥ pūjā-nindayoḥ". In the Samāsa-section, however, we find "yuva-gotra-taddhitāntayor gotra-taddhitāntaḥ" vii. 409 where the commentator Goyīcandra remarks: "apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram iti śāstrāntara-samjñayā vyavahartavyam."

Padmanābha uses "gotra" and "yuvan" without defining them. In the Vṛtti on "ādyād eko gotre" v. 2. 79 we find 'pautrādyapatyaṃ gotram' and in the Vṛtti on the next rule "gotrād yūnyastriyām" v. 2. 80 we find "vaṃśye jīvati tadapatyaṃ yuvocyate". Under v. 2. 100 we find "gotrāpatye ye pratyayās te yuvasamjñakāḥ."

HN. uses "gotre" in the rule "gotre" vii. 290 and explains it in the Vṛtti : "pautra-prabhṛtyapatyaṃ gotram". "Yuvan" is defined in vii. 299.

पा । अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् । जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ।
भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि । वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे ष्वविरतरे जीवति ।
४।१।१६२-१६५

जै । पौत्रादि वृद्धम् ३।१।११२ । सति वंश्ये युवाऽस्त्री । ज्यायो-
भ्रातरि । सद्वा सपिण्डेऽधिवयःस्थाने । आर्थोऽर्चाकुत्सयोः ३।१।११५-
११८ (वृद्धस्यार्चायां यूनश्च कुत्सायां आर्थः संज्ञान्यतिहारः स्याद्वा ।
वृत्तिः ।)

शा । पौत्रादि वृद्धम् । प्रपौत्राद्यस्त्री-वंश्य-ज्यायोभ्रात्रोः सति
युवा । सत्सपिण्डेऽधिवयःस्थाने वा । युषवृद्धं कुत्सार्चं । १।१।१३-६

हे । पौत्रादि वृद्धम् । वंश्यज्यायोभ्रात्रोर्जीवति प्रपौत्राद्यस्त्री
युवा । सपिण्डे वयःस्थानाधिके जीवद् वा । युषवृद्धं कुत्सार्चं
वा । ६।१।६-५

सु । पौत्राद्यपत्यं गोत्रम् । जीवति वंश्ये युवाग्रजेऽपि ।
पितृव्यादौ वा वयोऽधिके । वृद्धश्च पूजायाम्, युवा च निन्दायाम् ।
५।२।११८-१२२

प्र । पौत्राद्यपत्यं गोत्रं तज्जीवत्पित्तादिकं युवा । गोत्रमेव
पूर्वाचार्यैर्वृद्धमित्युच्यते । ७।१०००

ह । पित्रादौ जीवति पौत्रादेरपत्यं युवसंज्ञम् । ज्येष्ठभ्रातरि
जीवति कनिष्ठश्च । अन्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे ज्येष्ठे युवा । तद्वित २९९
पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं गोत्रम् । तद्वित २९०

UPAGRAHA.

“Upagraha” literally means ‘seizing, taking possession of’ and thence ‘sense’, viz. whether the action is performed for the benefit of the agent or not, then Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada. It also means ‘that which is seized’, hence ‘addition of a sound’.

The word is not found in the Nirukta nor in the Prātiśākhya, but is used by Kātyāyana, Patañjali, Śabarasvāmin and others.

Under P. iii. 2. 127 we find the Vārttika “upagrahapratīṣedhaś ca” which is thus explained in the Bhāṣya : upagrahasya ca pratīṣedho vaktavyaḥ katiha nighnānāḥ. tañānāv ātmanepadam ity ātmanepadam prāpnoti.

The sense is this : If -śānan, -cānaś, etc. be regarded as substitutes for laṭ, then it will have to be laid down that the designation Ātmanepada attaching to -cānaś, -śānan, etc., according to tañānāv ātmanepadam” i. 4. 100 will not apply to these cases, otherwise in instances like “katiha nighnānāḥ,” ‘how many are here who possess the power to kill?’ the root ‘han’ preceded by ‘ni’ being Parasmaipadin cannot admit -cānaś which is Ātmanepada. Kaiyaṭa explains in his Pradīpa : upagrhyata ātmanepada-saṃjñānāyety arthaḥ, anyathā parasmaipadibhyaś cānaś na syat.

The word is probably first explained in the Upagraha-section of the Prakīrṇakāṇḍa of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya :

य आत्मनेपदाद्भेदः कचिदर्थस्य गम्यते ।
 अन्यतश्चापि लादेशान्मन्यते तमुपग्रहम् ॥
 कचित् साधनमेवासौ कचित् तस्य विशेषणम् ।
 साधनं तत्र कर्मादि व्यक्तवाचो विशेषणम् ॥
 क्रिया विषयभेदेन जीविकादिषु भिद्यते ।
 लादेशैः स क्रियाभेदो वाक्येष्वपि नियम्यते ॥
 धात्वर्थस्तद्विशेषश्चाप्युक्तः कचिदुपग्रहः ।
 धात्वर्थो गन्धनादिः स्याद् व्यतिहारो विशेषणम् ॥

By Upagraha is meant the distinction of meaning that is sometimes conveyed by the Ātmanepada and sometimes by the Parasmaipada. In some cases it is the sādhana and in some cases it is an adjective to the sādhana. Of these, sādhana signifies karman, kartṛ and bhāva.

All the distinct senses conveyed by the use of Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada come under "upagraha." Thus in the case of roots with an indicatory svarita vowel or an indicatory ñ, the use of the Ātmanepada shows that the benefit of the action accrues to the agent, in the case of Parasmaipadin roots, the Ātmanepada shows that the verb is used in the passive or neuter voice, in the case of roots like *kram* etc., it indicates the peculiar sense of 'vr̥tti, sarga', etc., in the case of many roots it indicates the sense of "vyatihāra" or reciprocity and so on.

In the Bhāṣya we find under “vyatyayo bahulam” iii. 1. 85 the well-known stanza :

सुप्तिङुपग्रहलिङ्गनराणां कालहलच्स्वरकर्तृयङाञ्च ।

व्यत्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृद्देष्टुं सोऽपि च सिध्यति बाहुलकेन ॥

The author of the rules desires (*i.e.*, approves of) departure from the normal form in the matter of case-endings, verbal endings, upagraha (voice), gender, person, tense, consonants, vowels, *kartr̥ i.e.*, *kāraka* and *yañ-*. Patañjali says in reference to “upagraha”* : Ātmanepada-vyatyaya. brahmacāriṇam icchate. icchatīti prāpte. parasmaipada-vyatyaya, pratīpam anyā ūrmir yudhyati. yudhyate iti prāpte.

Nāgeśa explains “upagraha” thus : upagraho lādeṣa-vyaṅgyaḥ svārthatvādiḥ. iha tat-pratīti-nimitte parasmaipadātmanepade upagraha-śabdena lakṣaṇayocyete. ‘Upa-graha (primarily) means whether a thing is being done for one’s own self or for others—a sense indicated by the substitutes for the *lakāras i.e.*, the verbal endings. Here by *Lakṣaṇā* or synecdoche “upagraha” means Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada which convey whether a thing is being done for one’s own self or for others.’

The word also occurs in “na niṣṭhā-parasyānuprayogena puruṣopagrahau viśeṣitau syātām” (Mahābhāṣya iii. 1. 40), ‘if the past participle is used after the root to which *ām* has been added, then the person and the distinction of Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada cannot be indicated.’ We meet with

* Cf. Nāṭya-śāstra xiv. 9 : विभक्तयः सुप्तिङ् वचनानि । तैः कारकशक्तयो लिङादुपग्रहाद्योपलक्ष्यन्ते ।

“upagraha” once again in the Mahābhāṣya in the passage “tinabhihitena bhāvena kāla-puruṣopagrahā abhivyaṅyante, kṛdabhihitena punar na vyāṅyante”* (iii. 1. 67), ‘when an action is expressed by means of a finite verb, the time, the person, and the fact whether an action is performed for one’s own self or for others are indicated, but these are not indicated when the action is expressed by (a root ending in) a primary suffix.’ Kaiyaṭa here says : upagraha is of various kinds, viz., whether an action is being done for self or others and so on.

The Nyāsa says under iii. 1. 85.

लादेशव्यङ्ग्यः क्रियाविशेषो मुख्य उपग्रहः । इह तु तद्व्यक्ति-
निमित्तत्वात् परस्मैपदात्मनेपदयोर्वर्तते !

The Śabdakaustubha (ed. Chowkhamba, p. 879) explains it more fully :

* Under ii. 19. 2 Patañjali says : kṛdabhihito bhāvo dravyavad bhavati. The distinction between the finite verb and the infinite forms is thus stated in BD. i. 44-45 :

क्रियासु बहुवचनसंज्ञिता यः पूर्वापरक्रम इति एव ।

क्रियाभिनिर्वृत्तिवशेन सिद्ध आख्यातशब्देन तस्यार्थमाहुः ॥

क्रियाभिनिर्वृत्तिवशोपजातः कृदन्तशब्दाभिहितो यदा स्यात् ।

संख्याविभक्तिव्ययलिङ्गयुक्ती भावस्तदा द्रव्यमिवोपलक्ष्यः ॥

“That notion which, though one, is connected with many actions, becoming a later from an earlier (*i.e.*, which expresses sequence of time), and is effected by the development of the action, they call by the term ‘verb’. When the becoming arising from the fruition of an action is designated by a term with a primary suffix, and is joined with number, different case-endings and gender, then it is to be regarded as a substantive.”

लादेशव्यङ्ग्यः क्रियासाधनविशेषरूपः स्वार्थपरार्थत्वादिश्वोपग्रह-
शब्दस्य घाञ्यः । यथोक्तम्—

य आत्मनेपदाद् भेदः क्वचिदर्थस्य गम्यते ।

अन्यत्रश्चापि लादेशान्मन्यन्ते तमुपग्रहम् ॥

(वाक्यपदीय ३।१२।१)

आत्मनेपदादिति लादेशादिति च हेतौ पञ्चमी । इह तु
तत्प्रतीतिनिमित्ते परस्मैपदे आत्मनेपदे च उपग्रहशब्दो लक्षणया
वर्तते ।

The Mimāṃsakas explain “upagraha” thus :

कर्तृगामिपरगामित्वलक्षणः । स्वरितञितो ह्यात्मनेपद उच्चारिते
‘ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत’ इति कर्तृगामिफलत्वं प्रतीयते ।
परस्मैपदे तु ‘यजन्ति याजकाः’ इति परगामिफलत्वम् ।

The expression “upagraha-viśeṣa” occurs several times in
the Sābara Bhāṣya, and in each case it means ‘a particular
voice’, either active or middle :

फलमसौ न प्राप्नोतीति । कथं पुनः फलस्याप्राप्तिः ? उपग्रह-
विशेषश्रवणात्—यजेतेति । यद्वा आधाने ब्राह्मणो वसन्तेऽग्निमा-
दधीतेति । तदा तु काम-श्रुतावुपग्रहोऽनुवाद एव ।

स्वार्थेन चाग्नयः प्रयुक्ताः । कथम् ? उपग्रह-विशेषात् । उपग्रह-
विशेषो हि भवति—अग्निमादधीतेति । तस्मादन्यस्याग्निभिरन्यस्य
न सिद्धिः, यद्यपि कत्वर्था अग्नय इति । ६।६।३१

कथं पुनरयम् [उप-स्था] उपस्थान-वचनोऽभिधानार्थः शक्यो
विज्ञातुम् । उच्यते—उपग्रह-विशेषात् । मन्त्रकरणे उपतिष्ठते-
रात्मनेपदं भवति । ७।३।३६

यजमानफलदं ह्युपग्रहविशेषात् साङ्गं कर्म नान्येषां कामयितृणां
दातुमर्हतीति । १०।२।५०

“Ātmanepada” literally means ‘word for self’ (Ātmārtham padam—Nyāsa vi. 3. 7) and denotes the active endings. “Parasmaipada” literally means ‘word for another’ and denotes the middle endings. The Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha uses “Parasmaibhāṣa”, “Ātmanebhāṣa” and “Ubhayatobhāṣa” while treating of the 1035 roots belonging to the bhū-class. At the beginning of the ad-class “Parasmaipadin” and “Ātmanepadin” make their appearance and continue to be used from time to time. Most probably the nine gaṇas from adādi to curādi were tampered with to a greater extent than the first. In the Kātantragaṇamālā Paraśmaibhāṣa, Ātmanebhāṣa and Ubhayatobhāṣa occur throughout. That Pāṇini was fully aware of Paraśmaibhāṣā and Ātmanebhāṣā seems evident from his rule “vaiyākaranākhyāyām” caturthyāḥ” vi. 3. 8 under which Paraśmaibhāṣā and Ātmanebhāṣā are given as examples in the Kāśikā. The Bahuvrīhi forms Paraśmaibhāṣa and Ātmanebhāṣa (corresponding to Parasmaipadin and Ātmanepadin) appear to have been provided for in the Vārttika “ātmanebhāṣa-parasmaibhāṣyōr upasaṃkhyānam vi. 3. 8. 1. It would appear from the Bhāṣya on vi. 3. 8. that though Ātmanebhāṣa and Paraśmaibhāṣa were used by grammarians no grammar used them as technical terms*. Since the two words are found in

* न चेते कश्चिद् व्याकरणे कृते । आभ्यामपि वैयाकरणा व्यवहरन्ति । जिनेन्द्रबुद्धिः ।
आत्मनेभाष-परस्मैभाष-शब्दौ च न केषुचिद् व्याकरणेषु संज्ञात्वेन विनियुक्तावित्यलुकी-
प्रसङ्गः । ...आत्मनेपदिनश्च धातवो वैयाकरणैरात्मनेभाष-शब्देन व्यवह्रियन्ते परस्मैपदिनः
परस्मैभाषशब्देनेत्यलुक् सिद्धः । कैयटः ।

परस्मैपदे भाषा उत्तरस्य इति परस्मैभाषः । एवमात्मनेभाषः । पदशब्दलोको निपातनात् ।
धातुविशेषाणामिसौ व्यपदेशौ । आत्मन्परिचितम् । ६।१०७

Dhātupāṭhas, the Bhāṣyakāra evidently means that they are not used in grammar proper but in subsidiary treatises like the Dhātupāṭha etc.

K. uses Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada, but shortens them to Parasmai and Ātmane, whenever convenient. Thus, we find : atha parasmaipadāni. nava parāṇy ātmane iii. 1. 1-2, ātmanepadāni bhāva-karmaṇoḥ iii. 2. 80, iṇ-sthā-dā-pibati-bhūbhyaḥ sicaḥ parasmai iii. 4. 93, sij-āśiṣoś cātmane iv. 1. 10, sarveṣām ātmane sārvaadhātuke' nuttame pañcamyāḥ, dvitva-bahutvayoś ca parasmai iv. 1. 18-19 sarvatrātmane, āśiṣi ca parasmai iv. 1. 21-22.

J. uses "da" the last syllable of Parasmaipada for Parasmaipada itself and "ma" belonging to the second syllable of Ātmanepada for the latter. Following in the footsteps of J., Mu. uses "pa" the first syllable of Parasmaipada and "ma" from the second syllable of Ātmanepada for the two padas respectively. "Pa" is, of course, an improvement on J's "da", and the use of "ma" for Ātmanepada cannot be objected to, as it occurs in 'Ātmanepada' alone, 'mai' occurring in 'Parasmaipada.'

Candra uses "tañāna" for Ātmanepada (taking the hint from Pāṇini's "tañānāv ātmanepadam i. 4. 47) and has no special name for Parasmaipada which he has to express by means of a periphrasis. Thus for Pāṇini's "gamer iṭ parasmaipadeṣu" vii. 2. 58, he has to frame two rules : aniṅgamer iṭ" and "na tañānaḥ" v. 4. 121-122 ; for Pāṇini's "sici ca

आत्मनेपदे भाषा उक्तिः अस्य इति आत्मनेभाषः । एवं परस्मैभाषः । पदशब्दलोपी निपातनात् । धातुविशेषाणामिमे संज्ञे । गोपीचन्द्रः । ७।१४९

parasmaipadeṣu" vii. 2. 40, Candra has 'sicyataṇi" v. 4. 103. In C's Dhātupāṭha the Parasmaipadin roots are described as "ataṇānāḥ, the Ātmanepadin roots as 'taṇāninaḥ' and the ubhayapadin roots as "vibhāṣitāḥ".

Śāk. uses 'taṇ" for "Ātmanepada"; thus for Pāṇini's "ātmanepadeṣv anataḥ" vii 1. 5, Śāk. has "taṇo'nataḥ" i. 4. 90. for "Parasmaipada" he uses "ataṇ".

Hc. uses the fuller forms in his definition, but in the subsequent rules he uses the shorter forms. Thus while explaining "navādyāni śatṛ-kvasū ca parasmaipadam" iii. 3. 19 he says in his Brhad-Vṛtti: parasmaipada-saṃjñā-pradeśāḥ "śeṣāt parasmai" (iii. 3. 100) ityādayaḥ, i.e., the rules in which the technical term *Parasmaipada* occurs are "śeṣāt parasmai" etc. Similarly in the Vṛtti on the next rule "parāṇi kānānaśau cātmanepadam" he says: ātmanepada-pradeśāḥ "sij-āśiṣāv ātmane" (v. 3. 55) ityādayaḥ. It will be noticed that the rules quoted to illustrate the use of the terms "Parasmaipada" and "Ātmanepada" contain only the truncated forms "parasmai" and "ātmane".

Sam. uses "parasmai" and "ātmane" (in ii. 14 etc.) which are replaced by the fuller forms in the Vṛtti which remarks: parasmai parasmaipadam iti, ātmane ātmanepadam iti. sambandhānupapattibhyāṃ śabdakṣaṇā. The longer forms are also used in a few rules: anṛganteg-upāntād ātmanepada-nīttvārtho mahiṇ-nakārah ii. 689. na snor iṇātmanepade kramer ātmanepadārhasya karṭṛ-kṛti ca ii. 717, puṣādyldito'g parasmaipada ii. 762 etc. Even "Parasmaibhāṣa" is used once in "śānaḥ śīle parasmaibhāṣac ca" iii. 10.

Sār. and Su. generally use the longer forms throughout. In the Sārasvata-sūtra, however, “āt” is used for “ātmanepada” and “pa” for “parasmaipada” in “ād anudātta-nītaḥ” x. 78 and “kartari paṃ ca” x. 77. “Ubhe” is used for both padas in “nītsvariteta ubhe” x. 80. Su. uses “ātmanebhāṣa” in “ātmanebhāṣād aya-dīpa-dīkṣa-nīto halādeḥ” iv. 1 63.

PR. generally uses the fuller forms, but in a few cases it is forced to use “parasmai” and “ātmane” for metrical reasons; e.g., san-sya-yogi parasmai ca vṛt-vṛdhū-syandiṣṛdh-kṛpaḥ ii. 247, kṛṇaḥ prayoga āmantād as-bhuvoḥ kartran-ātmane ii. 320 etc.

HN. uses “parapada” (lit. the highest step or position) for Parasmaipada and “ātmapada” (lit. the step or position of the soul) for Ātmanepada. The commentary says: paṇ-pada-śabdena Vaikuṇṭhādīkam ucyata iti Bhagavan-nāmatā. ātma-śabdasya Brahma-vācivāt “ātmapadam” Brahma-padam iti Bhagavan-nāmatā.

Under K. iii. 1. 79 Suṣeṇa explains Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada thus :

परस्मै पद्यते यस्मात् तत् परस्मैपदं स्मृतम् ।

आत्मने पद्यते यस्मात् तदेवात्रात्मनेपदम् ॥

इत्थमन्वर्थसंज्ञाया विधानेनैव लभ्यते ।

मतं हि पाणिनेरेव सम्मतं सर्ववर्मणः ॥

मैवमन्वर्थसंज्ञायाः प्रायो वृत्तिरिहेष्यते ।

अतो न पाणिनेः सूत्रं सम्मतं सर्ववर्मणः ॥

‘That which is had recourse to for the sake of another is known as Parasmaipada, and that which is resorted to for

one's own self is, for that reason, known in grammar as *Ātmanepada*. One would gather from the use of these self-explanatory technical terms that it is the view of Pāṇini that is subscribed to by Sarvavarman. This, however, is not the case. Self-explanatory technical terms are generally used in this treatise (and consequently they are not to be taken literally, nor is any inference to be based upon them). So Pāṇini's rule is not sanctioned by Sarvavarman.'

Similarly we find the following *Kārikās* quoted by Durgādāsa under Mu. 920 and by Gopīnātha under *Kātantra* *Parīśiṣṭa* vi. 10 :

इह लौकिकवाक्येषु व्यभिचारोऽतिपुष्कलः ।
 वेदवाक्येषु यद्यस्ति नियमः केन वार्य्यते ॥
 विशेषः पाणिनेरिष्टः सामान्यं सर्ववर्मणः ।
 सामान्यमनुगृह्णाति तत्राचार्यपरम्परा ॥

'In the popular speech the exceptions (to the rules restricting the use of the *padas*) are very numerous. If the restriction be found in Vedic speech, who is going to prevent it or take exception to it? Pāṇini prescribes the special use of the *Padas*. Sarvavarman is in favour of their indiscriminate use and the whole host of teachers agrees with Sarvavarman.

The meaning and uses of the two *Padas* are thus clearly explained by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporevala in the *Jha Commemoration Volume* :

Parasmaipada—*Pada* for another. When the action is reflected back on someone other than the doer thereof, the verb

should be (in the) Parasmaipada. When it is reflected back upon the doer himself, the verb is in the Ātmanepada, the pada for oneself. Cf. *ram* to sport, *labh* to gain, *aś* to extend, *īś* to be master, so *mṛ* to die and *ḍī* to fly. Deponent verbs in Latin are verbs with passive personal endings and reflexive or active meaning, *morior* to die, *querior* to complain, *patior* to suffer, *potior* to be master, *mīror* to wonder. The Ātmanepada endings have been preserved in the Latin Passive alone and so the original true Ātmanepada verbs that have survived in the language have been classified as the regular deponents (George M. Lane, A Latin Grammar. Sections 785, 798, 1486). In Greek the distinction between the two padas is very carefully observed in the earlier writings and even in the later period the active and the middle senses are clearly indicated. In the Avesta too the distinction is very clear and in the metrical portion at least (*i.e.*, in the Gāthās and the Yaśts) has been carefully observed.

पा । अनुदानङित आत्मनेपदम् । १।३।१२, स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले । १।३।७२, शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् । १।३।७

का । अथ परस्मैपदानि । नच पराण्यात्मने । ३।१।१-२, इन्-ञ-यजादेरुभयम् । ३।२।४५ (पञ्चमी सप्तमी परस्मैपदघत निरन्वया संज्ञा । ३।१।२० टीका)

च । चातङ्गाना यथापाठम् । भावाप्ययोः । ङितः ।

जै । लो मम् । इङानं दः । १।२।१७७-१७८, ङैदितो दः । १।२।१६, ङितः फलेशे । १।२।८२, मम् । १।२।८९

शा । लोऽन्ययुष्मदस्मसु तिप् तस् फि सिप् थस् थ मिब्

वस् मस् तातां ऋ थासाथांध्वमिल् वहि महिङ् डिदिच्छीयसंक्ष्व-
पस्कृ-निविशिः १।४।१-२

हे । नवाद्यानि शतृक्सू च परस्मैपदम् । पराणि चानानशौ
चात्मनेपदम् । ३।३।१९-२०

स । नवशः परस्मा आत्मने लडादौ । ६।१४ शतृवसू च
परस्मै, शानानौ चात्मने । २।१५, स्वरित-जितोः कर्त्रर्थे क्रिया-
फले ।* २।१३२ शोषात् परस्मै । २।२७, कर्तर्यनुदात्तङिद्वयनायाम् ।
२।१२

मु । नवशः पमे ङितोऽन्यङिभ्यां घे । ५३१

सा । नव परस्मैपदानि । पराण्यात्मनेपदानि । १०।७१-७२

सु । लस्तिङि पूर्वार्द्धं शतृक्सू च परस्मैपदम् । परार्धमान-
श्चात्मतेपदं तङ् च । ३।२।८८-८९, स्वरितजितः कर्तुः स्वार्थे क्रिया-
फले । ३।१।११९ शोषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् । ३।१।१२८

प्र । पूर्वं परस्मैपदं स्यात् तत्परं त्वात्मनेपदम् । २।११

ह । तिबादिनवनवानां पूर्वपूर्वाणि परपदसंज्ञानि, उत्तरोत्तरा-
ण्यात्मपदसंज्ञकानि । ६।३८१-३८२

NIVṚTTISTHĀNA AND SAMKRAMA.

In the earlier grammatical literature there must have been a fairly large number of technical terms ending in

* वर्धमानसु कर्त्रर्थक्रियाफलेऽकर्त्रर्थक्रियाफले च सामानेन विधानमेतदिति मन्यते,
वृक्षान् परिवारयन्ते कण्टका इत्युदाहरणञ्च तस्य । अत एव

तव कौर्त्तिलता नाथ वेष्टते भुवनवयम् ।

फलं विश्वोपकाराय धत्ते पर्वणि पर्वणि ॥

इति प्रयोगश्च दृश्यते । पुत्रकर्त्तव्यं पितुर्द्धृषीत्सर्गादावपि करिष्य इत्यभिलाषं चान्द्राः कुर्वन्ति ।
टिप्पणी ।

“sthāna”. Of these Nivṛttisthāna is preserved in the Nirukta, Sarvanāmasthāna in Pāṇini and Guṇavṛddhisthāna in the Kātantra. Nivṛttisthāna is opposed o Guṇavṛddhisthāna and stands for Guṇavṛddhinivṛttisthāna. It means literally the places *i.e.*, endings (or suffixes) in which there is the absence of Guṇa or Vṛddhi, in other words weak endings or suffixes. Thus we find in the Nirukta : athāpy aster nivṛttisthāneṣvādilopo bhavati ii. 1, ‘again the initial of the root as is elided before weak endings.’

The corresponding rule in Pāṇini is “śnasor al-lopaḥ” vi. 4. 111 where ‘kñiti is obtained by anuvṛtti from vi 4. 98 and ‘sārvadhātuke’ from vi. 4. 110.

K. has “aster ādeḥ” iii. 4. 41 where ‘sārvadhātuke’ and ‘agūṇe’ are obtained by anuvṛtti from iii. 4. 39.

C. has “śnasor lopaḥ” v. 3. 104, ‘apiti’ being obtained by anuvṛtti from the previous rule.

J. has “śnasah kham” iv. 4. 108 where ‘ge’ (meaning sārvadhātuke) and ‘kñiti’ are obtained by anuvṛtti from the preceding rule.

Śāk. has “nam-astyor luk” iv. 2. 46 where ‘apaḥ’ (meaning ‘apiti’) is obtained by anuvṛtti from iv. 2. 36 and ‘śit’ (which is tantamount to ‘sārvadhātuka’) from iv. 2. 43.

Hc. has “śnāstyor luk” iv. 2. 90 ‘śiti’ by anuvṛtti from the previous rule and ‘aviti’ (which corresponds to ‘apiti’ of other systems) from iv. 2. 97. Hc. has -*tiv*, -*siv*, -*miv* for -*tīp*, -*sīp*, -*mīp* of most systems.

Sam. has ‘śnāstyor at” ii. 254 where ‘añit’ (corresponding to ‘apit’ of most systems and ‘avit’ of Hc.) is obtained by

anuvṛtti from ii. 248 and 'caturṣu' (corresponding to 'sārvadhātuke' of most systems) from ii. 249. Sam., it may be mentioned in this connection, has *-tiñ*, *-siñ* *miñ* etc. for *-tip*, *-sip*, *-mip* etc. of most systems.

Mu. has "lopo'styasor nīdrasor aghyām" 692 where nīṭ stands for weak-ending ('apit') and 'ra' for 'sārvadhātuka.'

Su. has "śnam-astyor ataḥ" iii. 3. 9. with the anuvṛtti of 'nīṭ sārvadhātuke' from the previous rule.

P.R. has "asya lopo'tanāv astēḥ" viii. 9. 4. where "atanau" stands for 'aguṇe' or 'kñīti.'

According to P.R. the strong or 'saguṇa' or 'pit' endings are "tanu," while the weak or aguṇa' or 'apit' endings are "atanu" :

शितामेधोत्तमपुरुषौ लोटस्त्तिसिमितुदिसमस्तनुः* । परस्त्वतनुः ।

२५५-६

'Tanu' means 'thin' and one hardly expects to find this as the term for the strong endings. It is just possible that Puruṣottama designates the strong endings "tanu" because they are unaccented. It is, however, very doubtful if Puruṣottama was familiar with the Vedic accents. It is, therefore, more probable that our author took the 't' of 'pit' and 'n' and 'u' of 'saguṇa' and formed the word 'tanu' with them. It is well-known that in Bengal *n* and *n̄* are pronounced alike. Probably Pāṇini's "ghi" arose in a similar way from the 'g' and 'i' of "agni" and the aspirate element in "sakhi".

* In PR. the ending for the Imperfect 3rd singular is *di*, and that for the 2nd singular is *s*. 9. 151.

HN. has “śnam-astyor arāma-haro nirguṇe” i. 658. In HN. ‘Rāmā’ means ‘varṇa’ and ‘Hara’ means ‘lopa’. ‘Nirguṇe’ stands, of course, ‘Nivṛttisthāne’.

In the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 3) we find Saṃkrama used in the sense of weak endings in the passage :

इहान्ये वैयाकरणा मृजेरजादौ संक्रमे विभाषा वृद्धिमारभन्ते ।
परिमृजन्ति । परिमार्जन्ति । परिमृजन्तु । परिमार्जन्तु । परि-
ममृजतुः परिममार्जतुरित्याद्यर्थम् ।

‘Other grammarians prescribe Vṛddhi optionally in the case of the root *mṛj* before endings beginning with vowels.’

The Kāśikā paraphrases the words of the Bhāṣya and explains Saṃkrama thus :

मृजेरजादौ संक्रमे विभाषा वृद्धिरिष्यते । संक्रमो नाम गुण-
वृद्धिप्रतिषेधविषयः ।

The Padamañjarī gives the following explanation of Saṃkrama :

संक्रामतोऽपक्रामतो गुणवृद्धौ अस्मादिति कृत्वा ।

Kaiyaṭa merely says :

गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधकिङ्तः प्राचां संज्ञा ।

“Saṃkrama” is also found in one of two* stanzas quoted in the Kāśikā on vii. 1. 35, but not occurring in the Mahābhāṣya, nor commented upon in the Nyāsa. The Padmañjarī says : तातडि ङित्त्वमिति श्लोकद्वयं क्वचित् पठ्यते ।

*तातडि ङित्त्वं संक्रमकृत् स्यादन्तविधिर्येत् तच्च तथा नः ।

हेरधिकारे हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह ॥

तातडौ ङित्त्वसामर्थ्यान्नायमन्तविधिः स्यूतः ।

न तद्वदनडादीनां तेन तस्याविकारजाः ॥

Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabdakaustubha :

संक्रामतो गुणवृद्धी अस्मादिति व्युत्पत्त्या गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेध-
निमित्तभूतक्ङित्प्रत्ययोऽत्र संक्रमशब्देनोच्यते, योगरूढेः ।

Samkrama is derived from the root *kram* 'to step' preceded by the upasarga *sam* 'together' and has been used in the Vājasaneyī Samhitā in the sense of 'going or coming together.' In VP. it is used to denote the meeting of two words in the krama text (caused by omitting those between)'

It is therefore highly probable that the weak endings are known as Samkrama because they generally come immediately after the root just as it is, without its final vowel being changed by Guna by or Vṛddhi.

The rules corresponding to "mr̥jer ajādaṁ samkrame vibhāṣā vṛddhim icchanti" from the different systems of grammar are given below :

पा । [मृजेवृद्धिः । ७।२।११४]

का ।] मर्जो मर्जिः । ४।४।२३ ।] अगुणे* स्वरे वा घक्तव्यम् ।
वृत्तिः ।

च । मृजेरात् । ऋतोऽचि वा । ६।१।१-२

जै । मृजेरैप् । क्ङित्यचि वा । ५।२।१-२

* K. uses "guṇavṛddhisthāne" in the rule "sr̥ji-dṛśorāgamo'kāraḥ svarāt paro dhuṭi guṇavṛddhisthāne" iii. 4. 25 which corresponds to Pāṇini's "sr̥ji-dṛśor jhalyam akiti" vi. 1. 58. For "nivṛttisthāne" it uses "agune". Thus in the very next rule we find "diño'nto yakāraḥ svarādāvagune" iii. 4. 26 corresponding to Pāṇini's diño yuḍ aci kṛiti" vi. 4. 63.

- शा । मृजुः । आर्षाचि । ४।१।२३२-३३
 हे । मृजोऽस्य वृद्धिः । मृतः स्वरे वा । ४।३।४२-४३
 स । मृजोऽचतुर्विपि । २।२३३ । अङ्ङिदचि वा । २।२३६
 मु । मृजोऽकङिति त्रिवां त्वच्यणौ । ६९५
 सा । मृजेर्गुणनिमित्ते प्रत्यये परे वृद्धिर्वाच्यः किति ङिति-
 स्वरे वा ।
 सु । मृजेर्वृद्धिः सन्यपि कङ्ङिदचि तु वा । ३।४।८८
 प्र । मृजोऽगुणिनि वृद्धिः स्यात् । अच्यगुणे तु वा । २।१०१-२
 ह । मृजेर्वृष्णीन्द्रः । ३।६६५ । कंसारि-सर्वेश्वरादौ वेति तु
 भाष्यमतम् । वृत्तिः । (वृष्णीन्द्र=वृद्धिः । सर्वेश्वर=सार्वधातुक) ।

Pāṇini and his followers generally use *knit* to denote weak endings, suffixes etc. Kātyāyana in his Vārttikas explains clearly and concisely why two indicatory letters *k* and *n* are used instead of one : Before the *kit* suffixes samprasāraṇa takes place in the case of certain roots (*vaci-svapiyajādīnām kiti* vi. 1. 15) and before *nit* suffixes in the case of certain other roots (*grahi-jyā-vayi-vyadhi-vaṣṭi-vicati-vr̥scati-prcchati-bhr̥jjatīnām niti* ca vi. 1. 16). Thus we have Samprasāraṇa in the case of the past participle *supta*, because *-kta* is a suffix with an indicatory *k*, but not in the case of *svapitaḥ*, present 3rd dual of *svap*, because *-tas* is regarded as having an indicatory *n* and not *k* (*sārvadhātukam apit i.* 2. 4.). Similarly in the case of *nit* suffixes and infixes like *nvanip.*, *najin*, *can*, *an* etc., no Samprasāraṇa takes place because the suffixes are *nit* and not *kit*. Thus though we have *sūna* from the root *śvi* with the *kit* suffix *kta* we have *asiśviyat* (reduplicated aorist 3rd singular of *śvi*) without Samprasāraṇa because the infix is *can* with

the indicative *ñ*. Again the rule “*jāgro*’ *vic-iṇ-ṇal-ñitsu* vii. 3. 85 prescribes *guṇa* in the case of the root *jāgr* before *kit* suffixes and not before *ñit* suffixes, so we have *jāgaritaḥ* before the *kit* suffix *-kta* but *jāgrtaḥ* before the *ñit* ending *-tas* of the present third dual*.

Sarvavarman uses the anubandha *ṇ* for Pāṇini’s *ñ* because the anubandha *ñ* indicates that the root is Ātmanepadin. For the same reason he calls the *ñit* sup endings *ñavat* instead of *ñānubandha*. He generally uses “*guṇin*” for the strong endings and “*aguṇa*” for the weak ones.

HN. has separate names for the *pit*, *kit*, *ñit* and *khit* endings :

पित् पृथुः । णित् नृसिंहः । कित् कपिलः । ङिन्निर्गुणः ।
किञ्च ङिञ्च कंसारिः । ३।३७५-९

PR. uses “*guṇin*” and “*aguṇa*” for the strong and weak endings respectively :

अगुणा अतनुर्नादिः कण्डनुबन्धाः । ८।२५

J., Śāk., Hc., Sār., Su. and others follow Pāṇini and use *kit* and *ñit*. Since Sam. uses *tiñ*, *siñ*, etc. for Pāṇini’s *tip*, *sip* etc., the *añit* of Sam. corresponds to *apit* of Pāṇini.

Weak suffixes are indicated by the anubandha *ṇ* instead of *k* or *ñ* in K., probably acc. to the “*lucus a non lucendo*” principle, since *ṇ* is part of ‘*guṇa*’ and before this *ṇ*, no *guṇa*

* See Vārttikas i. 2. 1. 8-11. Since the feminine suffixes *ñīp*, *ñīṣ* and *ñīn* are weak, the indicative *ñ*, though it has been used by Pāṇini for another purpose, is very appropriate in these cases.

takes place. It is also just possible, though hardly probable, that *ṇ* is the disguised form *na*, meaning 'no guṇa takes place'.

VIKARAṆA.

Both "vikaraṇa" and "vikāra" are used as technical terms in Sanskrit grammar. Both are formed from the root *kṛ* preceded by the upasarga *vi* meaning 'to make different, transform.' "Vikāra" is formed with the suffix 'ghañ' in the bhāva-vācya and means 'change, transformation,' while "vikaraṇa" like "bhūta-karaṇa", "huṣ-karaṇa" etc. is formed in the karaṇa-vācya in the sense of 'that by which the sense or shape is transformed or modified', or in the kartṛ-vācya in the sense of 'that which transforms or modifies the sense or shape'. It is generally used in grammatical literature to denote the conjugational characteristic inserted between the root and the suffix or ending, or between the last vowel and the following consonant of the root. In the system of Pāṇini the Vikaraṇas are *śap* (iii. 1. 68), *śapo luk* (ii. 4. 72), *ślu* (ii. 4. 75), *śyan* (iii. 1. 69), *śnu* (iii. 1. 73), *śa* (iii. 1. 77), *śnam* (iii. 1.78), *u* (iii. 1. 79), *śnā* (iii. 1. 81), *ṇic* (iii. 1. 25), *ciṇ* and *yak* (iii. 1. 66-67), *cli* (iii. 1. 43 with its substitutes *sic* 44, *ksa* 45, *can* 48 and *aṇ* 52), *tāsi* and *sya* (iii. 1. 33), *sip* (iii. 1.34), *ām* (iii. 1. 35), *aṭ* and *āṭ* (iii. 4. 94)*.

Vikaraṇa in this sense is found in the Pāṇiniya Dhātu-pāṭha and in the Vārttikas and Māhābhāṣya :

विकरणार्था इति चेत्, कृताभिहिते विकरणाभावः ३।१।६७।२,

* The *aṭ* and *āṭ* prescribed in vi. 4. 71-72 are Bhūtakarāṇas.

ङितोऽनुदात्तत्वे विकरणेभ्योऽप्रतिषेधः ६।१।१८६।८, इयन्विकर-
णान्नविधिशिञ्छदितुल्यो लुग्विकरणो वलि पर्यवपन्नः (श्लोकवार्त्तिक)
८।१।५८, यदि धातुर्विशेष्यते विकरणस्य न प्राप्नोति (भाष्य) १।१।५

The word is found fairly frequently in K. :

अन्-विकरणः कर्तरि ३।२।३२ (अणि च विकरणे सानुबन्धे
सतीति न विदध्यात्, विकरणस्य पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धत्वात् । दुर्गः),
सन्व्यक्षरान्तानाम् आकारोऽविकरणे ३।४।२० (=आदेच उपदेशो-
ऽशिति पा ६।१।४५), नोश्च विकरणादसंयोगात् ३।४।३५ etc.

The Bālaṃanoramā says under “kartari śap” S. K. 2467 :
तिङि परे धातोर्विहितानां प्रत्ययानां शबादीनां विकरण-संज्ञा
प्राचीनाचार्यसिद्धा ।

Cf. Vṛtti on K. iii. 2. 36 : प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोरर्थाभिधाने न शब्दे-
नैव [=नविकरणेनैव] साहाय्यं कृतम् । The Tīkā says : सार्वधातु-
कस्याभिधेये सहायभाषमापतता न-शब्देन ।

K. has no separate Vikaraṇa for juhotyādi roots which are regarded as included in the adādi group. For tudādi also no separate Vikaraṇa is prescribed in K., an being added to both bhvādi and tudādi roots. K. regards āna as a separate Vikaraṇa for kryādi roots ending in consonants before the Imperative second singular parasmaipada ending.

Su. has a special section entitled “atha dhātor vikaraṇāḥ”
iii. 2. 113 in which *sya*, *sic*, *ksa*, *caṇ*, *aṇ*, *iṇ*, *yak*, *śap*, *śyan*,
śnu, *śa*, *śnam*, *u*, *śnā* and *śnu* are mentioned. The Makar-
anda does not take the trouble of explaining “vikaraṇa”.
The Pañjikā says under iii. 2. 113 : vikīryanta iti karmaṇi
kirates taṇ-pratyayānta-rūpam. Vikaraṇa is also mentioned
by the author in the Vṛtti on “subādyāḥ pratyayāḥ pare” ii. 2.2:

sup-sanādi-laḍādi-vikaraṇa-kṛt-taddhitāḥ pratyayasamjñakāḥ prakṛteḥ pare bhavantīti paribhāṣitāḥ. It may be noted in this connexion that *śnam* comes between the vowel of the root and the following consonant.

PR. mentions Vikaraṇa in "an-vikaraṇā bhuvādayaḥ" viii. 47 which is explained in Gūḍha-prakāśikā thus : ano viśeṣeṇa karaṇam yebhyas te bhuvādaya ityarthāḥ. HN. says in the Vṛtti on "śap Kṛṣṇadhātuke" i. 351 : vikaraṇākhyo'yam.

In philology the Vikaraṇas are known as Root-determinatives. The parent Indo-European language seems to have possessed no less than 32 such determinatives as enumerated by Brugmann, and Sanskrit 14.

The substitute 'cha' for the finals of the roots *iṣ*, *gam* and *yam* prescribed by Pāṇini in the rule "iṣu-gami-yamām chaḥ", vii. 3. 77 as also in the substitute *ṛccha* for the root *ṛ* prescribed in the rule "pā-ghrā..." viii. 3. 78 is rightly regarded as a Vikaraṇa by Western scholars. The *ām* of the periphrastic perfect is not generally regarded as a Vikaraṇa, but there is no reason why it should not be counted among the Vikaraṇas when *ciṇ* and *cli* and its substitutes are looked upon as Vikaraṇas.

Some Indian grammarians regard the union-vowel *i* as a Vikaraṇa.

Indian professors of Sanskrit belonging to the old school generally describe a Vikaraṇa as that which comes between the root and the suffix and is absolutely without any meaning. This is not a logical definition since it excludes *śnam*, but a mere description.

In the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini the Vikaraṇas are read under the general heading “Pratyayaḥ” iii. 1. 1. Kaiyaṭa says under “vikārāgameṣu ca paraviññānāt” iii. 1. 1. 4 :

तथाच परत्वाभावेऽपि श्रम्बहुजकचां प्रत्ययसंज्ञा भवति ।

Thus he also regards the Vikaraṇa “śnam” as a suffix. though it does not come at the end of the base.

That these are not regarded as ordinary suffixes is clear from the fact that the Bhāṣyakāra speaks of *bahuc* and *akac* but ignores *śnam* in the passage :

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ?

परो यथा स्यात्, पूर्वो मा भूदिति ।

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । यमिच्छति पूर्वम्, आह तं—“विभाषा सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात्” [५।३।६८] इति ।

मध्ये तर्हि मा भूदिति ।

मध्येऽपि यमिच्छति आह तम्—“अव्यय-सर्वनाम्नाकमच् प्राक् टेः” [५।३।७१] इति ॥ य इदानीमतोऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषः सोऽन्तरेण वचनं पर एव भविष्यतीति नार्थः परवचनेन ।

The question is asked, what purpose is served by the rule “paraś ca” iii. 1. 2, ‘a suffix comes after a base’? The answer is given that this prevents the suffix from coming at the beginning or in the middle of a base. As against this it is pointed out that when the author wants a suffix to come in the beginning he says this in so many words, as for instance, when he lays down that the suffix “bahuc” is added optionally to an inflected word in the sense of “iṣad asaṁāpta” and is placed at the beginning of the base. Again when Pāṇini wants a suffix to come in the middle of a base, he distinctly

says so, as in the case of the rule : (the suffix) “akac” comes in before the *ṭi*-portion of indeclinables and pronouns. All suffixes other than these will, therefore, naturally come at the end and no special rule is needed for that purpose. So it is no use laying down that suffixes will come in at the end of the base.

It would appear from the above discussion that according to Patañjali the only suffix that comes in the beginning is “bahuc” and the only one that comes in the middle is “akac.”

Of the followers of Pāṇini, Padmaṇābha distinctly mentions the *Vikaraṇas* in the list of *Pratyayas*.

The word *Vikaraṇa* is used probably more frequently in K. than in any other system of grammar. Here also the *Vikaraṇas* are read under the general heading “*pratyayaḥ paraḥ*” iii. 2. 1. and are consequently regarded as suffixes.

Pāṇini and other grammarians regard *num* as an *āgama* in the case of *mucādi* roots (śe *mucādīnām* P. vii 1. 59). But this *n* is certainly a *Vikaraṇa*. We find similar thematic roots with the nasal infix in Latin *iu-n-gō*, Greek *lambànō*, etc.

“*Vikaraṇa*” is sometimes used in its ordinary sense of ‘modification’ in grammatical literature also. Thus we find in Ananta Bhaṭṭa’s commentary on VP. iii. 136 :

उक्तञ्च याज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षायाम्—

उपाधारञ्जनं कुर्यान्मनोर्विकरणे सति ।

लोपे प्रकृतिभावेऽपि नोपाधारञ्जनं भवेत् ॥

इति । अस्यार्थ—मकारनकारयोर्वर्णान्तरापत्त्या विकारे सति उपा-

धारञ्जनम् उपाध्याया आनुनासिक्यं कुर्यात् । लोपप्रकृतिभावयोस्तु तन्न कुर्यात् ।

“Ākhyāta-pada-vikaraṇāḥ” is used in the sense of ‘words which modify the finite verb, i.e., make it accented.’

In literature Vikaraṇa is found in stanza 317 of the Kuṭṭanīmata :

प्रतिपुरुषं सन्निहिताः कृत्यपरा विविध-विकरणोपेताः ।

बहुलार्थप्राहिण्यः प्रकृतय इव दुर्ग्रहा गणिकाः ॥

‘Courtesans are unfathomable like the roots (bases) in grammar. They approach every man (they are used in all the three persons), they are intent on serving their own interest (they have a predilection for the gerundive suffixes), they are endowed with various emotions and passions (they take on various Vikaraṇas or determinatives) and they exact a vast amount of money (they have various senses).’

GENDER, NUMBER, PERSON

Gender.

The word “liṅga” is used the Upaniṣads in the sense of ‘mark, token, characteristic.’ In the Nirukta (i. 17) also the word is used in the sense of characteristic. From this, on the one hand “liṅga” came to mean ‘the characteristic of the male, phallus,’ on the other hand it came to signify ‘grammatical gender.’

“Liṅga” is used in the sense of ‘śabdasāmarthyā’ in the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra and in Bhartṛhari’s well-known stanza :

संसर्गो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता ।

अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्यान्यस्य सन्निधिः ॥

In the next stanza Bhartṛhari uses 'vyakti' in the sense of 'gender' :

सामर्थ्यमौचिति देशः कालव्यक्तिस्वरादयः ।

शब्दार्थस्यानवच्छेदे विशेषस्मृतिहेतवः ॥

In AV. xii. 3. 1. we find "pumān pumso" dhitiṣṭha carmehi," 'mount male from male, the skin.' Griffith translates as above and explains in a note : "Aśvattha with a masculine name, that has grown on Khadira which is also a masculine word." This seems clearly to point to grammatical gender which is here identified with sex.

In AB. (xxvi. 3) we find :

तदाहुः—किं सुब्रह्मण्यायै सुब्रह्मण्यात्वमिति । वागेवेति ब्रूयात्—
वाग् वै ब्रह्म च सुब्रह्म चेति । तदाहुः—अथ कस्मादेनं पुमांसं सन्तं
स्त्रीमिवाचक्षत इति ? वाग् धि सुब्रह्मण्येति ब्रूयात्—तेनेति ।

'Why has the Subrahmanya its name? 'It is speech,'

he should reply; 'speech is the holy power and the good holy power.' They say, 'Why then do they call him that is male female as it were?' 'Because the Subrahmanya is speech,' he should reply, 'for that reason.'

It is clear from the above that the distinction of gender was perfectly well-known to the author of the Brāhmaṇa and that the neuter was often regarded as merely another form of the masculine.

Coming now to the words for the different genders 'vṛṣan' and 'yoṣā' are used in AB. and AA. for masculine and feminine genders respectively: vṛṣā vā ṛṣabho yoṣā Subrahmanya (AB. xxvi. 3), 'the bull is male (masculine),

the Subrahmanyā female (feminine)*. Vṛṣā vai preṅkho yoṣāsandī A A. i. 2.4, the swing is masculine, the seat feminine.'

All the three words "pums," "strī" and "napumsaka" found in later treatises on grammar appear to occur for the first time in the ŚB :

itthaṃ ha tv evāpi tredhā vihitō yad asmiṃs tredhā vihitā iṣṭakā upadhīyante—punnāmnyaḥ strīnāmnyo napumsakānāmnyaḥ. tredhā vihitānyu evemāni puruṣasyāṅgāni—Punnāmāni strīnāmāni, napumsaknāmāni x. 5.1. 2.....tā u sarvā iṣṭakā ity evācakṣate, neṣṭakā iti neṣṭakam iti vāco rūpeṇa. vāg ghyevaitat sarvaṃ yat strī pumān napumsakam. vācā hy evaitat sarvaṃ āptam. tasmād enā āṅgirasvad dhruvā sīdety eva sarvāḥ sādāyati, nāṅgirasvad dhruvaḥ sīdeti, nāṅgirasvad dhruvaṃ sīdeti. vācaṃ hy evaitāṃ saṃs-kurute. x. 5. 1. 3. "But in this respect also it is three-fold, inasmuch as three kinds of bricks are put into it—those with masculine names, those with feminine names, and those with neuter names.....Now all these (bricks) are called iṣṭakā (f.), not iṣṭakaḥ (m.), nor iṣṭakam (n.) : thus (they are called) after the form of speech (vāc f.), for everything here is speech—whether feminine (female), masculine (male), or neuter—for by speech everything here is obtained. Therefore he settles all the bricks with Āṅgiras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvā*, f.) ! not with Āṅgiras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvaḥ*, m.) ! or with, Āṅgiras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvam*, n.) ! for it is the speech he is constructing."

* Cf. ŚB. i. 3. 1. 9 : योषा वै सुग्, वृषा सुवः, i. 5. 3. 15 : स्यन्विति वै योषा, वेत्विति वृषा ।

The idea of gender is also very clearly expressed in the following ākhyāyikā (ŚB. i. 5. 4. 6-11) : Devas and Asuras, both sons of Prajāpati, competed for mastery. They fought with clubs and bows but could not win. Not winning, they said, “ Ah, let us gain victory in words. He, among us, who will be unable to follow up our uttered speech by (making up) a pair, will lose everything and the other party will win everything.” The Gods agreed and asked Indra to speak. Indra said “eko mama,” the others said “asmākam ekā,” *ekā* being the corresponding feminine form of *eka*. After a few more sentences Indra dropped his atomic bomb in the form of “pañca mama” and the Asuras racked their brains to find out the feminine form of “pañca,” but in vain, as “pañca” has the same form for all the three genders. Thus the Asuras lost the battle and the Gods were victorious.

देवाश्च वा असुराश्चोभये प्राजापत्या पस्पृधरे । ते दण्डैर्धनुर्भिर्न
व्यजयन्त । ते हाविजयमाना ऊचुः—हन्त वाच्येष ब्रह्मन् विजिगीषा-
महै, स यो नो वाचं व्याहृतां मिथुनेन नानुनिक्रामात्, स सर्वं
पराजयातै, अथ सर्वमितरे जयानिति । ‘तथा’ इति देवा अब्रुवन् । ते
देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्—‘व्याहर’ इति । स इन्द्रोऽब्रवीत्—‘एको मम’
इति । अथ ‘अस्माकमेका’ इतीतरेऽब्रुवन् । तदु तन्मिथुनमेवा-
विन्दन् । मिथुनं हि—एकश्चैका च । ‘द्वौ मम’ इतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् ।
अथ ‘अस्माकं द्वे’ इतीतरेऽब्रुवन् । तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन् । मिथुनं
हि—द्वौ च द्वे च । ‘त्रयो मम’ इतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् । अथ ‘अस्माकं
तिस्रः’ इतीतरेऽब्रुवन् । तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन् । मिथुनं हि—
त्रयश्च तिस्रश्च । ‘चत्वारो मम’ इतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् । अथ ‘अस्माकं
चतस्रः’ इतीतरेऽब्रुवन् । तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन् । मिथुनं हि—

चत्वारश्च चतस्रश्च । 'पञ्च मम' इतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् । तत इतरे मिथुनं नाविन्दन्, नो ह्यत ऊर्ध्वं मिथुनमस्ति—पञ्च—पञ्च इति ह्येवैतदुभयं भवति । ततोऽसुराः सर्वं पराजयन्त सर्वस्माद्देवा असुरानजयन् । सर्वस्मात् सपत्नान्सुरान् निरभजन् ।

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa distinctly mentions "triṣu liṅgeṣu" in its definition of "avyaya" (i. 1. 26).

Similarly we find in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka (iii. 7) : "He says to him, 'How dost thou obtain my male names?' 'By breath,' he should reply. 'How female names?' By speech.' 'How neuter (names) ? 'By mind.'

Here is a very clear reference to grammatical gender because the words *prāṇa*, *vāk* and *manaḥ* are masculine, feminine and neuter respectively.

The Nirukta (iii. 21) also clearly refers to the three genders in the following passage :—

ayainetyupadeśasya.

ayā te agne samidhā vidhema (RV. iv 4. 15) *iti striyāḥ.*

enā no agnim (RV. vii. 16. 1) *iti napuṃsakasya.*

enā patyā tanvaṃ saṃsrjasva (RV. x. 85. 27) *iti puṃsaḥ*

"*Aya* and *enā* are (synonyms) of reference.

'With this faggot we worship thee, O Agni.'

Here it is in the feminine gender.

'With this, to us, O Agni.'

Here it is in the neuter gender.

'With this husband commingle thy body.'

Here it is in the masculine gender." Sarup.

Coming now to the Prātiśākhya, "puṃspravāda" is

used in RP. iv. 42* in the sense of 'masculine.' Again in RP. xiii. 22.

napuṃsakam yad ūsmāntam tasya bahvabhīdhānajaḥ
anusvāro dīrgha-pūrvaḥ śiṣyanteṣu paḍeṣu saḥ

VP. ii 32 maho napuṃsake etc., CA. i. 84 dīrgho napuṃsaka-
bahuvacane, etc. and APr. i. 17 napuṃsakam ādyudāttam
brahmeti etc., "napuṃsaka" is used in the sense of the
'neuter gender.'

The generic term "līṅga" is used in the sense of gender' in
VP. iv. 175, APr. i. 22, etc. BD. (ii. 96) has : trīṇyeva loke
līṅgāni pumān strī ca napuṃsakam.

"The distinction of genders," says Max Müller "is the
only point on which the Greeks may claim a priority to
the Hindus. It was known in Greece to Protagoras ; whereas
in India the Prātiśākhya seem to have passed it over and
it appears first in Pāṇini." (History of Ancient Sanskrit
Literature, ed. Panini Office, p. 85.)

Now Protagoras was a Greek philosopher who flourished
about 440 B.C. and was in all probability a contemporary
of Pāṇini. He used† *arrēn* (male, Skt. vṛṣan) for the mascu-

* "अन्तःपादं विग्रहेऽकारपूर्वः पतिशब्दे द्वाचरे पुंस्त्विति ।"

पुंस्त्विति पुंशब्दवाचिनि । उवटः ।

† *Arrena kai thēlea kai skeuē*. ARISTOTLE, *Rhetoric*. Cf. *arsen-ikon kai thēlukon kai oudeteron*. DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

"He (Protagoras) had also divided nouns into three classes, male, female, and inanimate (*skeuē*), a classification apparently founded on a real or natural, and not on a grammatical basis, 'male' and 'female' nouns denoting male and female persons, or distinction in sex, whether in mankind or among animals in general, and things inanimate including the names of all other objects, natural and artificial. real and

line (Lat. *masculinum**) and *thēlus* (female, Skt. *yoṣā*) for the feminine (Lat. *femininum*) and *skeuos* (implement, inanimate object, things) for the neuter.* We have shown above that the distinction of genders goes back to the Brāhmaṇa period and that the earliest name for the masculine was “vr̥ṣan” and that for the feminine “yoṣā.” We have also shown that far from gender being passed over in the Prātiśākhya, most of the Prātiśākhya as well as the Nirukta show a full acquaintance with grammatical gender.

Some predecessors of Pāṇini use “vyakti”† for “liṅga” as is clear from Pāṇini’s rule : lupi yuktavad vyakti-vacane i. 2. 51 on which Jayāditya says : vyakti-vacane iti ca liṅga-samkhyayoh pūrvācārya-nirdeśaḥ, tadīyam evedam sūtram.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that the word “vyañjana” is derived from the root *añj* preceded by the upasarga *vi* with the primary suffix *ana*, just as “vyakti” is derived from the same root with the suffix *ti*, and that

abstract. This last class contains many words which are grammatically masculine or feminine, but the classification of Protagoras can hardly be identified with a classification of nouns as masculine, feminine and neuter. Protagoras uses in the sense of ‘classes’ the same term (*géné*), which was afterwards adopted in grammar to denote ‘genders’” Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, i. 91.

* In the middle of the first century B.C. the Gender or *genus* of a noun or *nomen substantivum* was distinguished by the terms *virile*, *muliebre* and *neutrum* (*masculinum* and *femininum* not occurring earlier than the second century A.D.)” Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, i. 182.

† In Naiṣadha iii. 23 “vyakti” is used in the sense of ‘vibhakti.’

“vyañjana” is used in the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras in the sense of ‘the mark of sex or gender’, ‘the private organs.’

J. shortened “napuṃsaka” to “nap” which, however, had been in use for a long time. Thus Sāntanavācārya says in his *Phīṣūtra* : nab-viṣayasyānisantasya ii. 3.

Sāk, uses “nap” in i. 2. 1 he said “napuṃsaka” in ii. 1. 69, 154. te.

“Klība” is a good old word found for the first time in AV.: klībaṃ klība tvākaraṃ vadhre vadhriṃ tvākaram vi. 138. 3. It was not, however, used in grammatical literature till a fairly late period. It is found probably for the first time in Hc. who generally uses it, but “napuṃsaka” is used in the rule “napuṃsakād vā” vii. 3. 89 (corresponding to Pāṇini’s “napuṃsakād anyatarasyām” v. 4. 109). Mu. follows Hc. In Su. “napuṃsaka” is used in the sūtras, probably out of dererence to Pāṇini, while “klība” is used in the Vṛtti. Thus we find the rule “svamor luk napuṃsake” Su. ii. 3. 59 the Vṛtti on which runs thus : klībe svamor luk syāt.

“Klība” and “visarga” are used by earlier writers also. Thus “klība” is found frequently in the *Amarakoṣa* of Amarasimha, to whom an honoured place among the grammarians has been given by Vopadeva in his *Kavikalpadruma*. At the very beginning of his work Amara mentions the three genders strī, puṃs and napuṃsaka (i. 1. 3), but uses klība in i. 1. 6. “Klībatā” is found in the *Kāśikā* of Jayāditya who, it is interesting to note in this connexion, makes a half-hearted attempt to defend ‘kutra’ found in Amara. “Klībatā” occurs in the *Kāśikā* on ii. 4. 18 in the three Vārttikas : (1) *pūnyasudīpā-*

bhyām ahnaḥ klībateṣyate. (2) pathaḥ saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ klībateṣyate. (3) kriyāviśeṣaṇānām ca klībateṣyate. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine whether these are Jayāditya's own Vārttikas or borrowed from some previous work. In the form in which they occur in Mbh., C. and J. we find *napuṃsaka* and *nap*. Similarly "visarga", as M. Renou points out, occurs in the *Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭasūtra* as a generic term for the three voiceless spirants—*visarjanīya*, *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīyā*; and both *visarga* and *visarjanīya* are found in the *Puṣpasūtra*. It is probable that *visarga* was at first used for all the three voiceless spirants and only latter came to be restricted to the *visarjanīya*. The reason why grammarians previous to Hc., bent as they were on securing *lāghava*, should have fought shy of these two short terms "klība" and "visarga" in their sūtras would appear to be that they were not deemed sufficiently elegant for a noble science like the *Śabdānuśāsana*, *klība* having too much to do with sex and *visarga* suggesting the voiding of excrement. Hence these words came to be widely used when the nice nuances of words had been altogether lost sight of and when one synonym was deemed as good as another.

HN. use "Puruṣottamalinga" for "puṃliṅga", "Lakṣmīliṅga" for "strī-liṅga" and "Brahma-liṅga" for 'napuṃsaka-liṅga.'

"Liṅga" is used by K. and its followers in the sense of 'prātipadika.'

In the following well-known example of the figure of speech known as *Viṣama* the word "napuṃsaka" has been very cleverly used ;

नपुंसकमिति ज्ञात्वा प्रियायै प्रेषितं मनः* ।

तत्तु तत्रैव रमते हताः पाणिनिना वयम् ॥

A swain who had lost his heart to his beloved cries out in the agony of his soul : 'I sent my mind as an emissary to my beloved, knowing it to be neuter. It, however, dallies in her company. I have to thank Pāṇini for this calamity.'

The reference here is to the rule "as-anto dvyackaḥ" 151 of the Līṅgānuśāsana, the authorship of which is attributed to Pāṇini. According to this rule dissyllabic words ending in *as* are neuter.

It is a pity our poet turned to grammarians for advice in such matters. Had he consulted the Vedas he would have been disillusioned in no time, for according to the Brāhmaṇas, mind is male and speech female :

वृषा हि मनः ŚB. i. 4. 4. 3, योषा हि वाक् Ib. i. 4. 4. 4.
Another poet supports Pāṇini :

प्रियामुखं तत् संस्मृत्य दीर्घचारुविलोचनम् ।

न याति शतधा येन मनस्तेन नपुंसकम् ॥

Subhāṣitāvali 1195.

The fond lover feeling the pangs of separation from his ladylove laments : "It is because the remembrance of that face of the beloved with its long beautiful eyes does not split my mind into a hundred pieces that the mind is (considered) a enunch (neuter)."

* ब्रह्म नान्तमपि क्लौव मनः सान्तं न पश्यति ।

किं चित् लोकजनकं वाक् कान्ता नैत्यकान्तकम् ॥

The following stanza from Murāri's Anargha-Rāghava (vii. 39) will be read with interest in this connexion :

स्वेदाद्र्वामकुचमण्डलपत्रभङ्गसंशोषितदक्षिणकराङ्गुलिभस्मरेणुः ।
स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकपदव्यतिलङ्घिनी वः शम्भोस्तनुः सुखयतु प्रकृतिश्चतुर्थी ॥

'May the (Ardha-nārīśvara) form of Śiva belonging to the fourth sex transcending the distinction of male, female, and eunuch make you happy, the form in which the decorations of musk and sandal on the round left breast wet with sweat are dried up by the dust of ashes in the fingers of the right hand.'

The word "prakṛti" is used in the same sense in the following ingenious stanza of the Naiṣadha-carita (xvii. 70) :

उभयी प्रकृतिः कामे सज्जेदिति मुनेर्मतम् ।
अपवर्गे तृतीयेति भणतः पाणिनेरपि ॥

"Both sexes should tread the primrose paths of dalliance"—this is also the view of Pāṇini who lays down "apavarge tṛtīyā", i.e., the third sex or eunuch (is entitled to exertion) in the matter of salvation.

The rule "apavarge tṛtīyā" ii. 3. 6 really means that 'the accusative of time and place is put in the instrumental when the completion of the action and the attainment of the fruit thereof are indicated.'

Number.

A clear reference to Vacana is found in AB. vi. 6 : sa yady eka-devatyah paśuḥ syān medhapataya iti brūyāt, yadi dvi-devatyō medhapatibhyām iti, yadi bahu-devatyō medhapatibhya ityeva sthitam. 'If the victim be for one deity, he

should say *medhapataye* ; if for two deities *medhapatibhyām* ; if for many deities, *medhapatibhyaḥ*.'

Similarly we find in TB : 'na mātā vardhate, na pitā,' that is when there are more than one victim, the singular, in "mātā" and "pitā" in the formula "anvenam mātā manya-tam anu pitā" is not to be changed into the dual or plural.

Keith points out (Rigveda Brahmanas, p. 80) that 'bahu' is used in the sense of plural in AB. xxi. 2,15. The passage runs thus :

धारावरा मरुतो धृष्ण्वोजस इति मारुतं बहुभिव्याहृत्यम्, अन्तो वै बहु, अन्तस्तृतीयमहः । (बहुविधम् अभिव्याहृत्यम् अभिव्यहरणीयं शंसनीयम् ऋग्जातं यस्मिन् सूक्ते तद् बहुभिव्याहृत्यम् । अत्र हि पञ्चदशर्चः शंसनीया इति बहुत्वम् । बहूनां देवानामभिव्याहरणीयान्नां विद्यमानत्वाद् बहुत्वम् । तस्य बहुत्वस्यैकत्वद्वित्वाद्यपेक्षयान्तत्वम् । सायणः)

Keith translates : 'Pouring showers, the Maruts, of daring might' is (the hymn) to the Maruts with much to be recited ; what is much is the end ; the third day is the end.

"Ekavacana" and "bahuvacana" are found first in ŚB.: ned ekavacanena bahuvacanam vyavāyāma xiii. 5. 1. 18, 'lest we should over-ride the plural by the singular'. "Dvivacana" has not been noted before the time of Yāska : api vā medasaś ca paśos ca sāttvaṃ dvivacanam syād yatra hyekavacanārthaḥ prasiddham tad bhavati vi 16, saptamyā ekavacanānīti Śākapūṇīḥ iv. 15, vayo ver bahuvacanam iv. 3, ekasyā eva pūjanārthe bahuvacanam syāt xii. 7, tad etad ṛbhoś ca bahuvacanena somasya ca samstavena bahūni

dāśatayīṣu sūktāni bhavanti xi. 16. Referring to the duals and plurals in the hymns Yāska says: “api dvivad api bahuvat tad yad dvivat tad upariṣṭād vyākhyāsyāmah ii. 25, (dvivat dvivacanasamyuktaiḥ mantraiḥ. Durga). “Ekavat”, “dvivat” and “bahuvat” occur in BD. in sense of ‘in the singular’ ‘in the dual’ and ‘in the plural’ respectively: pravādas tatra dṛśyate dvivad bahuvad ekavat iv. 107. The generic term “Vacana” occurs in “bhede vacanalingayoh” i. 43. Pāṇini follows his predecessors and uses “ekavacana”, “dvivacana” and “bahuvacana.” Later grammarians generally follow Pāṇini, shortening “ekavacana,” “dvivacana” and “bahuvacana” into “eka,” “dvi,” and “bahu”—a practice followed by Yāska and Śaunaka also.

RP. has “dvi-vacaḥ” for “dvi-vacana” in i. 71. CA. ii. 47 has एकामन्त्रिते द्वौ द्विवचनान्तस्य ।

K. uses “dvivacana” and “bahuvacana” in the first chapter in the rules “dvivacanam anau” “bahuvacanam amī” i. 3. 2-3, but in the subsequent chapters it generally uses “ekatva”, “dvitva” and “bahutva;” e.g., vām nau dvitve ii. 3. 2, tvanmador eṣatve te me. ii. 3. 3, at pañcamyā advitve 3. 14, ed bahutve tvī ii. 3. 42; rūḍhānām bahutve. . . . ii. 4. 5, dvitva-bahutvayoś ca parasmai iv. 1. 19, sano’ lopaḥ svare’ bahutve iv. 2. 33. “Dvivācin” is used only once in the rule “yuvāvau dvivāciṣu” ii. 3. 7. “Ekavacana” is used in the rules “kriyā-samabhihāre sarvakaleṣu madhyamaikavacanam pañcamyāḥ” iii. 1. 21 and “ijātmanepade prathamai-kavacane” (iii. 2. 29), probably because “ekatva” does not sound well with “madhyama” or “prathama.”

In Greek the generic term for Number is *arithmos* (number, Saṃkhyā). The name for the singular, dual and plural are *henikos*, *duikos* and *plēthuntikos*. In Latin, the generic term for Number is *numerus*. The name for the singular is *singularis* and for the plural *multitudinis* in Varro (116-27 B.C.). "Pluralis is found later in Quintilian (circa A.D. 35-95) who represents the teaching of Remmius Palae-mon) and *plurativus* in Gellius" (2nd century A.D.).*

For the generic term "vacana" J. uses the popular word "Saṃkhyā." For "ekavacana," "dvivacana" and "bahuvacana," however, J. coined no special term but used "eka," "dvi" and "bahu" like most other grammarians. Vopadeva does not follow J. in this particular instance, but uses "dva" for "dvivacana" and frames "kva" for "ekvacana" combining the 'k' of the first component and 'va' of the second of "ekavacana," and "vva" for "bahuvacana" after the analogy of "dva." Candra generally uses "ekatva," "dvitva" and "bahutva" for "ekavacana," "dvivacana" and "bahuvacana" respectively. The bigger terms are found in "ekavacanasya te me" vi. 3. 18, "īd-ūd-ed dvivacanam" v. 1. 125, "māntasya yuvāvau dvivacane" v. 4. 58, "bahuvacanasya vas-nasau" vi. 3. 17 etc.

"Vacana" means 'word, expression.' It is reasonable to suppose that "vacana" as a technical terms was used with "eka," "dvi" and "bahu" and then separated from these and used as a generic term.

* Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i. 182.

“Vacana” appears to have been used in the sense of verbal endings in K. iv. 2. 88 : ब्रुव ईड् घचनानि ।

पा । तान्येकघचन-द्विघचन-बहुवचनान्येकशः १।४।१०२

च । एकद्विबहुषु १।४।४८

जै । एको द्विबहुश्चैकशः । सुपश्च । १।२।१८३-१८४

शा । एक-द्वि-बहौ १।३।९८

हे । एक-द्वि-बहुषु ३।३।१८

स । एकद्विबहुवचनं प्रथमादेरेकैकम् । ८।४३

एकं वक्तीत्येकवचनम् । द्वे वक्ति द्विघचनम् । बहूनि वक्ति बहुवचनम् । वृत्तिः ।

मु । क-द्व-व्यान्येकद्विबहुष्वेकशः । १३

क्तेः [= विभक्तेः] एकैकं वचनं क्रमात् क-द्व-व्य-संज्ञं स्यात् तानि च क्रमादेकद्विबहुष्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते । वृत्तिः ।

प्र । प्रक्रमतो नाम्ना स्युस्तान्येकद्विबहुवचनानि ।

वाक्येष्वेकद्विबहुषु कार्यान्येतत् तिङा सदृशम् ॥ १।१७६

ह । तत्र प्रथमाया एकवचनं सुँ । द्विघचनम् औ । बहुवचनं जस् । १।१५२ वृत्तिः ।

Person.

Puruṣa in the grammatical sense of ‘person’ appears first to have been used by Yāska :

तत्र परोक्षकृताः सर्वाभिर्नामविभक्तिभिर्युज्यन्ते प्रथमपुरुषै-
श्चाख्यातस्य ।...अथ प्रत्यक्षकृता मध्यमपुरुषयोगास्त्वमिति चैतेन
सर्वनाम्ना ।...अथाध्यात्मिक्य उत्तमपुरुषयोगा अहमिति चैतेन
सर्वनाम्ना । ७।२

“Of these the indirectly addressed (hymns) are connected with all the cases of nouns and with the third person of the verb.....Now the directly addressed stanzas are connected with the second person and with the pronoun *tvam*.....Now the self-inocations are connected with the first person and the pronoun *aham*.”

प्रथमादिषु पुरुषसंज्ञा तु प्राचीनाचार्यशास्त्रसिद्धेति बोध्यम् ।
बालमनोरमा । १६०

“Prathama,” “madhyama” and “uttama” are often used in the same order in the Brāhmaṇas : त्रीन् प्रथमायां रोहति । भूतं भवद् भविष्यत्—तानवरुन्धे । त्रीन् मध्यमायां रोहति । आत्मानं प्रजां पशून्—तानवरुन्धे । त्रीनुत्तमायां रोहति—त्रय इमे लोकाः । एष्वेव लोकेषु प्रतितिष्ठति । ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणम् ७।७।७ .

Pāṇini drops the *puruṣa* and uses “prathama,” “madhyama” and “uttama” instead. Later grammarians generally follow Pāṇini. “Prathama” means first, “madhyama” middle and “uttama” last. This is the reason why in conjugation we begin with the third person and end with the first person.

K. generally uses “prathama,” “madhyama” and “uttama” like Pāṇini, but K. uses the generic term in the rule “yugapad-vacane paraḥ puruṣāṇām.”

Candra refers to the order of the endings by “prathama,” “madhyama” and “uttama.”

It would appear from the Nirukta that *puruṣa* or person was first used with reference to the verb and then extended to pronouns and then to nouns.

The three persons are mentioned in their proper order in the description of the Rājākula in the Kādambarī (para 85) in a passage which has been quoted on p. 69 and which may be translated thus : happy on account of vast expenditure in the matter of making gifts as advised by many officers divided into the three categories of ordinary, middling and best persons, even as grammar is well-established by the detailed treatment of the many substitutes for the endings of the first, second and third persons, of cases, finite verbs, datives, verbs, and indeclinables.

In the Upaniṣads and Gītā "Uttama Puruṣa" means the Supreme Spirit or Paramātmān.

Mandra, Madhyama and Uttama are used in ĀŚS. i. 5. 25, 27, 28, RP. xiii. 42 etc. in the sense of the three qualities of the voice viz., soft, middle and loud respectively.

पा । लिङ्स्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः । १।४।१०१ ।
युष्मदुपपद समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः । प्रहासे च
मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च । अस्मदुत्तमः । शेषे प्रथमः ।
१।४।१०५-१०८

का । त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः । युगपद्वचने परः
पुरुषाणाम् । नास्ति प्रयुज्यमानेऽपि प्रथमः । युष्मदि मध्यमः ।
अष्मद्युत्तमः । ३।१।३-७

च । युष्मदि मध्यमत्रयम् । अष्मद्युत्तमम् । १।४।१४६-१४७
प्रथमत्रयं तु सामान्यविहितं मध्यमोत्तमाभ्यां युष्मदस्मद्विषये
बाधितत्वाच्छेषेऽवतिष्ठते । वृत्तिः ।

जै । मिङ्स्त्रिशोऽस्मद्युष्मदन्याः । १।२।१७९

शा । लोऽन्ययुष्मदस्मासु तिप् तस् त्रि सिप् थस् थ मिब् वस्
मस् १।४।१

- सं । त्रिशः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमा नामयुष्मदस्मत्सु । गम्यमानेऽपि
नास्ति प्रथमो युष्मदस्मदोश्च मध्यमोत्तमौ । २।१६-१७
मु । लि-युष्मदस्मदि त्यादि त्रिशः । ९६५
सु । तिङान्विशः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः । नास्ति प्रथमः । युष्मदि
मध्यमः । अस्मद्युत्तमः । २।१।३०-३३
प्र । त्रयं त्रयं स्यात् प्रथममध्यमोत्तममेतयोः ।
नास्ति प्रयुज्यमानेऽपि प्रथमः पुरुषः स्मृतः ।
मध्यमो युष्मदि प्रोक्तः अस्मद्युत्तमपुरुषः ॥ ८।१२-१३
ह । नवकेषु त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमपुरुष-संज्ञकानि ।
२।३६३

IT AND ANUBANDHA.

Anubandha.

“Anubandha” (from *anu* ‘after’ and *bandh* ‘to ‘bind’’) literally means ‘that which is tagged on’ and is used in grammatical literature to denote a letter or syllable attached to roots, suffixes, augments, substitutes etc. to indicate their accentuation or some grammatical operation in connexion with them or to distinguish them from similar other things and so on. Though *anu* generally means ‘after,’ an anubandha need not necessarily come at the end of the base, suffix etc. to which it is attached, it may come and often does come at the beginning of these.* This led Bhāṛavi to use the simile “prakṛti-pratyayayor ivānubandhaḥ” (Kīrat xvii. 19)†.

* आदि जिट्ठवः । षः प्रत्ययस्य । चुट् । लशक्तद्धिते । १।३।५-८

† See pp. 78-79.

Though “anubandha” appears to be a very ancient term it is used first in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, e.g., anubandha-karanārthaś ca (Paspaśā xvi). It is next found in K. where it occurs for the first time in the rule “āgama udanubandhaḥ svarād antyāt paraḥ” ii. 1. 6, but curiously enough the word is not defined at the beginning of Chapter II, but towards the end of the last chapter. This would lead one to suppose that the word was too well understood in Sarvavarman’s time to need any explanation, even as “upadhā” was well-known in the days of RP. At the time of the revision of Sarvavarman’s original work the word “anubandha” had probably been entirely ousted by the monosyllabic “it” and was therefore defined at very nearly the end of the treatise in the rule “yo’nubandho’ prayogī”. The commentator Durga explains that the root *bandh* preceded by the upasarga *anu* is used here in the sense of ‘elision’ and supports his explanation with the quotation “agniṣomīyo gaur anubadhyatām” !!! And Trilocana borrows this brilliant exposition and embodies it in his Pañjī !

The best explanation of anubandha is probably that offered by Kṣīrasvāmin :

प्रकृतिप्रत्ययागमादेशानां यः कार्यार्थमासज्यते विनश्वर उच्चरित-
प्रध्वंसी सोऽनुबन्धः ।

It.

Pāṇini and his followers, bent on securing brevity, use the monosyllabic “it” for the polysyllabic “anubandha.” Indian commentators derive the word from the root *i* ‘to go’ with the help of the agent suffix *kvip* thus ; *eti gacchatīti it*. Many

European scholars believe the word to be a corruption of 'iti'.* The fact that in some of the Prātiśākhya letters are often indicated by putting 'iti' after them† lends support to this view. In VP. iv. 35 and vii. 9* a riphita visarjanīya is termed "rid visarjanīya." Here "rit" would appear to be merely an abbreviation of "riphita".

Pāṇini does not define or explain the word, but uses it for the first time in his rule "upadeśe janunāsika it" i. 3. 2. and prescribes the elision of the indicatory letters in his rule "tasya lopah" i. 3. 9.

J., Śāk., Hc., Sam., Su. and others use "it" throughout. H.N. uses both "it" and "anubandha" without defining them; e.g., ir-anubandhān ŋo vā bhūteśa-parapade i. 450 and irāmed dhātor num i. 455.

Hc. uses "anubandha" in the Bṛhadvṛtti on i. on i. 1. 17 : ,
इ-ज-श-ट-ड-पा अनुबन्धाः । (अनुबध्यते कार्यार्थमुपदिश्यत इत्यनु-
बन्धः । लघुन्यासः)

The Haimaparakāśa explains "it" thus :

वर्णो वर्णसमूहो वा पाठे समुपलभ्यते ।

न दृश्यते प्रयोगे यः स इत्संज्ञकः स्मृतः ॥

* "Dr. Bühler has suggested that 'it' is for 'iti,' a derivation that at once commends itself." Burnell, On the Aindra Grammar. It is interesting to note in this connexion that even now in Bengal orthodox teachers of Sanskrit grammar speak of "dhāt" instead of "dhātu."

* भाष्यपक्षश्च रिद्धि विसर्जनौयः । वा प्रा ४।३५ । रिद्धि विसर्जनौयश्च विसर्जनौयो रिफितः ।
[१।१६०] इत्यत आरभ्य यः परिभाषितः । उवटः । भाष्यपक्षं च रिद्धिसर्जनौयान्तानि
रिफेण । वा प्रा ७।६ । रिद्धिसर्जनौयान्ता रिफितविसर्जनौयान्ताम् । उवटः ।

† निर्दिश इतिना । वा प्रा १।३६

अ इति आ इति etc. VP. viii. 3 ff.

Sam. uses the word without defining it in its very second rule : *nityakathāder ādaḥ*. The *Vṛtti* says : *na id gacchati yasya sa nit*. Sam. has a rule at the beginning of the sixth chapter "*luk cihnārthasya*" which is thus explained in the *Vṛtti* :

चिह्नार्थस्य चिह्नप्रयोजनकस्य लुग् भवति । पदसिद्धौ यन्न स्थितं तच्चिह्नार्थम् । (चिह्नप्रयोजनं त्रिविधम् । सन्देहनिरासः, तद्भाषोपलक्षितकार्यप्रवृत्तिः शास्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्धरूपसंग्रहश्चेति । यदि जस्-शसोर्जकारसकारौ चिह्नप्रयोजनकौ न स्याताम्, तदा असि कृते जस्-शसोः कार्यभेदे सन्देहः स्यात् । एकस्यास्करणन्तु न कृतं स्पष्टार्थम् । यदि डुपचष् इत्यस्य डुकारषकारादयो न कृता स्युः, तदा 'डिषतः क्तिमः' [३१५७०] इति क्तिमः, 'स्वरितञितोः' [२११३२] इत्यादि नात्मने-पदम्, 'षिद्भिदादेरात्' [३१३५९] इति आच्च न स्यात् । क्षिप् तुगादौ च पकादयो नापि सन्देहनिरासार्थाः, नापि तद्भाषोपलक्षितत्वेन कार्यार्थाः, किन्तु शास्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्धरूपसंग्रहार्थाः, क्विबिति तुगिति यः शास्त्रान्तरे प्रसिद्धः स एवायमिति प्रसिद्धरूपसंग्रहो यथा स्यात् । गोयीचन्द्रः ।

The earlier grammarians, Pāṇini, Sarvavarman and presumably their predecessors, appear to have been very careful in the selection of the letters or syllables to be used as anubandhas. Thus the anubandha *ś* indicates *sarvādeśa* in the case of a substitute and *sārvadhātuka* in the case of a *kṛt* suffix. The palatal sibilant was used as an enubandha in these two cases, because the word 'viśva' meaning the same thing as 'sarva' contains *ś*. The *s* of 'sarva' cannot be used for this purpose, because the anubandha *s* indicates that before a suffix containing the anubandha the stem is to be regarded as a *pada* (*siti ca* i. 4, 16). Here again *s* has been selected for the

simple reason that it is the initial letters of *sup* (cf. "sup-tiñ-antam padam" i. 4. 14). Again the anubandha *m* in the case of roots shows that the penult will not undergo lengthening before the causal suffix (mitām hrasvaḥ P. vi 4. 92, mānubandhānām hrasvaḥ. K. iii. 4. 65). Here also *m* has been chosen because many roots of this type end in *m*. Again the anubandha *kh* indicates that the nasal *m* is to be inserted after stems ending in vowels, because this *m* becomes anusvāra which is represented in writing by a dot or zero and 'kha' means 'śūnya' or zero. (It may be noted in this connexion that J. uses that monosyllable 'kha' for the dissyllabic 'lopa' of Pāṇini and his followers.) We may mention in passing that the initial *kh* of taddhita suffixes is not an anubandha but merely a grammatical device and stands for *in*, even as the initial *ph* of these suffixes stands for *āyan*. Since several prominent words taking the suffix *āyana* end in *r* (cf. Nārāyaṇa, Cārāyaṇa etc.), and since *r* is known as 'repha,' the *ph* of 'repha' was seized upon by grammarians to represent *āyan*. Again since 'kulīna' is a well-known word formed with *īna*, and since it begins with *k*, the corresponding aspirate *kh* was used to represent *in* and so on. Again in Pāṇini's system *vu* stands for *aka* and *yu* for *ana* ("yuvor anākau" vii. 1. 1). Possibly *vu* was suggested by the common word 'pāvaka' and *yu* by *nayana*.'

Again, according to many grammarians an anudātta vowel or *ñ* attached to a root indicates Ātmanepada (anudātta-ñita ātmanepadam P. i. 3. 12, kartari rucādinānubandhebhyaḥ K. iii. 2. 42). As has been already pointed out (p. 17) the ancient Indians set great store by the virtue of

self-effacement and consequently the anudātta or unaccented vowel is used to indicate Ātmanepada. In early literature "pratyañ" is often used with "ātman," it is therefore highly probable that the *ñ* of "pratyañ" suggested the anubandha *ñ*. It may also be argued that it is unnecessary to give any prominence to the Ātmanepada by means of an accented vowel, because the Ātmanepada has an importance all its own, exactly as it is unnecessary to accent the finite verb which is the most important word in the sentence. It may further be argued that of the letters of the vargas only the gutturals are regarded as bhokṭṛ, the others are looked upon as bhogya, and so the final of the first varga is used to denote Ātmanepada because it is the supremest bhokṭṛ. Ubhayapaditva is indicated by means of the svarita vowel because it is a samāhāra of the udātta and the anudātta, and by means of *ñ* because it is the nasal which comes next to *ñ*.

The letter *t* is used as an anubandha after vowels to restrict its quantity according to the rule "ta-paras tat-kālasya" i. 1. 70, because 'tat' in this particular rule contains two *t*'s. Similarly the anubandha *t* indicates the svarita accent, because the word "svarita" contains *t*. Again the anubandha *p* indicates that a suffix or ending is strong, probably because it is the initial letter of the word "pṛthu" meaning 'broad, expansive. Similarly the anubandha *k* indicates that the ending or suffix is weak, probably because it is the initial letter of the word "kṣīṇa" meaning 'lean, thin'. Because of the "anu" of "anubandha" Pāṇini uses "anunāsika" to indicate "it" (upadeśe) 'anunāsika it i. 3. 2).

Pāṇini's "śatṛ" corresponds to Sarvavarman's "anti" which is most unfortunate, being identical with the third person plural ending, but with *ant* Sarvavarman generally prefers *i*. Thus he prescribes the substitute *arvanti* for *arvan* in ii. 3. 32. Pāṇini's *kvasu* appears as *vansi* in Sarvavarman. It was probably this anubandha *i* that is responsible for Sāyaṇa's curious mistake in his *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya* (e.g., on i. 115. 1) where he often takes *vasi* in the rule "śāsi-vasighasīnām ca" to mean the suffix *kvasu*. (See *Vedic Selections* edited by K. C. Chatterji, p. 85 f.n.) The comparative suffix *īyas* is not mentioned by Sarvavarman, but it appears to be included in *ansi* in ii. 4. 50 and so must have been regarded as *īyansi*. Again though Pāṇini's *ktavatu* is nowhere directly mentioned, since it is covered by "antu" in the rule "antv-asantasya cādhātoḥ sau" ii. 2. 20, Sarvavarman evidently regarded it as "tavantu." For the same reason *matup* and *vatup* appear to have been *mantu* and *vantu* according to Sarvavarman.

The anubandha *r* of Pāṇini's "śatṛ" and *u* of Pāṇini's "matup" and "vatup" indicate the advent of *n* in the strong forms and the formation of the feminine with *ī*. Since Sarvavarman reads the suffixes with *n* and since he specifically prescribes *ī* in the feminine for words ending in these suffixes, these anubandhas are unnecessary for his purpose. So following his predecessors (cf. VP.) he uses the vowel *i* for ease of utterance in the case of *anti*, *vansi*, *īyansi* and *arvanti* and *u* with *mantu*, *vantu*, etc. because of the presence of the labials *v* and *m* in the preceding syllables and because of the necessity of distinguishing them from *anti* for purposes of declension.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that acc. to modern

philologists the *n* of *mantu*, *vantu*, *tavantu* and *anti* is original, that of *vansi* and *īyansi* analogical.

In the Mahābhāṣya on “*auṇi āpaḥ*” vii. 1. 18 we find two Śloka-vārttikas discussing the utility of the anubandha *ñ* in the rule. In the last verse of these two stanzas we read :

निर्देशोऽयं पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ।

Patañjali explains this thus :

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयम् । पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तै-
रिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते ।

‘Or the *ñ* of *auṇi* is due to the mention of *auṇi* in the rule of a predecessor of Pāṇini. And the grammatical operations due to anubandhas or indicatory letters in the rules of Pāṇini’s predecessors are not carried out in this system.’

The difficulty arises thus : Since Pāṇini prescribes the substitution of *ṣī* for *auṇi* in the case of *ā*-stems, and since by *auṇi* he evidently means the endings of the nom. and acc. du. read as *au* and *auṭ* respectively in his system, these two endings have to be regarded as *ñit*. So these endings will have to admit the āgama *yā* acc. to “*yāḍ āpaḥ*” vii. 3. 113 which prescribes the āgama *yā* before endings with an indicatory *ñ* in the case of *ā*-stems. To prevent the advent of this *yā*, the author of the Śloka-vārttikas says that *au* is not *ñit* acc. to Pāṇini, but acc. to his predecessors, and as Pāṇini makes use of the older term *auṇi* simply to secure ease of utterance and as the indicatory letters in his system and in those of his predecessors do not always coincide, we are not to import *yā* acc. to Pāṇini’s rule “*yāḍ āpaḥ*”, because of the

presence of the anubandha *ñ* in the works of Pāṇini's predecessors.

So what Patañjali means is that if an anubandha is present in the systems of Pāṇini's predecessors and absent in this own system, it will have no indicatory value so far as the latter is concerned. It does not mean that the values of indicatory letters differ in different systems (though, of course, they sometimes do differ). As Kaiyaṭa explains :

पूर्वाचार्ये द्वे अपि द्विवचने ङितौ पठिते । न चेह कचिद्व्यौङ्-
प्रत्ययोऽस्ति । सामान्यग्रहणार्थं च पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशः । तेन यः पूर्वसूत्र-
व्यौङ् तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति प्रथमा-द्वितीया-द्विवचन-ग्रहण-सिद्धिः ।

'Ancient grammarians have mentioned both the dual endings with an indicatory *ñ*. In our system, however, the suffix *auñ* does not occur anywhere. The method of the ancient grammars has been followed here (in this particular case) simply to denote both the '*auñ*'s. So by *auñ* (in our rule) is meant the *auñ* which is found in ancient grammars and therefore both the nominative and the acc. dual endings are included.'

Jinendra-buddhi quotes a rule from a predecessor of Pāṇini, but unfortunately fails to mention the name of the author. He says :

पूर्वाचार्याणान्तु सूत्रे द्वे अप्येते द्विवचने ङितौ पठ्येते । तथाहि
“आघौटावौङ्” इति तत्र सूत्रपाठः ।

The rule evidently frames the technical term “*auñ*” for the two endings *au* (nom. du.) and *aut* (acc. du.), just as K. has the technical term “*dā*” for the roots *dā* and *dhā*. So *ñ* here is not an anubandha at all. The author of the Sloka-

vārttikas, therefore, was probably thinking of some other predecessor of Pāṇini in whose work *auṇ* was given as the ending for the nom. and acc. du. This ancient grammarian probably used the anubandha *t* for Pāṇini's *ṇ* in the case of the sup-terminations. Thus for Pāṇini's *au* and *aut* he used *auṇ* and for Pāṇini's *tā* he used *āṇ*. The Nyāsa says under vii. 3. 105 :

आचार्या हि पूर्वे आङिति तृतीयैकवचननिर्देशं कुर्वन्ति स्म,
तस्मात् तदीयेन “भाङ्” इति निर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यते ।

Pāṇini uses these sometimes with vocalic endings for simplicity.

There is hardly any doubt that Pāṇini introduced several new indicatory letters and that the value of some of the old indicatory letters was changed or augmented, but a careful comparison of the anubandhas of Pāṇini with those of K. leads one to the conclusion that most of the older anubandhas were retained by Pāṇini and that in most cases the indicatory significance is the same in Pāṇini as in the older grammarians.

In RP. and TP. we do not find any indicatory letter. VP. uses “nu” with the anubandha *u* in its Adhikāra rule “nuḥ” iii. 133. VP. also reads āṇ with the anubandha *ṇ* in the list of upasargas (vi. 24), and *et* and *ot* with the anubandha *t* (i. 114 etc.). Uvaṭa merely paraphrases it by *nakāraḥ*, but Anantabhaṭṭa explains : *nur iti nakārasya saṃjñā*. We meet with “nu” again several times in Chap. IV :

नुश्चान्तःपदेऽरेफे ४२, नुश्चाङ्गेङिते ४२, नुश्चानुनासिकम् ४१४

Similarly VP. uses “si” for *s*, “mi” for *m*, and “yi” for *y*. Hence VP. has got the rule “svarair api” i. 40.

The most important anubandha in VP. is probably found in the word “vāṃsau” in the rule :

वांसौ च भूतकाले स्वरेण ह्रस्वादनुषि ५।११

“Vāṃsau” may be the loc. sing. of ‘vāṃsi’ or ‘vāṃsu’ CA. has ‘vasu’ for ‘kvasu’ in ‘vasvantasya pañca-padyām” i. 88 and ‘vasau hrasvāt” iv. 35. Pāṇini also uses ‘kvasu’ and ‘vasu’ for this suffix. K., however, uses “vansi” throughout. In ii. 4. 50 ‘ansi’ is used for ‘vansi’. In the Kṛdvr̥tti, however, the suffix is read as ‘kvansu’ or ‘vansu’ after Pāṇini’s ‘kvasu’. Similarly Pāṇini’s “śatr̥” is represented in K. as ‘anti’, though in the Kṛdvr̥tti, following Pāṇini, Vararuci uses śantr̥n. All this sets up a strong presumption in favour of ‘vāṃsi’ in VP.

CA. uses a larger number of anubandhas than VP. and shows a very close approximation to Pāṇini. As in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, we find *san* (i. 86), *vasu* (i. 88, iv. 35), *suñ* for the particle *su* (ii. 97, cf. Pāṇini viii. 3. 107), *uñ* for the particle *u* (iii. 4) and *tātil* (iv. 20). *Matu* occurs here (iii. 17, iv. 17) for Pāṇini’s *matup* and *matvartha* (iv. 47) is found in both. It may be mentioned in this connexion that Pāṇini’s *īyasun* appears here as *īyas*, *mayaṭ* as *maya*, *jātīyar* as *jātīya* and *thāl* as *thā* (iv. 15), without anubandha. Moreover, the suffixes *kyac*, *kyañ* etc. are referred to here as *yakārādi* (iii. 18, iv. 29), showing that in the system of grammar followed by this Prātiśākhya the anubandha *ka* was wanting in these suffixes. Roots are generally indicated by an *i* affixed to them (*muci* ii. 76, *svapi* ii. 86, *sadi* ii. 99, *vyadhi* iii. 3. etc.) as also by means of the suffix *śtip*.

पा । उपदेशोऽजनुनासिक इत् १।३।२, तस्य लोपः १।३।९

का । योऽनुबन्धोऽप्रयोगी ४।४।३।१

अनुबध्यते इति कर्मणि घञ् । अनुपूर्वां बन्धिविलोपने वर्तते,
यथा अग्नीषोमोयो गौरनुबध्यताम् । अन्वर्थसंज्ञाविधानात् सिध्यति,
मन्दमतिबोधार्थं परिभाष्यते । परमार्थतोऽनुबन्धाः कार्यार्थं शब्द-
व्यवहारिभिरुपादीयन्ते । केचित् यद्-ग्रहणं न पठन्ति । टीका ।

च । अनंशचिह्नमिह १।१।५

जै । अप्रयोगीत् १।२।३

शा । अप्रयोगीत् १।१।५

हे । अप्रयोगीत् १।१।३७

मु । इत् कृते । ४

कस्मैचित् कार्ययोश्चार्थमाणो वर्ण इत्संज्ञः स्यात् । तस्य
कार्येऽनुच्चारः । यथा अचि कडच्चाः संज्ञार्थाः । हसेऽकार
उच्चारणार्थः । वृत्तिः ।*

सा । कार्ययित् ९।२४

सु । चिह्नार्थमिह । इती लोपः । २।३।१०-११

प्र । लोप्योऽनुबन्धः १।१८।५

उच्चारणार्थमन्यव्यच्छेदबोधार्थश्चानुसंहितो वर्णो लोप्यः ।
यथा सि-जसादेरिकारजकारादिः । वृत्तिः । अनु पश्चात् बध्यते
सम्बध्यतेऽसौ इत्यनुबन्धः । कर्मणि घञ् । उच्चारणार्थमिति । केवल-
व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारयितुमशक्यत्वादिति भावः । व्यवच्छेदबोधः भेद-

* Thus Vopadeva does not distinguish between "kāryārtha anubandha" and "uccāraṇārtha anubandha," though the commentators of Pāṇini take great care to distinguish between the two, restricting, as they do, the terms "it" and "anubandha" to the former. Thus under "veñō vayiḥ" ii. 4. 41 the Nyāsa remarks : ikāra uccāraṇārthaḥ, nānubandhaḥ. tena num na. bhavatīti bhāvaḥ.

प्रतीतिः । आदिना ईप्रत्ययवृद्धिगुणनिषेधादिग्रहः । अनुसंहितः पश्चात् सम्बद्धः । पश्चादित्युपलक्षणम्, पूर्वसम्बद्धोऽपि तथात्वेन विवक्षितोऽनुबन्ध एष ण-शान्तृशानादेर्णकार-शकारादिः । प्रमा-प्रकाशिका ।

ह । एति गच्छति न तिष्ठतीति इत् अनुबन्धश्च । स च उच्चारणार्थस्त्रिहार्थो विध्यादिनिमित्तश्च कचित् । २।१५३ वृत्तिः ।

UPADHĀ, UDAYA AND ANUṢAṄGA.

Upadhā.

“Upadhā” (from *upa* ‘near’ and *dhā* ‘to place’) means literally ‘setting or placing near or next to’, then ‘that which is set or placed next to, i.e., a preceding letter or word’ and lastly ‘the last but one letter in a word or stem’.

RP. stands alone among the Prātiśākhya and early treatises on grammar in not defining Upadhā and in using the word generally in the sense of ‘a preceding letter or word.’ Of course the preceding letter happens to be the penult in many cases, but at the time of this Prātiśākhya the sense does not appear to have crystallised into the penult. RP. also uses the derivatives “upadhīyamāna” and “upahita”* in the sense of ‘preceded by’.

The term is wanting in TP., but in VP. and CA. it has the same technical sense as in Pāṇini.

The word occurs by itself only once in the Nirukta in a passage which is rather obscure: “vabdhām te harīdhānā

* अन्धाद्यपि तथायुक्तमावीऽन्तीपक्षितात् सतः २।१६ पदैरुपहितेनेतेः २।१८ सर्वः प्रथमे-रुपधीयमानः शकारः शाकल्यपितृशकारम् ४।४

upa rjīṣaṃ jighratām” ityapi nigamo bhavati. ādinābhyāsenopahitenopadhām ādatte. babhastir atti-karmā. v. 12. This is explained by Durga thus : ādāv abhyāsenopasleṣitenopadhām ādatte, dhakāreṇa nimitta-bhūtenopa-dhām akāraṃ ādatte lumpati.

In “upadhā-lopa” (“athāpy upadhā-lopo bhavati. jagmatur jagmur iti” Nirukta ii. 1) and “upadhā-vikāra” (“athāpy upadhā-vikāro bhavati, rājā daṇḍīti Ib.) it plainly means ‘a penult’.

Upadhā occurs in the Uṇādi-sūtras also in the sense of ‘a penult’, e.g., caki-ramyor uccopadhāyāḥ ii. 14, kameḥ kid uccopadhāyāḥ iii. 138 etc.

K. agrees with Pāṇini in its use of the term.

J. contracts “upadhā” to “uṇ” with the ‘u’ of the first syllable and the nasal ‘ṇ’ to round it off, because “upānta” contains a nasal. Mu. follows J.

C., Śāk., Hc., Sam. and others prefer the term “upānt(y)a” as being self-explanatory. Thus C. has “mād upāntāc ca mator vaḥ” vi. 3. 35, Śāk. “māntopāntajayo mator mo vaḥ” i. 2. 96 and Hc. “māvarṇānto-pāntāpañcama-vargān mator mo vaḥ” ii. 1. 94 for Pāṇini’s “mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo’ yavādibhyaḥ” and “jhayah” vii. 2. 9-10.

Commenting on upāntasya varge” Sam. i. 133., Goyīcandra says :

उपगतोऽन्तादुपान्तः । क्रान्ताद्यर्थत्वात् प्रादिसमासः । अन्यथो-
भावे तु षष्ठ्याः स्थाने मः स्यात् । पदोपान्तस्य नकारस्य वर्गपरत्वा-
सम्भवात् प्रकृत्युपान्तस्य ग्रहणम् । अन्तसमीपस्य नकारस्य षर्णे परे
तद्वर्गान्तो भवति ।

HN. takes the name of Hari that sounds like “upadhā” and its term is Uddhava.

- वा प्रा । अन्त्याद्धर्णात् पूर्व उपधा १।३५
 चतुरध्यायिका । वर्णादन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा १।९२
 पा । अलोऽन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा १।१।६५
 का । अन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा २।१।११
 जै । उपान्त्यालुङ् १।१।७७
 मु । पूर्वोऽन्त्यादुङ् ९२
 सा । अन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा ९।२३
 सु । उपधोपान्त्यः १।१।२९
 प्र । उपान्त उपधोच्यते २।१८१
 ह । उद्धवः ॥ अन्त्यात् पूर्ववर्ण उद्धवसंज्ञः । उपधेति तु
 प्राञ्चः १।२२४

Udaya.

“Udaya” literally means ‘that which rises’, then it came to mean ‘that which follows’. Cf. Naiṣadha iv. 3 : तदुदितः स हि यो यदनन्तरः. It is used in this sense in all the Prātiśā-khyas. In the Aṣṭādhyāyī the term occurs only once in the rule “nodātta-svaritodayam a-Gārgya-Kāśyapa-Gālavānām” iii. 4. 6—a rule of doubtful authenticity. Vāmana says in the Kāśikā : udātta-parasyeti vaktavye udaya-graṇam maṅ-galārtham. Haradatta explains :

उदयशब्दः परशब्देन समानार्थः प्रातिशाख्येषु प्रसिद्धः ।

In RP. “udaya” is often used in contrast with “upadhā” ; e.g., “anudāttodaye punaḥ svaritaṁ svaritopadhe” iii. 12, ‘in a coalescence, however, where a following anudātta is preceded

by a svarita, the syllable of combination is svarita'. In ii. 81 occurs "upadhānibhodayāḥ" 'having the following vowels like the preceding ones.'

In viii. 2 "udaya" is used twice in the expression "udayodayāḥ" which means 'which follow words that follow'.

TP. uses "udaya" in this sense in the rule "udaya-svarādi-sasthāno hakāra ekeṣām" ii. 47, "according to some authorities, *h* has the same position as the beginning of the following vowel". In VP. we find "nodāṭṭa-svaritodayam" iv. 143, "patyau tālavya-svarodaye" iii. 35 where "tālavya-svarodaya" means 'ending in a palatal vowel', etc.

In CA. "udāṭṭa-svaritodayānām" occurs in iii. 65. In the commentary on CA. iii. 27 "ñ-aṇ-anā hrasvopadhāḥ svare" we find :

ङ-ण-नास्तु पदान्ता ये ह्रस्वपूर्वाः स्वरोदयाः ।

तेषां द्विर्वचनमिच्छन्ति प्रत्यङ्ङुद्यन् सुगण्णिन्ति ॥

In RT. we find "ca-la-modayam eke" 175, "some authorities prescribe the change of *ś* into *ch*, when it is followed by *c*, *l* and *m*'.

Anuṣaṅga.

"Anuṣaṅga" (from *anu* 'after' and *sañj* 'to stick to, to attach to') means 'close connexion' and is applied to the penultimate nasals of roots in grammatical literature, probably because these nasals were felt to be separate entities attached to the roots, since they appear sometimes with these nasals and sometimes without them. The word "Anuṣaṅga" might also have been chosen because it contains two nasals. In RP.

xiv. 9 we find “nāsikayos tvanuṣaṅge’ nunāsikam”, ‘when the letter is pronounced closely connected with the nose it becomes nasalized’ (nāsikayor yadā varṇo’nuṣajyate—Uvaṭa). It is just possible that the technical term Anuṣāṅga stands for “nāsikayor anuṣaṅgaḥ”. The word is not found in Pāṇini but occurs once in Kātyāyana : antyāt pūrvo masjer anuṣaṅga-samyogādi-lopārtham i. 1. 47. 2. The Nyāsa defines the word thus under ii. 1. 47. nakārasyopadhāyā anuṣaṅga iti pūrvā-cāryaiḥ kṛtā samjñā. The Padamañjarī says the same thing. The Śabdakaustubha also says :

उपधाभूतस्य नकारस्यानुषङ्ग इति प्राचां संज्ञा ।

We find the word fully defined for the first time in K. where immediately after the rule “antyāt pūrva upadhā” occurs the rule “vyañjanān no’nuṣaṅgaḥ” ii. 1. 12. The Vṛtti explains :

लिङ्गस्य *धातोः र्वा अन्त्याद् व्यञ्जनाद् यः पूर्वो नकारः सोऽनुषङ्गो भवति ।

Curiously enough Su. uses the word without defining it in its rule “aniditām anuṣaṅgasya kñiti” iii. 3. 73 on which the commentary Makaranda remarks :

ननु अनुषङ्ग-संज्ञा तावदिह न विहिता । कस्तावदनुषङ्गः ? सत्यम् । हलन्तोपान्त्यो नकारोऽनुषङ्ग इति प्रसिद्ध इह वर्गवद् गृह्यते । तथाच व्यञ्जनान्नोऽनुषङ्ग इति कातन्वसूत्रम् ।

HN. calls it “uddhava-narāma” i. 453 (=upadhā-

* “नकारजावनुस्वार-पञ्चमौ कलि धातुषु ।

सकारजः ¹षकारस्य षाट्त्वर्गस्यवर्गजः ॥

¹ Many read शकारस्य

nakāra) of “viṣṇujanānta dhātu” (=vyañjanānta dhātu). In PR. ii. 47 we find “antya-vyañjanādi-na.”

“Anuṣaṅga” is also used in the sense of the connexion of a word or expression used in one connexion with another word or expression.

आवृत्तिः स्वस्थानस्थितस्य पुनरनुसन्धानम् ।

स्थानान्तरस्थस्यानुसन्धानमनुषङ्गः ।

स्थानान्तरस्थस्य स्वस्थानेऽनुसन्धानमनुवृत्तिः ।

अश्रुतपदानामनुसन्धानमध्याहारः ।

SAMHITĀ AND SANDHI.

“Samhitā” in the sense of ‘putting together’ (*sam* ‘together’ and *dhā* ‘to put’) occurs in RV. As a feminine substantive, however, it is first met with in the Taittirīyopaniṣad in the sense of ‘conjunction, connexion.’ In its technical sense of ‘the closed connexion of words’ it is first found in the Nirukta. In the Prātiśākhya it is generally used in the sense of the Samhitā-text as opposed to the Pada-text. (It may be mentioned in this connexion that Nirbhuja in the sense of the Samhitā-text and Pratrīṇa in the sense of the Pada-text occur as early as AA.) From meaning words or sounds in the closest juxtaposition Samhitā came to mean the modifications caused by such juxtaposition—a sense in which the word “sandhi” is used.

“Sandhi” is also a good old word going back to RV. in the sense of ‘joint’, but it is found from the Prātiśākhya downwards in the sense of the ‘modifications caused by the

juxtaposition of letters'.* In this sense the word is conspicuous by its absence in the Nirukta and Pāṇini. But the reason for the non-mention of the word in these two works is not far to seek. The Nirukta has hardly any occasion to refer to the phenomenon and Pāṇini did not require a special name for the changes induced by the closest connexion of words and so gives a wide berth to it, as he does to the names of the special kinds of euphonic combinations like "Anvaṣara-sandhi", "Praśliṣṭa sandhi", etc.

Following in the foot-steps of Patañjali*, Candra dispenses with the use of the word Samhitā and the Vṛtti remarks : samhitāyām iti na vaktavyam, ādhārasyaupaśeṣikatvāt v. 1. 70.

Śāk. also avoids both "samhitā" and "sandhi". The commentator of the Śakaṭāyana Prakriyā Saṁgraha says at the beginning of the Sandhi-section : pūrvottaravarṇānām avirāme-noccāraṇaṁ sandhānaṁ sandhiḥ samhiteti yāvat.

* In RP. Sandhi is used in the sense of mere juxtaposition of letters also. Thus where an initial and a final consonant occur one after the other and neither of them undergoes any change, the Sandhi is known as Avaśaṅgama (yatra dvayor vyañjanayor avikāraḥ so'vaśaṅgamah sandhiḥ—Uvāta on RP. iv. 1). The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā, however, distinctly says that Sandhi has four varieties viz. elision, augment, change and the retention of the original form :

सन्धिश्चतुर्विधो भवति—लोपागमविकाराः प्रकृतिभावश्चेति ।

By Prakṛtibhāva is evidently meant the absence of Sandhi in the case of Pragrhya vowels, as also the non-mutation of a Visarjanīya into a sibilant or Jihvāmūliya or Upadhmāñīya.

* अयं योगः शक्याऽवक्तुम् । कथम् । अधिकरणं नाम लिपिकारम्—व्यापकम् औप-
श्लेषिकं वैषयिकमिति । शब्दस्य च शब्देन कोऽन्वोऽभिसम्बन्धो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदत उपश्लेषात् ।
इको यणचि [६।१।७७] अच्युपश्लिष्टस्येति । तत्रान्तरेण संहितावचने संहितायामिव भविष्यति ।
६।१।७२ भाष्यम् ।

J. has the *adhi-kāra*-rule "sandhau" iv. 3. 68 corresponding to Pāṇini's "saṃhitāyām" vi. 1. 72.

Hc. lays down rules of Sandhi in i. 2 and i. 3 and uses the word "sandhi" in rules i. 3. 52 and vii. 4. 111. He uses "saṃhitā" in "taylor yvāu svare saṃhitāyām" vii. 4. 103, corresponding to Pāṇini's "taylor yvāv aci saṃhitāyām" viii. 2. 108. He distinguishes between Sandhi and Saṃhitā when he says in his *Bṛhad-vṛtti* on "na sandhiḥ" i. 3. 52: *virāmād anyatra tu saṃhitāyām sandhir eva*.

Later grammarians found the uses of "Saṃhitā" superfluous and retained the shorter term "Sandhi" formed from the same root with the same prefix. K. has a chapter entitled "Sandhi-vṛtti" or "Sandhi-pāda", and the word "sandhi" is used in the rule "na visarjanīya-lope punaḥ sandhiḥ" i. 5. 16. The derivative "sandheya" occurs in the rule "na vyañjane svarāḥ sandheyāḥ" i. 2. 18. Durga says in his commentary on i. 2. 18:

सन्धानं सान्धः । उत्कृष्टो वर्णानां सन्निकर्ष उच्यते । तद्विषय-
मपि कार्यं समानदीर्घादि सन्धिरित्यभिमतम् , उपचारात् ।

Kavirāja says under the same rule :

असन्मते सन्धिरिति संज्ञा न कृता, तस्मात् सन्धि-पदेन
किमुच्यते ? पाणिनिनापि सन्निकर्षः सन्धिरिति सूत्रितम्,
श्रीपतिनापि सुसन्निकर्षः सन्धिरित्युक्तम् । सत्यं वर्णानां समवायः
सन्धिरिति व्युत्पत्त्या इहोच्यते । अथ तथापि कथं सन्धिशब्देन
दीर्घादिरुच्यते, सन्निकर्षस्य धर्मपरत्वात् ? सत्यम्, सन्धिबिधेय-
कार्यं सन्धिरित्युपचारात् ।

Again, under i. 1. 13 Kavirāja says :

अनेन संहिता न विकल्प्यते । किं तर्हि ? सत्यामपि संहितायां
तदाश्रितं सन्धिकार्यमेव ।

Sam. has got the sandhipāda i. 1 and the word 'sandhi' occurs in "lug-yāder na sandhiḥ" i. 360 where the Vṛtti says "varṇānām druta-taroccāraṇam sandhiḥ, upacārāt tatkāryam ca". The last rule of the section also mentions sandhi :

सन्धिरेकपदे नित्यो नित्यो धातूपसर्गयोः ।

सूत्रेष्वपि तथा नित्यः *सैवान्यत्र विभाषितः ॥

In the printed editions this is given as a sūtra, but it may very well be a portion of the Vṛtti.

Su. has got its sandhi-section consisting of 'ac-sandhi', 'hal-sandhi' and 'visarga-sandhi', and mentions 'sandhi' in the rule "na sandhir visarga-ya-va-lope" i. 2. 27 etc.

PR. speaks of 'svara-sandhi', 'vyañjana-sandhi' and 'visarga-sandhi' and uses the word "sandhi" in "ayādīnām vā padānta-yvor lopaḥ sandhyabhāvakṛt" i. 75, "dvivacanam idūde syāt sandhi-virodhi svataḥ paratrāpi" i. 78, etc. and defines sandhi in i. 165.

HN. retains the word "sandhi" which it defines in i. 45. It speaks of Sarveśvara-sandhi, Viṣṇujana-sandhi and Viṣṇu-sarga-sandhi.

Mu. speaks of 'ac-sandhi', 'hal-sandhi', 'visarga-sandhi' and uses the word "sandhi" in the rule "lupi na sandhyā-dya-vidhi" 15.

* This may be defended according to Pāṇini's rule "so'ci lope cet pāda-pūraṇam" vi. 1. 134, but it is evidently taken from a stanza containing the feminine word "saṃhitā."

“Sandhāna” is used in the sense of ‘euphonic combination’ in RP. x. 17 :

इतिपूर्वेषु सन्धानं पूर्वैः स्वः स्यादसंहितम् ।

तदवग्रहवद् ब्रूयात् ॥

“Euphonic combination in case of words preceded by *iti* (is desired) by old (teachers). But *svaḥ* should remain uncombined. One should recite it with an avagraha.”

The word “sandhya” is used in the Prātiśākhya in the sense of ‘belonging or pertaining to or resulting from euphonic combination’.

“Sandhyakṣara” is found in the Prātiśākhya, Vārttika, Bhāṣya and K. in the sense of diphthongs (lit. ‘letters of combination’).

Both Sandhi and Samhitā are used in the following passage of AA. iii. 1. 5 :

येन सन्धिं विवर्तयति,* येन स्वरास्वरं विजानाति, येन मात्रा-
मात्रां विभजने सा संहिता ।

Sāyaṇa explains :

सन्धिं पूर्वोत्तरयोः सन्निकर्षमध्येता विवर्तयति विशेषेण सम्पा-
दयति । स्वरम् अस्वरं च विविच्य जानाति । “अग्निमीले”
इत्यत्रोत्तरपदे पदकालघटनुदात्तस्वरो न भवति, किन्तु स्वरित-
प्रचयौ स्वरावित्येतादृशो विवेकः । मात्राम् अमात्रां च विभजते ।

* यद्धि सन्धिं विवर्तयति तन्निर्भुजस्य रूपम् । अथ यच्छ्रुते अक्षरे अभिम्याहरति तत् प्रत्यक्षम् । ऐतरेयब्राह्मण ३. २. ३

निर्दिष्टौ भुजसदृशौ पूर्वोत्तरशब्दौ यस्मिन् संहितारूपे लक्षणे तदुच्चारणं निर्भुजम् विच्छेद-
रूपेणैवावाचिना प्रत्यक्षशब्देन विच्छिन्न पदमभिधीयते । सायणः ।

“तवेत् तत् सत्यमङ्गिरः” इत्यत्र पदकाले वकारस्योपरि ह्रस्वोऽकारो दृश्यते, संहिताकाले न भवति, किन्त्वेकारो मात्रेत्ययं विभागः ।

Śrīpatidatta distinguishes between ‘Samhitā’ and ‘sandhi’ in his Kātantra Parīṣiṣṭa. He holds that the coming together of two letters without any intervening vowel or consonant and the pronouncing of the immediately after the other without an interval of even half a mora is Samhitā. And when letters come together in this way “sandhi” takes place : dvayoḥ susannikarṣaḥ i. 95. Here susannikarṣaḥ is evidently a paraphrase of “paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ” of Pāṇini. Śrīpati says in the Vṛtti :

वर्णान्तराव्यवहितयोर्द्वयोर्वर्णयोः सुसन्निकर्षो भवति । स हि निरतिशयमानन्तर्यम् । अर्धमात्राकालेनाव्यवायः संहितोच्यते । पाणी कुण्डे नद्यौ बध्वौ प्लवते गायति । संहितायामेष सन्धयः स्युः ।

नि । परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता १।१।१७

ऋप्रा । संहिता पदप्रकृतिः । पदान्तान् पदादिभिः सन्धधेति यत् सा कालाव्यवायेन । २।१-२

तैप्रा । अथ संहितायामेकप्राणभावे ५।१ अथ चतस्रः संहिताः २४।१, नानापदसन्धानसंयोगः पदसंहितेत्यभिधीयते २४।३

वाप्रा । वर्णानामेकप्राणयोगः संहिता १।१।५८, पूर्वणोत्तरः संहितः १।१।५५, पदविच्छेदोऽसंहितः १।१।५६, संहितायाम् ३।१, पदान्तपदाद्योः सन्धिः ३।३ (ते सन्धयश्चत्वारो भवन्ति—स्वरयोः व्यञ्जनयोः स्वरव्यञ्जनयोश्च । स्वरव्यञ्जनयोस्तु द्विप्रकारः पूर्वः स्वरो भवति पश्चाद् व्यञ्जनानि, व्यञ्जनानि वा पूर्वाणि भवन्ति पश्चात् स्वर इति । उवटः ।)

ऋत । सन्निकर्षः संहिता ६७

पा । परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता १।४।१०९

भाष्यम् । शब्दाविरामः संहिता ।...ह्लादाविरामः संहिता ।...
पौर्वापर्यमकालव्यवेतं संहिता । १।४।१०८, संहिता अघसानमिति
लोकविदितावथौ, एवं हि कश्चित् कश्चिदधीयानमाह—‘शन्नोदेवीयं
संहितयाधीष्व’ इति । स तत्र परमसन्निकर्षमधीते । १।४।१०९
(यथा पदनैरन्तर्ये संहिताव्यवहारस्तथैकपद्येऽपि वर्णनैरन्तर्ये ।
कैयटः ।)

प्र । प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्यापि सम्बन्धनियमं विना ।

वर्णसंज्ञानुबन्धी यः कार्यः स सन्धिरुच्यते ॥ १।१६५

विलम्बितोच्चारणे तु सन्ध्यभावः क्वचिद्भवेत् । १।१६६

ह । सर्वप्रकरणव्यापो वर्णमात्रनिमित्तकः ।

वाणो विकारः सन्धिः स्याद् विषयापेक्षकः क्वचित् ॥ १।४५

सन्धिरैकपदे नित्यं नित्यं धातूपसर्गयोः ।

अनित्यं सूत्रनिर्देशेऽन्यत्र चानित्यमिष्यते ॥ १।४४

It will be noticed that in grammatical literature three words belonging to three different genders are used to denote euphonic combination. They are Sandhi (masc.), Sāmhītā (fem.) and Sandhāna (neut.).* In the Kārikā “sandhir ekapade nityam” there is a contamination of ‘sandhiḥ’ and ‘sandhānaṃ’, just as in the Kārikā ending in “saivānyatra vibhāṣitaḥ” there is the contamination of ‘sāmhītā’ with ‘sandhiḥ’.

The Sūktimuktāvali quotes two stanzas containing the word “sandhi” in its grammatical sense :

* सूक्तमोक्षकप्रामाण्यादुभयलिङ्गः संहितशब्दः । लघुसङ्ख्या, पृ: ६६६

मा स्म सन्धिं विजानन्तु मा स्म जानन्तु विग्रहम् ।

आख्यातं यदि शृण्वन्ति भूपास्तेनैव पण्डिताः ॥

'Let them be ignorant of *sandhi* (peace, euphonic combination), let them be ignorant of *vigraha* (war, dissolution of compounds), if kings listen to *ākhyāta* (what is told them, verbs), they will become learned by that only'.

सन्धानानि विसन्धयः प्रकृतयस्ताभ्यः परः प्रत्ययो

देव व्याकरणादभेदकमिदं वैधर्म्यमेतत् तव ।

आदेशो न विकल्प्यते न च कृतं किञ्चित् क्वचिल्लुप्यते

नो वृद्धिर्गुणबाधिका न पुरुषः कार्यं क्वचिन्मध्यमः ॥

'Alliances (euphonic combinations), breaking up of alliance (absence of euphonic combination), subjects (stems), knowledge excelling that of the subjects (suffixes added to the stems)—these, Sire, are common to both Your Majesty and grammar. In the following respects, however, Your Majesty differs from grammar : Your commands are never called in question (a substitute is never prescribed optionally), nor is anything done anywhere destroyed (nor does anything prescribed undergo elision), nor does prosperity put an end to your good qualities (nor does *Vṛddhi* supersede *Guna*), nor is your officer mediocre in any business (nor is there any second person in the case of any verb).'

It has to be remembered in this connexion that in grammar we sometimes come across substitute that are optional, *e.g.*, *vibhāṣā* *luṇ-lṛṇoh* ii. 4. 50 which makes the substitute *gā* for *iṇ* optional in the aorist and conditional; that what is prescribed sometimes undergoes elision, *e.g.*, the

whole of the suffix *kvip*; that *Vṛddhi* sometimes supersedes *Guṇa*, e.g., “*vṛddhir eci*” vi. 1. 88 supersedes “*ād guṇaḥ*” vi. 1. 87; and that the second person has an honoured place in grammar.

In the following stanza, the grammatical sense of the word “sandhi” would also appear to be working at the back of the writer’s mind :

स्तनराजौ तथान्योन्यं मण्डलाक्रमणोद्यतौ ।
कतुं यथैतयोः सन्धिर्विधात्रापि न शक्यते ॥

The *Padyaveṇī* contains the following stanza on *Sandhi-vṛtti* or the phenomenon of *Sandhi* :

व्यञ्जनस्वरसमानसंज्ञका
कान्तघर्णपदशब्दसाधना ।
सन्धिवृत्तिरिव कृष्णकामिनी
यामिनीमपि निनाय मानतः* ॥

‘*Kṛṣṇa*’s inamorata whose name consisted of an equal number of vowels and consonants, and whose complexion, steps, voice and curves were all that could be desired, even as the phenomenon of *Sandhi*’ is designated *Svarasandhi* and *Vvañjanasandhi* and is used in the formation of crude stems and inflected words by means of nice letters (or in the forma-

* “*Māna*” is thus explained in the previous stanza (480) :

योऽन्यव कोपी रसिकैः स एव प्रियाकृतो मान इति प्रतीतः ।
यः चारकेदारमहोषु काशः स संस्कृतचेवप्रभवो महोच्चः ॥

This reminds one of the following stanza of *Govardhana* :

अन्यमुखे दुर्वादी यः प्रियवदने स एव परिहासः ।
इतिरेभनजन्मा धूमः सोऽगुरुभवो धूपः ॥

tion of expressions consisting of words containing nice letters) spent the whole night in (a fit of) jealous anger (482)'.

It may be incidentally mentioned that since Patañjali defines Vṛtti as "parārthābhidhāna" or the conveying of some sense over and above or beyond that which is expressed by the constituent elements, it is hardly proper to speak of Sandhivṛtti which appears to have gained currency after the analogy of expressions like Kṛdvṛtti, taddhita-vṛtti, samāsavṛtti etc.

DIFFERENT VARIETIES OF SANDHI

Since the followers of Pāṇini read Anusvāra and Visarjanīya after *a* and also include them in the Pratyāhāra śar, according to them there will be two varieties of Sandhi, viz., ac-sandhi or svāra-sandhi and hal-sandhi or vyañjana-sandhi. But as the various transformations of the Visarjanīya occupy a prominent place in the scheme of Sandhi, so many scholars add a third variety, viz., Visarjanīya-sandhi to the two already mentioned. In K. we find these three varieties along with Prakṛti-bhāva which is regarded by some as a fourth variety, viz., Prakṛti Sandhi. These along with the first section which deals with Saṃjñās are regarded as constituting Pañca Sandhi,* i.e., the five sandhis. Thus the commentary Prakāśa on the Prakriyā-Kaumudī says :

* The Kātantra school says :

स्वरसन्धिर्यञ्जनसन्धिः प्रकृतिसन्धिरस्यैव च ।

अनुस्वारी विसर्गश्च सन्धिः स्यात् पञ्चसन्धयः ॥

एवं तावद् यथा कथञ्चिच्चत्वारः सन्धयो भवन्तु नाम । (भच्-
सन्धिः हल्सन्धिः । विसर्गसन्धिः । स्वादिसन्धिः ।) पञ्चसन्धि-
प्रवादस्तु सन्ध्यर्थकत्वात् संज्ञाप्रकरणेऽपि सन्धित्वमुपचर्येति समा-
धेयम् ।

From an early period, however, the Sandhi of case-terminations was regarded as a separate category as is clear from the Tolkappiyam, and so in the Rūpāvatāra, Prakriyā Kaumudī, Siddhānta Kaumudī and works of this type we find a separate section entitled Svādi Sandhi.

The Rūpāvatāra regards the insertion of *t* before *ch* in words like *pariccheda* as a separate variety and mentions six varieties of Sandhi :

तुक् स्वरः प्रकृतिश्चैव व्यञ्जनश्च ततः परम् ।

ततो विसर्जनीयश्च स्वादिः षट्सन्धिरुच्यते ॥

The ancient classification into lopa, āgama, vikāra and prakṛtibhāva (p. 174 f.n.)—a classification found also in Tolkappiyam, a very early treatise on Tamil grammar, would appear to be quite satisfactory.

In general, however, writers on grammar are anxious to have five varieties of Sandhi, because of the well-known Pañca Sandhi of Dramaturgy.

RP. has a special name for each of the various classes of Sandhi. These names remind one of the different varieties of Upamā (e.g., Ācikhyāsopamā Mohopamā, etc.) found in Daṇḍin's Kāvyaḍarśa.

The combination of vowels with consonants is known as "**Anvaksara-Sandhi**" i.e., combination according to the

succession of letters. When vowels precede and consonants follow the “**Anvaksara-Sandhi**” is “**Anuloma**” *i.e.*, in the natural order. When consonants precede and vowels follow the “**Anvaksara-Sandhi**” is “**Pratiloma**” *i.e.*, in the reverse order.

RP. mentions three cases of Anuloma Anvaksara-sandhi :

- (i) vowels followed by consonants (ii. 8),
- (ii) *eṣaḥ*, *syah* and *saḥ* followed by consonants, the visarjaniya of *eṣaḥ*, *syah* and *saḥ* being dropped (ii. 8),
- (iii) *im* followed by consonants, the *m* of *im* being dropped (iv. 83).

Of Pratiloma Anvaksara-sandhi only one case is specially mentioned: the first letter of any varga is changed into the corresponding third letter, when vowels follow (ii. 9-10). .

एष स्य स च स्वराश्च पूर्व

भवन्ति व्यञ्जनमुत्तरं यदेभ्यः ।

तेऽन्वक्षरसन्धयोऽनुलोमाः

प्रतिलोमास्तु विपर्यये त एव ॥

तत्र प्रथमास्तृतीयभावं

प्रतिलोमेषु नियन्त्यथेतरेषु ।

ऊष्मा परिलुप्यते त्रयाणां

स्वरवर्जं न तु यत्र तानि पद्या ॥ २८-२२

ईमित्यन्तलोप एषूदयेषु

गर्भं गावो वत्सं मृजन्ति पृच्यते ।

सखायो विव्याच पुना रिणन्ति

रथमित्यन्वक्षरसन्धिरेव सः ॥ ४८३

The Anvaṣara-sandhi-vaktra or Anvaṣara-vaktra-sandhi and Śauddhākṣara Sandhi may be mentioned in this connexion. When a visarjanīya followed by a sibilant followed by an aghoṣa is dropped, the Sandhi is known as *Anvaṣara-sandhi-vaktra* (iv. 37). The commentator Uvaṭa points out that the real name is Anvaṣara-vaktra-sandhi, the positions of 'sandhi and 'vaktra' being reversed owing to the exigencies of metre.*

ऊष्मण्यघोषोदये लुप्यते परे

नतेऽपि सोऽन्वक्षरसन्धिवक्त्रः । ४।३६-३७

स सन्धिरन्वक्षरवक्त्रसंज्ञो वेदितव्यः । भिन्नक्रमः सन्धिशब्दो
द्रष्टव्यः* । उवटः ।

It will be noticed that when the visarjanīya of 'eṣaḥ', 'syah' and 'sah' is dropped before a consonant the euphonic combination is known as Anvaṣara Sandhi, but when the visarjanīya is dropped before a sibilant followed by an aghoṣa, the sandhi is known as Anvaṣara-sandhi-vaktra, because it is "anvaṣara sandhi" in the first stage only ("anvaṣara-sandhi-vaktra" meaning "āmukhe anvaṣara-sandhi").

The insertion of a sibilant or *r* in certain words is known as **Śauddhākṣara Sandhi** RP. mentions four cases :

(i) the insertion of *ś* between words like *puru*, *pr̥thu*, *adhi* and *candra* (iv. 84) ;

* Similarly the Padamañjarī says under Kāśikā vii. i. 18 :
दित्वे विद्यद् वर्णनिर्देशमावर्तित वर्णमावर्निर्देश इति विवक्षितम् । वृत्तभङ्गभयान्नस्थाने
मावर्तयन्तः प्रयुक्तः ।

(ii) the insertion of *ṣ* in words like *pariṣkṛṇvan*, *pariṣkṛṇv-anti* etc. (iv. 85, 87) ;

(iii) the insertion of *s* in the aorist form *askṛta* in “askṛto-ṣasam” RV. x. 127. 3 (iv. 88) ;

(iv) the insertion of *r* between *vana* and *sada* (iv. 86).

पुरुषृध्वधिपूर्वेषु शकार उपजायते ।

ह्रस्वे च पूर्वपदान्ते चन्द्रशब्दे परेऽन्तरा ॥

परीति पद्ये कृपरे षकारो

वनेति रेफः सदशब्द उत्तरे ।

परिष्कृण्वन्ति वेधसोऽस्कृतोपसं

शौद्धाक्षराः सन्धय एत उक्ताः ॥ ४।८४-८९

Śauddhākṣara Sandhi is so called because it is concerned with the insertion of a single letter (*śuddha akṣara*). It cannot be said that the name is due to the fact that in this particular variety of Sandhi the original *letters* (“akṣara”) remain *unaltered* (“śuddha”), only a new letter being inserted, for in the case of ‘vanarṣad’ the intrusive *r* changes the dental sibilant into the corresponding cerebral. It will be noticed that the Prātiśākhya deals first of all with the insertion of *ś*, the instances of which are more numerous than all the cases of the insertion of *ṣ*, *s* and *r* taken together and the word “śauddhākṣara” also begins with *ś*. The āgama in the case of Śauddhākṣara Sandhi is referred to twice in RP. :

शौद्धाक्षरागमोऽपैति । १०।२१

नुदेच्च शौद्धाक्षरसन्ध्यमागमम् । ११।४३

The name “śauddhākṣara” may be explained in another way also. In the case of “ānpada etc.” also *r* and *s* come in,

but in those cases the previous vowel is nasalized; in the case of Śauddhākṣara Sandhi, however, there is no nasalization. The word “śuddha” is used in CA. iv. 121 *anunāsikaḥ pūrvaś ca śuddhaḥ* in the sense of ‘free from nasalization’. And we learn from the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa (ix. 5, xiv. 3) that when Praṇava was pronounced without the nasal element, it was known as “śuddha”.

Śauddhākṣara Sandhi has to be clearly distinguished from “antaḥpāta sandhi”. The former is concerned with an intrusive sibilant or *r*, whereas the latter is concerned with the development of certain glide sounds.

Philologically the *ś* that is inserted before the word ‘candra’ was once a part and parcel of the word whose earlier form was ‘ścandra’. The initial sibilant of the conjunct was dropped for ease of utterance, as in the case of ‘tāyu’ for ‘stāyu’, ‘tarī’ for ‘starī’ etc. But archaic forms are often preserved in proverbs and compounds, so we find the fuller form in ‘suścandra’, ‘puruścandra’ etc. Similarly ‘vana’ had an old collateral form ‘van’, the genitive singular of which appears in the Vedic compounds ‘vanar-ṣad’ and ‘vanar-gu’ and in the common classical compound ‘vanaspati’ and the derivative ‘vānara’. The intrusive *s* in the case of forms of the root *kṛ* is due to the analogy of words like ‘niṣkṛta’, ‘duṣkṛta’ etc.

The combination of vowels with vowels is known as “svara sandhi.” It has many varieties, the most important being the Praśliṣṭa. The word “praśliṣṭa” is the past participle passive of the root *śliṣ* (the later form of *śriṣ*) ‘to clasp’ preceded by the upasarga *pra* ‘forward, forth’ and means

'clasped, entwined', thence 'coalescent'. Hence in RP. **Praśliṣṭa Sandhi** is the name for

(i) contraction of simple vowels, short or long, into the corresponding long vowels (ii. 15) ;

(ii) coalescence of *a* and *ā* with the simple vowels *i* (short or long) and *u* (short or long) to the Guṇa vowels *e* and *o* respectively (ii. 16-17) ;

(iii) coalescence of *a* and *ā* with the Guṇa vowels *e* and *o* to the Vṛddhi vowels *ai* and *au* respectively (ii. 18-19) ;

(iv) absorption of *a* and *ā* by the Vṛddhi vowels *ai* and *au* (ii. 18-19).

समानाक्षरे सस्थाने दीर्घमेकमुभे स्वरम् ।

इकारोदय एकारमकारः सोदयस्तथा ॥

उकारोदय ओकारं परेष्वैकारमोजयोः ।

औकारं युग्मयोरिते प्रक्षिष्टा नाम सन्धयः । २।१५-२०

इघर्ण उभयतोह्रस्वः प्रक्षिष्टः । वा प्रा १।११६

ऊभावे प्रक्षिष्टः । तै प्रा २३।५

इकारयोः प्रक्षिष्टः । चतुरध्यायिका ३।५६

The word "praśleṣa" is used in the sense of contraction in "ikārayoś ca praśleṣe" RP. iii. 13. Other Prātiśākhyaś denote the svarita resulting from the contraction of two 'i's by the term Praśliṣṭa (VP. i. 116, TP. xx. 6). CA. (iii. 56) uses the word 'prāśliṣṭa' formed from *praśliṣṭa* with the suffix *an* in the sense of 'relating to, pertaining to, resulting from'. Evidently it regards the sandhi as "praśliṣṭa" and the svarita resulting from this sandhi as "prāśliṣṭa."

"Praśleṣa" is used in the sense of Praśliṣṭa Sandhi in VP.

v. 33 : *prāgnibhyām anindhau praśleṣe*, 'there is no avagraha in the case of Praśliṣṭa Sandhi with *pra* and *agni* with the exception of the root *indhi*'.

"Praśliṣṭa" occurs in both the senses of 'contraction' and 'coalescence' in the Mahābhāṣya :

उकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते । कथम् ? प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् । उ
ऊक ऊक । महाभाष्य २।३।६९

चङङोः प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशात् सिद्धम् । प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् । च
अङ् चङ् । अ अङ् अङ् । महाभाष्य ३।१।४४

प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् अ अ अ इति । महाभाष्य ५।३।८

एवमप्यवर्णस्य एङोश्च सवर्णसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । प्रश्लिष्टावर्णावेतौ ।
महाभाष्य १।१।९

नात्र भागविवेकोऽस्ति पांसूदकवदित्यर्थः । प्रश्लिष्टावित्यस्य
प्रकर्षेण श्लिष्टौ मिलितावित्यर्थः । कैयटः ।

Praśliṣṭa is used of consonants in the following stanza quoted in the commentary on CA. (i. 39) :

ऋवर्णे च ऋवर्णे लः प्रश्लिष्टश्च यदा भवेत् ।

लृ लृ इति तदिच्छन्ति प्रयोगं तद्विदो जनाः ॥

Similarly we find the Siddhānta Kaumudī :

'वान्त' इत्यत्र वकाराद् 'गोर्यूतौ' इत्यत्र छकाराद्वा पूर्वभागे
'लोपो व्योर्वलि' इति लोपेन वकारः प्रश्लिष्यते । ६३

The name of the Figure of Speech "Sleṣa" would appear to be derived from this use of Praśleṣa.

The next variety of vowel-sandhi is known as **Ksaipra**. The word is derived from *kṣipra* 'quick' and means 'pro-

duced by speaking quickly'. In RP. it refers to the change of vowels into semi-vowels before dissimilar vowels (ii. 21-23). In all the Prātiśākhya the svarita resulting from such combinations is also known as "kṣaipra".

समानाक्षरमन्तःस्थां स्वामकण्ठ्यं स्वरोदयम् ।

न समानाक्षरे स्वे स्वे ते क्षैप्राः प्राकृतोदयाः ॥ २।२१-२३

The change of *o* and *au* to *av* and *āv* respectively before a non-labial vowel is known as **Bhugna Sandhi**. "Bhugna" (from *bhujati* 'to bend, twist') means 'bent, twisted, made curved, distorted' and is applied to this class of sandhi because the *o* is here regarded as having been bent or distorted into *av*.

ओष्ठयोन्त्योर्भुग्नमनोष्ठ्ये वकारोऽत्रान्तरागमः ॥ २।३१

The elision of *a* after final *e* and *o* is known as **Abhinihita Sandhi**. The root *dhā* preceded by the upasargas *abhi* and *ni* means 'to place upon or into something adjacent,' hence "abhinihita" means 'put into something adjacent'. Thus when one sound is put into an immediately preceding or following sound and is either wholly merged in it or loses much of its individuality, the phenomenon is known as Abhinihita Sandhi. In the other Prātiśākhya the term 'abhinihita' is used to denote the svarita resulting from Abhinihita Sandhi.

अथाभिनिहितः सन्धिरेतैः प्राकृतवैकृतैः ।

एकीभवति पादादिरकारस्तेऽत्र सन्धिजाः ॥ ३३ प्रा २।३४

The Abhinihita Svarita is known as Abhinihata in TP. xx. 4. This may be merely an 'artificial 'variation' as Whitney is inclined to think (TP. xx. 4, CA. iii. 55). Or the name

“abhinihata” which means literally ‘struck down’ may be due to the fact that the following vowel is elided or ‘killed’.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that the noun ‘abhinidhāna’ is used in much the same sense in the Prātiśākhya. RP. says :

अभिनिधानं कृतसंहितानां

स्पर्शान्तस्थानामपचाद्य रेफम् ।

सन्धारणं संवरणं श्रुतेश्च

स्पर्शोदयानाम् ॥ ६।१७

‘Abhinidhāna consists in the repressing and obscuring of a sound, and takes place in the case of mutes and semi-vowels except *r*, when they are followed by mutes and have already undergone euphonic combination.’

CA. says : *vyañjana-vidhāraṇam abhinidhānaḥ pīḍitaḥ sannatara hīna-śvāsa-nādaḥ*, ‘the holding apart of a consonant is Abhinidhāna ; it is pressed, quite weakened and lacking in breath and voice’.

In TP. Abhinidhāna is the name given to the first letter of a varga which is inserted after a surd spirant when it is followed by a mute. Here also the name implies that its articulation is imperfect.

The name ‘abhinihita’ is appropriate acc. to the system followed by Pāṇini who prescribes *ekādeśa*. ‘Abhinihata’ is apt acc. to the system followed by K. who prescribes the elision of the *a*.

Abhinidhāna is known as *Āsthāpita* in CA. (i. 48) and *Bhakṣya* or *Bhukta* in the *Cārāyaṇīya Śikṣā* (viii).

Now we come to hiatus or **Vivṛtti**. The word *Vivṛtti* is

derived from *vi-vṛt* 'to fly in different directions' and means 'the opening of two vowels upon each other without blending, hiatus'.

स्वरान्तरं तु विवृत्तिः । ऋ प्रा २।२

द्वयोस्तु स्वरयोर्मध्ये सन्धिर्यत्र न दृश्यते ।

विवृतिस्तत्र चिह्ने या य ईशेति निदर्शनम् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षा ९४

Several Śikṣā-treatises divide Vivṛtti into four classes : (i) Where both the vowels are short, the Vivṛtti is known as Pākavaṭi 'possessed of young ones'; (ii) where both are long, the Vivṛtti is known as Pipīlikā* 'ant'; (iii) where the first is long and the second short, the Vivṛtti is known as Vatsānusāriṇī 'following the calf'; (iv) where the first is short and the second long, the Vivṛtti is known as Vatsānusṛtā 'followed by the calf' (Māṇḍukī Śikṣā, 92-96, Nārādīya Śikṣā ii. 3. 1-2, Yājñavalkya Śikṣā ii. 10-12).

When one of the vowels is long the Vivṛtti is Dīrgha according to RP. (ii. 79). So Pipīlikā, Vatsānusāriṇī and Vatsānusṛtā will all come under **Dīrgha Vivṛtti**.

"Vivṛtti" is used also in the same sense in VP. vii. 6 : *hrasva-kaṇṭhyopadham viśarjanīyāntam ariphūtam vivṛtīyā*.

* In exactly the same way a stanza in which a verse of eight syllables comes between two verses of twelve syllables each is known as Pipīlikā-madhyamā Anuṣṭup. Similarly a stanza in which a verse of eight syllables comes between two verses of eleven syllables each is known as Pipīlikā-madhyā Uṣṇih. Again a stanza in which a verse of eight syllables comes between two verses of thirteen syllables each is known as Pipīlikā-madhyamā Bṛhatī.

यतो दीर्घस्ततो दीर्घा विवृत्तयः । २।७९

When there are two consecutive hiatuses *i.e.*, there is a hiatus on each side of an intermediate vowel, as in “*tasmā u adya*” RV. viii. 66.7, the hiatus is known as **Dvi-ṣandhi*** **Vivṛtti** according to RP. (ii. 80).

द्विसन्धयस्तूभयतःस्वरस्वराः । २।८०

Internal hiatus (*i.e.*, hiatus in the same word, simple or compound) is known as **Antah-pada Vivṛtti** or inter word hiatus (ii. 13). RP. enumerates four cases :

पुरणता तितउना प्रउगं नमउक्तिभिः । अन्तःपदं विवृत्तयः । २।१३

When *āh*, *ai* or *au* is changed into *ā* before vowels, the sandhi is known as **Padavṛtti** ‘hiatus between words’, and the svarita arising from such sandhi is known as **Pādavṛtta** in the later Prātiśākhya. In RP. this accent is known as **Vaivṛtta** (iii. 18). It is clear, therefore that in Padavṛtti and Pādavṛtta ‘vṛtti’ and ‘ṛtta’ stand for ‘vivṛtti’ and ‘vivṛtta’ respectively.

विसर्जनीयोऽरिफितो दीर्घपूर्वः स्वरोदयः ।

आकारमुत्तमौ च द्वौ स्वर्गौ ताः पदवृत्तयः ॥

When *ah*, *e*, or *o* is changed into *a* before vowels, the sandhi is known as **Udgrāha** (ii. 29). The word “*udgrāha*” is derived from *ud-grah* with the suffix *ghañ* according to Pāṇini’s rule “*udi grahaḥ*” iii. 3. 35 and means ‘taking out,

* In AB .iv. 9 we find ‘dvi-ṣandhi’ and ‘tri-ṣandhi’ with the cerebral *ṣ*, but ‘catuḥ-sandhi’ with the dental. In the Suśāmādi group of Pāṇini (viii. 3.98) these are all conspicuous by their absence, though ‘su-ṣandhi’, ‘duḥ-sandhi’ and ‘ni-ṣandhi’ are met with.

drawing out, intercepting'. The term "udgrāha" is used as a designation for these varieties of sandhi, because the visarjanīya in the one case and the vowels in the two other cases (*e* and *o* being regarded as Sandhyakṣara of *a i* and *a u* respectively) have been taken out.

ह्रस्वपूर्वस्तु सोऽकारं पूर्वो^१ चोपोत्तमात् स्वरौ । त उद्-
ग्राहाः । २।२७-२९

When Udgrāha and Padavṛtti are combined, *i.e.*, when *aḥ*, *e*, or *o* becomes *a* before a long vowel, the sandhi is known as **Udgrāha Padavṛtti** (ii. 30).

दीर्घपरा उद्ग्राहपदवृत्तयः ॥ २।३०

When *a* or *ā* followed by *r* becomes *ar*, the sandhi is known as **Udgrāhavat** (ii. 30), because here also there is hiatus between *a* and a short vowel and there is the intercepting of the *a* of *ā*.

ऋकार उदये कण्ठ्यावकारं तदुद्ग्राहवत् २।३२

The Udgrāhavat Sandhi would appear to be designated Upadruta in the Sāṅkhāyana śrauta Sūtra in the following passage :

तद् यत्नोपद्रुतम् अभिनिहितं प्रश्लिष्टं क्षिप्रसन्धिरिति न्यूक्-
नीयस्य* पादस्यादौ स्याद् उपातीत्य तद् द्वितीयेऽक्षरे न्यूक्येच्छवा
न्वो ३ इति यथा, क स्यो ३ इति च । १२।१३।५

'Where there is Upadruta, Abhinihita, Praśliṣṭa or Kṣipra-sandhi at the beginning of the pāda in which *o* is to be said, that should be skipped and the *o* said in the second syllable as in the case of "śvā no 3" and of "kva syo 3".

* Nyūnkha is explained clearly by Sāyaṇa under AB. xxi. 3.

The commentator says :

उपद्रुतो नाम सन्धिर्बाष्कलानां प्रसिद्धः, तस्योदाहरणं—न ऋते
श्रान्तस्य सखाय देवाः इति ।

Cases of the absence of the Abhinihita Sandhi are divided into two classes viz., Prācya Padavṛtti and Pañcāla Padavṛtti (ii. 33). When initial *a* remains unchanged after final *e*, we have **Prācya Padavṛtti**. When initial *a* remains unchanged after final *o* or final *aḥ* changed into *o*, have **Pañcāla Padavṛtti**. The names are significant, for we find *aḥ* changed into *e* in the Eastern Prakrits and into *o* in the Midland Prakrits.

उद्ग्राहणां पूर्वरूपाण्यकारे
प्रकृत्या द्वे ओ भवत्येकमाद्यम् ।

प्राच्यपञ्चालपदवृत्तयस्ताः
पञ्चालानामोष्ठ्यपूर्वा भवन्ति ॥ २।३३

The name Pañcāla Padavṛtti is also found in the Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra : 'Where there is the hiatus known as Pañcāla Padavṛtti, the suffix is to be subjected to Nyūnkha.'

अथ यत्र पञ्चालपदवृत्तिः स्याद् विवृत्तिः प्रत्यये न्यून्क्येनो ३ ओ
३ इति । १२।१३।६

अथ यत्र स्यादिति ब्रुषन् कचिच्छाखान्तरे पञ्चालपदवृत्त्याख्या
विवृत्तिर्नास्तीति दर्शितम् । भाष्यम् ।

A hiatus in which the preceding sound is a Pragṛhya vowel is known as **Pragṛhītapadā Samhitā** or **Vivṛtti** (RP. ii. 54).

प्रकृत्येतिकरणादौ प्रगृह्याः
स्वरेषु चाख्यां प्रथमो यथोक्तम् ।
सद्वोदयास्ताः प्रगृहीतपदाः । २।५१-५४

A hiatus in which the preceding vowel is lengthened is known as **Plutopadhā Vivṛtti** (RP. ii. 67).

A hiatus in which the preceding vowel is nasalized is known as **Anunāsikopadhā Vivṛtti** (RP. ii. 67).

When final *ān* becomes nasalized *ā̃* before a vowel, the phenomenon is known as **Ānpadā Padavṛtti** i.e., hiatus between two words with reference to a word with final *ān* (RP. iv. 67). In CA. iv. 74 *ānpadā* or *ānpada* is used in the same sense.

When final *ān* is changed into nasalized *ā̃* before a semi-vowel, the phenomenon is known as **Vivṛtṭyabhiprāya** or apparent hiatus (RP. iv. 68).

Metrical lengthening of vowels is known as **Sāma-vaśa Sandhi** (RP. viii. 1). According to Uvaṭa "Sāma-vaśa" means 'serving for or caused by the equality of the metre'. It may, however, also mean 'caused by the necessities of Sāman', because when a Rk. has to be changed into a Sāman such lengthenings have often to be resorted to.

RP. itself says :

सामवशा इति चैवापवादान्

कुर्वन्ति ये सम्पदं पादवृत्तयोः ॥ १।६०

The Sāmavaśa Sandhis which bestow prosperity on verse and metre are to be regarded as exceptions (to Anuloma Anvaṣara Sandhi)."

Uvaṭa explains :

अन्वर्थसंज्ञा चेयम् । समस्य भावः सामम् । प्राणभृज्जाति-
वयोवचनोद्गातृादिभ्योऽञ् [५।१।१२९] इत्युद्गातृादित्वादञ् ।

छन्दसां समत्वं वशं प्रयोजनं येषामन्वक्षरसन्धीनां ते सामवशाः
सन्धयः ।

Sama,* however, is not read either in the Udgātrādi group or in the Yuvādi group. Even such a late work as the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi does not mention “sama” in its Yuvādi group. Nor are the Gaṇas regarded as Ākṛtigaṇas. So it is preferable to derive the word from “samavaśa” with the adjectival suffix aṇ, “sama” in *samavaśa* being taken in the sense of ‘sāmya’ or ‘samatva’ (“bhāva-pradhāno nirdeśah”). The word “sāma-vaśa” would, however, appear to be a compound of the two words “Sāman” and “vaśa” meaning ‘due to the exigencies of Sāman or chants’. Thus भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि is read as भार्गो देवस्य धीमाही ।

Next we come to Āsthāpita Sandhi. The combination of a mute with a consonant is known as Āsthāpita. The word “āsthāpita” is the past participle passive of *ā-sthā* and means literally ‘made to stand by, arrested’. The Āsthāpita has two varieties—Avaśaṅgama and Vaśaṅgama. Where a mute followed by a consonant remains unchanged we have **Avaśaṅgama Āsthāpita**, i.e., an unyielding or unsubmitive Āsthāpita (iv. 1). When of the mute or the following consonant either or both undergo some change the sandhi is known as

* Cf. Sāyaṇa under RV. iii. 30. यद्वा सम एव सामः । तथाच शतपथे श्रूयते—
“यदेव समः शुषिणा समी मशकेन समी नागेन सम एतैस्त्रिभिर्लोकैस्तस्मात् सामः” [श ब्रा
१४।४।१] इति ।

Sāman is used in AA. iii. 1. 5 in the sense of ‘sandhi’ and in TS. vii. 2. 1 in the sense of ‘equalisation’.

Vaśaṅgama, i.e., 'influenced or yielding' **Āsthāpita**. The following cases of **Vaśaṅgama Āsthāpita** are mentioned :

(1) Unaspirate breath consonants followed by voiced consonants become changed into the corresponding voiced consonants (iv. 2);

(2) Unaspirate breath consonants followed by nasals become nasals (iv. 3);

(3) *ś* preceded by an unaspirate breath consonant is changed into *ch* (iv. 4);

(4) *h* preceded by final breath consonant changed into the corresponding voiced consonant becomes the corresponding aspirate (iv. 5);

(5) *m* followed by a dissimilar mute is changed into the nasal of the following letter (iv. 6);

(6) *m* followed by an initial *y*, *v* or *l* is changed into *y*, *v* or *l* (iv. 7);

(7) *n* followed by *l* is changed into *l* (iv. 8);

(8) *n* followed by *ś* or a palatal mute is changed into *ñ* (iv. 9);

(9) *t* followed by *j* or *l* is changed into *j* or *l* (iv. 10);

(10) *t* followed by *c*, *ch* or *ś* is changed into *c* (iv. 11);

(11) *ś* following *ñ* or *c* which are the substitutes of *n* or *t*, is changed into *ch* (iv. 12).

स्पर्शाः पूर्वे व्यञ्जनान्युत्तरा-

ण्यास्थापितानामघशङ्कमं तत् ।

घोषवत्पराः प्रथमास्तृतीयान्

स्वानुत्तमानुत्तमेषूदयेषु ।

सर्वैः प्रथमैरुपधीयमानः

शकारः शाकल्यपितुश्छकारम् ।

पदान्तैस्तैरेव तृतीयभूतै-

स्तेषां चतुर्थानुदयो हकारः ।

घिष्णाने स्पर्श उदये मकारः

सर्वेषामेधोदयस्योत्तमं स्वम् ।

अन्तःस्थासु रेफवर्जं परासु

तां तां पदादिष्वनुनासिकां तु ॥

तथा नकार उदये लकारे

जकारं शकार-चकारवर्गयोः ।

तकारो जकार-लकारयोस्तौ

तालव्येऽघोष उदये चकारम् ॥

छकारं तयोरुदयः शकारो

न शाकल्यस्य ता वशङ्गमानि । ४।१-१४

न ह्यत्रापणिगतानि व्यञ्जनानि संयोगं गच्छन्ति, अतो वशङ्ग-
मानीत्युच्यन्ते । उघटः ।

When *m* is followed by *r* or a sibilant, it is changed into anusvāra. This sandhi is known as **Paripanna** from *pari* 'around, fully' and *pad* 'to fall, sink down, perish' (iv. 15). In RP. xiv. 37 "paripādayanti" is used in the sense of 'cause the change of *m* into anusvāra'. The word "paripāda" is read in the "nirudakādi" group (vi. 2. 184) in Pāṇini.

रेफोष्मणोरुदययोर्मकारोऽनुस्वारं तत् परिपन्नमाहुः ।

In RP. the "paripanna" is not regarded as a case of Vaśaṅgama Sandhi, but Uvaṭa, the commentator, holds that

it should certainly be so regarded. RP. evidently regards the Anusvāra Sandhi like the Ūṣma Sandhi as a class apart.

रेफे चोष्मणि चोदयभूते मकारोऽनुस्वारमापद्यते । तत् सन्धानं
परिपन्नमाहुराचार्याः । वशङ्गमस्यैव द्वितीया संज्ञा कार्यार्था कृता—
“सेति चास्य परिपन्नोपधा चेत्” (५।२५), “परिपन्नं प्राकृत-
मूष्मसन्धिम्” (१५।१२) इत्यादिना । ‘वशङ्गमानी’त्यस्याप्यत्र
योगो युक्तरूपः । छन्दोभङ्गभयादधस्तादुक्तः । उवटः ।

The development of glides into fully audible sounds is known as **Antahpāta** (lit. ‘coming in between’). Three cases are mentioned in RP. :

- (i) the insertion of *k* between final *n̄* and breath consonants or sibilants (iv. 16) ;
- (ii) The insertion of *t* between final *ṭ* and *s*, and final *n* and *s* (iv. 17) ;
- (iii) The insertion of *c* between final *n̄* and *ś* (iv. 18) ;

ङकारोऽघोषोष्मपरेऽन्तरैके

ककारं टकार-नकारयोस्तु ।

आहुः सकारोदययोस्तकारं

ञकारे शकारपरे चकारम् ॥

तेऽन्तःपाताः । ४।१६-१९

Now we come to Visarjanīya Sandhi.

The elision of Visarjanīya after *ā* before a voiced consonant (iv. 17) or the elision of a rhotacised Visarjanīya before *r* along with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (iv. 29) is known as **Niyata** which means literally ‘restrained or suppressed’. These Sandhis are called Niyata because the Visarjanīya is suppressed in these cases.

विसर्जनीय आकारमरेफी घोषवत्परः ।

ओकारं ह्रस्वपूर्वस्तौ सन्धौ नियतप्रश्चितौ ॥ ४१२४-२६

Change of Visarjanīya to *r* before vowels and voiced consonants is known as **Repha Sandhi** (iv. 27).

When a Visarjanīya (after a long vowel) is dropped before *r*, the sandhi is known as **Akāma** or reluctant, because people are unwilling to pronounce two *r*'s consecutively (iv. 28).

When *aḥ* is changed into *o* before voiced consonants, the sandhi is known as **Praśrita** 'bent forward' (iv. 25).

सर्वोपधस्तु स्वरघोषवत्परो

रेफं रेफी ते पुनर्रेफसन्धयः ।

रेफोदयो लुप्यते द्राघितोपधा

ह्रस्वस्याकामनियताबुभाविमौ ॥ ४१२७-३०

When Visarjanīya is changed into Upadhmānīya, Jihvāmūliya or a sibilant, the euphonic combination is known as **Vyāpanna Ūṣma Sandhi** (iv. 31-35), from Vyāpanna (past participle of *vi-ā-pad*) 'changed'; when however, the Visarjanīya remains intact before *k*, *kh*, *p*, *ph* or a sibilant, the euphonic combination is known as **Vikrānta Ūṣma Sandhi** (iv. 35) from 'vikrānta' (past participle of *vi-kram*) 'passed over'. See p. 203, bottom.

अघोषे रेफ्यरेफी चोष्मानं स्पर्श उत्तरे ।

तत्संस्थानमनूष्मपरे तमेवोष्माणमूष्मणि ॥

प्रथमोत्तमवर्गीये स्पर्शे वोष्मणि चानते ।

व्यापन्न ऊष्मसन्धिः स विक्रान्तः प्राकृतोपधः ॥ ४१३२-३६

The change of Visarjanīya into *s* or *ṣ* before *k* or *p* is

known as **Upācarita Sandhi** (iv. 41). Upācāra is used in this sense in RP. xiii. 31, CA. iv. 74 and Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā 108.

यथादिष्टं नामिपूर्वः षकारः

सकारमन्योऽरिफितः ककारे ।

षकारे च प्रत्ययेऽन्तःपदं तु

सर्वत्रैवोपाचरितः स सन्धिः ॥

Later on the word became Upacāra with the shortening of the second syllable, just as Sanskrit *upādhāna* 'pillow' became *upadhāna* in Bengali. Thus we find in the Vārttikas :

अन्ययीभावे प्रयोजनं लुङ्मुखस्वरोपचाराः १।१।४।११

प्रत्ययग्रहणोपचारेषु ४।१।१।७

On this Kāśikā says :

विसर्जनीयस्थानिकस्य सकारस्योपचार इति संज्ञा ।

Bhaṭṭoji in his Śabdakaustubha i. 1. 47 follows Jayāditya and says :

विसर्गस्थानिकस्य सकारस्योपचार इति प्राचां संज्ञा ।

It will be noticed that the explanation is good so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. In the Kāśikā on viii. 3. 48 Vāmana says :

अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु द्रष्टव्यः ।

Here Vāmana regards both *s* and *ṣ* as Upacāra. The Nyāsa explains :

विसर्जनीयस्थानिकयोः सकार-षकारयोरुपचार इत्येषा संज्ञा ।
विहिता ।

The Upalekha-sūtra gives the correct explanation :

ऊष्मा षकारः सकारो वा कपपर उपाचार-संज्ञकस्तस्य लोपः
परिग्रहे । ५।६

Cases of tmesis in RV. are known as **Anānupūrvyā Samhitā** or Samhitā not following the proper order (ii. 78). Thus *cit* intervenes between *śunaḥ* and *śepam* in “śunaś cic chepaṃ niditaṃ sahasrāt” RV. v. 2. 7, *vā* and *ca* between *narā* and *śamsam* in “narā vā śamsam pūṣaṇam agohyam” RV. x. 64. 3 and “narā ca śamsam daivyam” ix. 86 42.

शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं नरा वा शंसं पूषणम् ।

नरा च शंसं दैव्यं ता अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता ॥ २।७८

We may in this connexion compare BD. ii. 100 :

विप्रकृष्टं च सन्दध्यादानुपूर्वीं च कल्पयेत् ।

“And one that is far removed one should bring into juxtaposition, and should (then) arrange the regular sequence (of the words).”

When final *n* after vowels except *a* and *ā* is changed into *r* along with the nasalization of the preceding vowel as in दस्यूरैकः, नृरभि etc., the sandhi is known as **Sparsā-repha Sandhi***, because here *r* is the substitute for a (nasal) mute (iv. 72).

Similarly when final *n* is changed into *s* and the preceding vowel nasalized before *t*, *th* etc., the Sandhi is known as **Sparsōṣma Sandhi** because the mute (sparsā) is changed into the sibilant *s* (Ūṣman) (iv. 77).

एकत्र स्पर्श एकतोष्मा इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञा । उवटः ।

When final *n* is changed into visarjaniya and the preceding vowel nasalized, the Sandhi is known as **Vikrānta** because this visarjaniya does not undergo any further change.

* Cf. RP. 11. 36 : नकारलोपीश्चरभावमानयेत् ।

नृः पतिभ्यो नृः प्रणेत्रं नृः पात्रं स्वतर्घाः पायुः ।
सन्धिर्विक्रान्त एवैषः ॥ ४।७८

The change of a dental into the cerebral is known as **Nati**. The word literally means 'yielding, surrendering, giving up some of one's own characteristics and taking on some of those of others'. It may be paraphrased by "vaitasī vṛtti", or in the words of Kālidāsa "vetasa-Iḷā-ṣṭambana". So when a dental loses its dental character and becomes a cerebral we have a case of Nati or Vināma which means much the same thing. It may be objected : why is the change of a dental into a palatal or into *l* not called Nati? To this our reply would be : no separate name is necessary for those phenomena, because they do not attract much attention, but the conversion of the dental *s* and *n* into the corresponding cerebral sounds is a prominent feature of Sanskrit Grammar and demands a separate designation. The alterant letter is known as Nanṭṛ and the letter that undergoes the alteration as Namya.

We cannot explain the word "nati" with reference to the position of the vocal organs because a cerebral is pronounced higher up the mouth than a dental.

एषा नतिर्दन्त्यभूर्धन्यभाषः । ऋ प्रा ५।६१

पूर्वो नन्ता नतिषु नम्यमुत्तमम् । ऋ प्रा १।६६

दन्त्यस्य मूर्धन्यापत्तिर्नतिः । वा प्रा १।४२

CA. uses Vināma (iv. 34) for Nati. TP. does not use this technical term.

CA. uses "vinata" in the sense of 'cerebralised' in "abhyā-savinatānām ca" iv. 82.

The reduplication of consonants is known as **Krama** or stride (vi. 1) :

स्वरानुस्वारोपहितो द्विरुच्यते

संयोगादिः स क्रमोऽधिक्रमे सन् ।

The lengthening of a short vowel is known as **Pluti** or leap. The verbal form *plavate* is also used in the sense of 'undergoes lengthening'.

दीर्घं ह्रस्वो व्यञ्जनेऽस्त्वृकाराद्

यथादिष्टं सामवशः स सन्धिः ।

सैव प्लुतिर्या स्वरूपदिष्टा

योनिमारैगादिषु चोदयादेः ॥

मक्षित्युकारः प्लवते सर्वत्राप्यपदान्तभाक् ॥ ७।१-५

PRAGRHYA AND PRAGRAHA.

"Pragrhya" (from *pra-grah* 'to seize, grasp, tighten reins') means literally 'that which is to be restrained (from entering into sandhi combination with a following vowel)'. "Pragraha" literally means 'bridle, rein'. Hence in grammar "pragrhya" refers to certain final vowels which are not combined acc. to the rules of sandhi with a following vowel. The word occurs in the *Prātiśākhya*s and *Pāṇini*. *TP.* uses "pragraha" for "pragrhya". The *Prātiśākhya*s and *Pāṇini* give the name "pragrhya" to certain final vowels and then lay down that they are not liable to changes acc. to the rules of sandhi. Latter grammarians generally considered these two steps unnecessary and merely laid down that certain final vowels were not to be subjected to changes acc. to the

laws of sandhi. In the Jainendra system the "pragrhyas" are known as "di," doubtless from the "di" of "divivacana"; cf. "ki" for the vocative singular. In Śāk. most cases of pragrhya are known as "git" (because they have an indicatory g). In Śāk. the substitutes prescribed in the case of the nominative and accusative duals of *i*- and *u*-stems, the nominative plural of *adas* etc. have an indicatory g, evidently suggested by "pragrhya".

ऋ प्रा । ओकार आमन्वितजः प्रगृह्यः । पदं चान्यः । अपूर्व-
पदान्तगश्च । षष्ठादयश्च द्विवचोऽन्तभाजस्त्रयो दीर्घाः । साप्तमिकौ
च पूर्वौ । अस्मे युष्मे त्वे अमी च प्रगृह्याः । उपोत्तमं नानुदात्तं न
न पद्यम् । उकारश्चेतिकरणेन युक्तो रक्तोऽपृक्तो द्राघितः
शाकलेन । १।६८-७५

प्रकृत्येतिकरणादौ प्रगृह्याः स्वरेषु चाष्ट्य्याम् । २।५१-५२

वा प्रा । प्रगृह्यम् । एकारेकारोकारा द्विवचनान्ताः । ओकारश्च
पदान्तेऽनवग्रहः । उकारोऽपृक्तः । चमू अस्मे त्वे । मे उदात्तम् ।
अमी । पदम् । १।९२-९८

प्रगृह्यं स्वरे । ४।८८

तै प्रा । अथ प्रग्रहाः । नावग्रहः । ४।१-२ । इतिपरोऽपि ।
ऊकारः । ओकारोऽसांहितोऽकारव्यञ्जनपरः । ४।४-३ । अथैकारे-
कारौ । अस्मे । त्वे इत्यनिङ्गथान्तः । ४।८-१०...

न प्लुत-प्रग्रहौ । १०।२४

"It occupies here a good deal more space, because the Taitt. Pr. avoids on principle the mention of grammatical categories in its rules, and is at infinite pains to catalogue, word by word, what the other treatises dispose of summarily, by classes." Whitney on T.P. iv. 1.

चतुरध्यायिका । उकारस्येतावृक्तस्य । दीर्घः प्रगृह्यश्च । ईकारो-
कारो च सप्तम्यर्थे । द्विवचनान्तौ । एकारश्च । अस्मे युष्मे त्वे
मे इति चोदात्ताः । अमी बहुवचनम् । निपातोऽपृक्तोऽनाकारः ।
ओकारान्तश्च । आमन्त्रितं चेतावमार्षे । १।७२-८१

प्रगृह्याश्च प्रकृत्या ३।३३

ऋ त । सन्निकर्षः संहिता । न वृद्धं रे । दमु । ओभूतं च ।
आ णि । ६७-७१ । द्व्यर्थे । ई न वपरे । अयवावे न्यूने । त्रौ णि ।
७४-७७ । गो । न वा । ७९-८० । त्वे । ८२ ।

पा । ईदूदेद् द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् । अदसो मात् । शे । निपात
एकाजनाङ् । ओत् । सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावमार्षे । उञ्ज ऊञ्ज ।
ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे । १।१।११-१८

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६।१।१२५

का । एदन्ता अ इ उ आ निपाताः स्वरे प्रकृत्या । द्विवचन-
मनौ । बहुवचनममी । अनुपदिष्टाश्च । १।३।१-४

च । न प्लुतोऽनितौ । (प्लुतोऽनितावचि न सन्धीयते ।
वृत्तिः ।) क्वचिद् वा । ईदूदेद् द्विवचनम् । अमू अमी । अजनाङ् ।
ओत् । सौ वेतौ । उञ्ज । ऊँ । इकोऽसस्थाने ह्रस्वश्चासमासे ।
ऋद् लृत्यकः । ५।१।१२३-१३३

जै । ईदूदेद् द्विर्दिः । अः । न्यजनाङ् । ओत् । कौ वेतौ ।
उञ्ज । ऊँ । १।१।२१-२७ [पान्नानितौ ।] दे । ४।३।१२०-१२१ ।

शा । न प्लुतस्यानितौ । गितः । चादेरचोऽनाङ् । ओतः ।
सौ वेतौ । ऊँ चोजः । १।१।९९-१०४

हे । [वात्यसन्धिः ।] प्लुतोऽनितौ । इ ३ वा । ईदूदेद्
द्विवचनम् । अदो मुमी । चादिः स्वरोऽनाङ् । ओदन्तः । सौ
नवेतौ । ऊँ चोज् । १।१।३२-३९

स । [लुग्यादे न सन्धिः । लुग्वस्य । लुग्विसर्गस्य । १।३६०-३६२] द्विवचनसिद्धानामीदूदेताम् । अदसो मादिणः । अव्ययौत्केवलाचोरचि । आतः स्मृतिवाक्ययोः । प्लुतस्याचि । मणीवादेर्वा । इतौ सम्बुद्धोतः । ऋद्लृतोरको ह्रस्वश्च । १।३६४-३७१

मु । नाजोऽन्तोऽनाङ् निः प्लुश्च । व्यद्वेऽमीय्वे । स्योद्वेतौ । उञ् णपात्वचि व वा । वेक् स्वश्चार्णेऽसे । ऋक्यक् । ४१-४६

सु । [न सन्धिविसर्गयवलोपे । १।२।२७] ईदूदेतो द्विवचनस्य । अदसो मात् । एकस्याचोऽनाङोऽव्ययस्य । ओतः । वा सम्बुद्धावितौ । उञ् ऊं च । दूरादाह्वने । ईदूदाद्यसन्धिः प्रगृह्यम् । १।२।२९-३६

सा । नामो । य्वे द्वित्वे । उ निपातः । प्लुतः ।

प्र । द्विवचनमोदूदे स्यात् सन्धिविरोधि स्वतः परत्रापि । ओदन्तास्तु निपाता अ इ उ आ च केवलास्तद्वत् । अदसो निष्पन्नं यदमीति पदम् । हे । प्लुताश्चैवम् । १।७९-८२ । सम्बुद्धिसिद्धमोदन्तमितौ वा । १।८४

ह । [तेषां न सन्धिर्नित्यम् ।] ओरामान्तानामनन्तानां चाव्ययानां सर्वेश्वरे । ईदूदेतां द्विवचनस्य मणोघादिवर्जम् । अदसोऽमीत्यस्य । महापुरुषस्य च । १।७०-७३ ओरामस्य बुद्धनिमित्तस्येतौ सन्धिर्वा । ईशस्यानेकात्मके वामनस्य वा । ऋद्वयाद्वययो ऋति १।९०-९२ । उञः सन्ध्यभाव ऊं वश्चेतौ ! १।९४

In the Bhaṭṭikāvya (vi. 62) the technical term *Pragrhya* is used in a very happy simile in the following stanza :

प्रगृह्यपदवत् साध्वीं स्पष्टरूपामविक्रियाम् ।

अग्रह्णां वीतकामत्वाद् देवगृह्यामनिन्दिताम् ॥

‘(Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa saw the Śabari) as chaste as a word ending in a *Pragrhya* vowel, of transparent form, free from

all perturbation of mind, thoroughly independent because of absence of all desires, godly and irreproachable.'

Here the Śabarī is compared to a Pragṛhya word, because she did not mix with anybody. In Shakespeare's *King Lear* ii. 2. 68 we find "Thou whoreson zed. thou unnesessary letter," and in *Love's Labour's Lost* v. 2. 53 "Quis, quis, thou consonant".

The following extract will be read with interest in this connexion :

There are altogether eight groups, and the last of them consisted six gases,....all of them curiously alike—helium neon, argon, krypton, xenon, and radium emanation. They are called the inert gases, because they cannot be got to combine with anything. The German chemists called them noble gases, because they refuse to have anything to do with other elements inferior to themselves." *Book of Knowledge*, p. 4222.

AKṢARA

'A-kṣara' literally means 'imperishable'. Then it came to mean 'that which does not admit of further analysis, element'. Hence when sentences were analysed into words, Akṣara meant a word. When the process of analysis was carried still further and words were split up into syllables, 'Akṣara' meant a syllable. When syllables were further sub-divided into letters Akṣara came to signify letter and vowel as the most imperishable element in language. (Cf. *atom* in chemistry.

'Atom' literally means uncut, indivisible, from a 'not' *tomos* 'cut'.)

In RV. i. 164. 39 :

ऋचो अक्षरे* परमे व्योमन् यस्मिन् देवा अधि विश्वे निषेदुः ।

यस्तन्न वेद किमृचा करिष्यति य इत्तद्विदुस्त इमे समासते ॥

'Who does not know the word of the Rk on which in the highest space all the gods have taken their seats—what will he do with the Rk? And those who know it here they seat together',

'Akṣara' means 'word' or 'syllable'.

In RV i. 164. 24 :

गायत्रेण प्रति मिमीते अकर्मकेण साम त्रैष्टुभेन वाकम् ।

वाकेन वाकं द्विपदा चतुष्पदाक्षरेण मिमते सप्त वाणीः ॥

'With the Gāyatrī-foot he measures out the stanza' of praise, with the stanza of praise the chant, with the Tṛṣṭubh-foot (the stanza of) speech, with the two-footed, four-footed stanza of speech the symn. With the syllable they measure out the seven (*i.e.* the voices of the seven priests or the seven metres)',

Akṣara signifies a syllable.

In ŚB vi. 1. 3. 6 akṣara is derived from the verb 'akṣarat' by popular etymology : yad akṣarat tasmād akṣaram.

In the Nighaṇṭu 'Akṣara' is given as a synonym of 'vāk' (speech) and of 'udaka' (water).

AA. explains 'Akṣara' thus :

एष वा अक्षरम्, एष ह्येभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो भूतेभ्यो क्षरति, न चैन-

* Cf. RV. i. 164. 42 : ततः चरत्यक्षरम् ।

मतिक्षरन्ति । स यदेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो भूतेभ्यः क्षरति, न चैनमतिक्षरन्ति, तस्मादक्षरम् । तस्मादक्षरमित्याचक्षत एतमेव सन्तम् । २।२।२

“He is syllable, for he pours forth gifts to all these beings and because none can pour forth gifts beyond him. Because he pours forth gifts for all those beings, and because none can pour forth gifts beyond him, therefore he is a syllable. Therefore they call him who is (prāṇa) a syllable.”

The Mahābhāṣya explains a śloka-vārttika which gives several derivations of Akṣara thus :

अथ किमिदक्षरमिति ?

*अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात् ।

न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वाक्षरम् ।

अश्नोते वा सरोऽक्षरम् ।

अश्नोतेर्वायमौणादिकः सरन्-प्रत्ययः । अश्नुत इत्यक्षरम् ।

वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे ।

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते ।

‘Now what is this ‘Akṣara’ ?

By ‘ākṣara’ one is to understand what is not ‘kṣara.’ Or, that which does not decay, does not perish is ‘Akṣara’. Or, Akṣara is -sara -added to the root *as*. Or this is the upādi ‘-saran’ added to the root ‘*as*’. ‘Akṣara’ is so named because it is pervading. Or, a letter is called ‘Akṣara’ in a previous sūtra. Or in a previous sūtra-work the technical term ‘Akṣara’ is used for a letter.’

* वाग् वै समुद्रः । न वै वाक् क्षीयते, न समुद्रः क्षीयते । ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण २.२५.१

क्षरणमन्याङ्गतया चक्षनम् । वैदिकाभरण १।२ “अक्षरं न क्षरति, न क्षीयते, सत्त्वक्षी भवति, वाचोऽय इति वा ।” निः ११।११

In AA. and Mbh.* 'akṣara-samāmnāya' is used in the sense of 'varṇa-samāmnāya' and 'akṣara' has the sense of 'varṇa' (letter) in the well-known verse of the Bhagavadgītā : Akṣarāṇām 'akāro' smi. We learn from Bhaṭṭāra Hari-çandra's commentary on the Caraka Saṃhitā that in the Aindra Vyākaraṇa 'varṇa' was used instead of 'akṣara' as the grammar began with "atha varṇa-samūhaḥ" (cf. siddho varṇa-samāmnāyaḥ" of the Kātantra system which is said to preserve many relics of the Aindra school).

RP. tells us in chap. I that the vowels are Akṣaras :

ओजा ह्रस्वाः सप्तमान्ताः स्वराणाम् । अन्ये दीर्घाः । उभये
त्वक्षराणि । १।१७-१९

Later on it amplifies this definition and says : "savyañjanaḥ sānusvāraḥ śuddho vāpi svarō 'kṣaram" xviii. 32. Here 'akṣara' has the sense of 'syllable'. TP. also appears to use 'akṣara' in the sense of a vowel : samakāravakāraṃ tvakṣaraṃ yatra svaryate....xx. 3. In xxiv. 2 'akṣara-vyañjana' is used in the sense of vowels and consonants. In xxiv. 2 'pada-saṃhitā akṣara-saṃhitā varṇa-saṃhitā aṅga-saṃhitā ceti', 'akṣara' appears to be used in the sense of a "syllable". In CA. also 'akṣara' is defined as a vowel : "svarō'kṣaram" i. 93. In "thānekakṣareṇa" CA. iv. 15 'anekākṣara' means poly-

* छन्दःपुरुष इति यमवोचामाक्षरसमाख्याय एव, तस्यैतस्याकारो रसः । ऐतरेया-
रथ्यक ३।२।३

सोऽयमक्षरसमाख्यायौ वाक्समाख्यायः पुष्पितः फलितश्चन्द्रतारकवत् प्रतिमण्डितो वेदितव्यो
ब्रह्मराशिः । सर्ववेदपुष्पफलावामिषास्य ज्ञाने भवति । मातापितरौ चास्य स्वर्गे लोके महीयते
महाभावा, आक्रिक २ । (एष पञ्चषष्टिवर्षा ब्रह्मराशिरात्मवाचः । वाप्रा ८।२५ ।)

syable. VP. says : “svaro’kṣaram. sahādyair vyañjanaiḥ. uttaraiś cāvasitaiḥ” i. 99-101.

In RT. also ‘akṣara’ is used in the sense of ‘leter’ :

इदमक्षरं छन्दोवर्णशः समनुक्रान्तम् । यथाचार्या ऊचुः । ब्रह्मा
बृहस्पतये प्रोवाच, बृहस्पतिरिन्द्रायेन्द्रो भरद्वाजाय, भरद्वाज ऋषिभ्यः,
ऋषयो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः । तं खल्विममक्षरसमाम्नायमित्याचक्षते ।

In RT. 46 ‘akṣara’ appears to be used in the sense of vowel.

Later grammarians do not generally use the word. They prefer ‘varṇa’ as containing a lesser number of syllables. Thus the very first rule of K., as has already been pointed out, says : “siddho varṇasamāmnāyaḥ.” So does TP. “atha varṇa-samāmnāyaḥ” i. 1.

K., however, uses ‘anekākṣara’ in the rule “anekākṣarayoḥ tvasamyogād yavau” ii. 2. 59 in the sense of polysyllable.

The commentator Durga says :

न क्षरति न क्षीयते वाक्षरमिति निरुक्तम्, तत् पुनर्नित्यवादिनां
मते वर्ण एवान्वर्थतया घटते । अनित्यवादिनान्तु रुढितो व्युत्पत्ति-
र्यथा कथञ्चित् । तथाचाक्षरसमाम्नाये वर्णसमाम्नाय इति प्रक्रिया-
मपेक्ष्य च न क्षरति न चलतीति कृत्वाक्षरं स्वर उच्यते पूर्वाचार्यैः ।

The Pañjī says :

न क्षरति न चलतीति प्रधानत्वादक्षरं स्वर उच्यते ।

‘Akṣara’ in the sense of vowel is divided in to two classes — “samānākṣara” ‘simple vowels’ (lit. ‘homogeneous sound’), and “sandhyakṣara” ‘diphthongs’ (literally ‘sounds of combination’).

K. shortens “samānākṣara” to “samāna”. VP. goes a step further, takes the ‘s’ and ‘m’ of ‘samāna’ and forms the technical term “sim”,

Pāṇini uses 'ak' for "samānākṣara" or 'samāna' and so do his followers of the Cāndra, Jainendra, Mugdhabodha, Saṃkṣiptasāra and Supadma schools. HN. calls these 'daśāvatāras': Daśa daśāvatārāḥ i. 3. Since the vowels are called Sarveśvara, the first ten are regarded as the avatāras or incarnations of Sarveśvara.

Both "samānākṣara" and "sandhyakṣara" occur in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana :

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणम् । शि सू ४।१

वर्णकदेशा वर्णग्रहणेन चेत् सन्ध्यक्षरे समानाक्षरप्रतिषेधः ।
शि सू ४।६

The word 'sandhyakṣara' occurs first in the Prātiśākhya.

The formation is thus explained in the Mahābhāṣya :

इमावैचौ समाहारवर्णौ मात्रावर्णस्य मात्रेवर्णोवर्णयोः ।

"The diphthongs are composed of combined vowels ; their treatment is that of a simple vowel." Whitney.

RT. shortens "sandhyakṣara" to "sandhya."

In the Pāṇini, Jainendra Candra, Śākatāyana, Saṃkṣiptasāra, Mugdhabodha and Supadama schools as also in the Agni Purāṇa these are known as "ec".

शतपथब्राह्मणम् । तद् यदक्षरत् तस्मादक्षरम् । ६।१।३।६

ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणम् । प्रजापतिर्वा इदमेकाक्षरां वाचं सतीं
त्रेधा व्यकरोत् । २०।१४।५ । प्रजापतिर्यद्वाचं व्यसृजत साक्षरदेव—
एति प्रथमं क्षेति द्वितीयं रेति तृतीयम् । २०।१४।७

जैमिनीयोपनिषद् ब्राह्मणम् । यदक्षरदेव तस्मादक्षरम् १।२४।१

यद्वेधाक्षरं नाक्षीयत तस्मादक्षयम् । अक्षरं ह वै नामैतत् ।
तदक्षरमिति परोक्षमाचक्षते । १।२४।२

कतमदक्षरमिति । यत् क्षरन्नाक्षीयतेति । १।४३।८

ऋप्रा । अष्टौ समानाक्षराण्यादितः । ततश्चत्वारि सन्ध्यक्षरा-
ण्युत्तराणि । १।१-२

अकारस्य इकारेण उकारेण एकारेण औकारेण च सह सन्धौ
यानि अक्षराणि निष्पद्यन्ते तानि तथोच्यन्ते । भाष्यम् ।

वा प्रा । सिमादितोऽष्टौ स्वराणाम् । सन्ध्यक्षरं परम् । १।४४-४५

तै प्रा । अथ नवादितः समानाक्षराणि । १।२

अत्र समानाक्षराणीति महती संज्ञा किमर्थमाश्रिता ? तदुच्यते—

अन्वर्थत्वं महासंज्ञा व्यञ्जन्त्यर्थान्तराणि च ।

पूर्वाचार्यैरतस्तास्तु सूत्रकारेण चाश्रिताः ॥

न क्षरन्तीत्यक्षराणि । क्षरणमन्याङ्गतया चलनम्, तदभावात्
स्वरेष्वक्षरशब्दो वर्तते ।... एकारादयः स्वराः सन्ध्यक्षराणीत्याख्यायन्ते
स्वरद्वयसन्धिरूपत्वात्, तदभावात् समानरूपा अकारादय इतरे
स्वराः समानाक्षराणीति ।... आचार्यस्तूपसर्गसंज्ञावदुपयोगानुगुण्या-
न्नवानामेवाह । अन्यत्तु मतम्—ऋकारादीनां त्रयाणां स्वरद्वयसन्धि-
रूपत्वाभावेऽपि रूपद्वयसद्भाभावाद्देष्टा संज्ञा न युक्तेति नवानामेवाहेति ।
वैदिकाभरणम् ।

चतुरध्यायिका । सन्ध्यक्षराणि संस्पृष्टवर्णान्येकवर्णवद्वृत्तिः १।४०
(समानाक्षरस्य सवर्णं दीर्घः ३।४२)

नाट्यशास्त्र । य इमे स्वराश्चतुर्दश निर्दिष्टास्तत्र वै दश
समानाः । १।१२२

का । दश समानाः । १।१।३, एकारादीनि सन्ध्यक्षराणि । १।१।८

सा । अ इ उ ऋ लृ समानाः । ए ऐ ओ औ सन्ध्य-
क्षराणि । १।१।२

हे । लृदन्ता समानाः । ए ऐ ओ औ सन्ध्यक्षरम् । १।१।७-८

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितसानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदाद् अष्टादशधा
भिद्यन्ते अवर्णादय इति समानं तुल्यं मानं परिमाणं परिच्छेदो वा

येषां ते समानाः, परस्परविलक्षणाकारं विभ्राणा अपि ।...सन्ध्यौ सति अक्षरं सन्धक्षरम् । तथाहि अवर्णस्य इवर्णेन सह सन्धावेकारः, एकारैकाराभ्यामैकारः, अवर्णस्य उवर्णेन ओकारः, ओकारौकाराभ्यामौकारः । हेमचन्द्रलघुन्यासः ।

वर्णरत्नप्रदीपिका शिक्षा । सिम्-संज्ञका ऋपर्यन्ताः ।

प्र । अकारादय लृदन्ताः समानाः स्युरकश्च ते । १८, एकारादिचतुर्वर्णा एचः सन्ध्यक्षराणि च । ११८

सन्धावुच्चारणीयान्यक्षराणि सन्ध्यक्षराणि । ए ऐ च कण्ठ-तालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ' इत्युक्तेः ।

अस्मद्-व्याकरणे सन्धक्षरसंज्ञा निष्फलापि कलापानुसारिण प्रसङ्गाद् व्युत्पत्त्यर्थमुक्ता । प्रभाप्रकाशिका ।

ह । दश दशावताराः ११३

तत्रादौ दश वर्णा दशावतार-नामानो भवन्ति ।...एते समाना अकश्च प्राचीनानाम् । वृत्तिः ।

ए ऐ ओ औ चतुर्व्यूहाः । ११३

सन्ध्यक्षराणि एचश्च । वृत्तिः । चतुर्व्यूहशब्देन वासुदेव-सङ्कर्षण-प्रदुग्धानिरुद्धा उच्यन्ते इति भगवन्नामता । टीका ।

Sandhyakṣara does not occur in TP.

Sandhis of vowels with consonants and of consonants with vowels are known as 'anvakṣara' in RP. The former is termed 'anuloma anvakṣarasandhi' and the latter 'pratiloma anvakṣarasandhi.'

Varṇa makes its first appearance in the sense of 'sound' or 'letter' in AB. xxv. 7 :

तानि शुक्राण्यभ्यतपत् । तेभ्योऽमितप्तेभ्यस्त्रयो वर्णा अजायन्त
—अकार उकारो मकार इति । तानेकधा समभरत् । तदेतदोमिति ।

"He brooded over them pure ones : from them when

brooded over the three sounds were born ; the letter *a*, the letter *u*, and the letter *m*. Them he brought together ; that made (the word) *om*,”

He we have not only clear ideas of sandhi, not only the use of “*varṇa*” in the sense of ‘letter’, but also the use of “-*kāra*” to denote a ‘letter’ after the analogy of *vaṣaṭkāra*.

As Keith points out, “in KB. xxvi. 5 *pada* and *varṇa* denote ‘word’ and ‘letter’ respectively.”

See also under “*Kāra*”.

“*Varṇa*” is sometimes used in the sense of ‘syllable’ due to contamination with “*akṣara*”, as in the following stanza of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha :

वज्रं पापमहीभृतां भवगदोद्रेकस्य सिद्धौषधम्
मिथ्याज्ञाननिशाधिशालतमसस्तिग्मांशुबिम्बोदयः ।
कूरुक्लेशमहोरुहामुरुभरज्वालाजटालः शिखी
द्वारं निर्वृतिसन्नो विजयते कृष्णेति घर्णद्वयम् ॥
भामिनीचिलास ३।८

In the immediately preceding stanza *Akṣara* is similarly used :

मृद्वीका रसिता सिता समशिता स्फोटं निपीतं पयः
स्वर्यातेन सुधाप्यधायि कतिधा रम्भाधरः खण्डितः ।
सत्यं ब्रूहि मदीय जीव भवता भूयो भवे भ्राम्यता
कृष्णेत्यक्षरयोरयं मधुरिमोद्धारः कचिल्लक्षितः ॥
अक्षराणामकारोऽस्मि* द्वन्द्वः सामासिकस्य च ।
अहमेवाक्षयः कालो धाताहं विश्वतोमुखः ॥ गीता १०।३३

* अकारो वै सर्वा वाक् । सेवा स्पर्शोऽभिर्भ्यज्यमाना बद्धो नानारूपा भवति
ऐतरेयारण्यक १।१।६

'Of letters I am *a*, of compounds I am Dvandva; I am Time Imperishable, I, the Creator Universal'.

Cf. "I am Alpha and Omega". Christ.

Bhāskarasena makes use of the first quarter of the above stanza in his panegyric to his parton :

अक्षराणामकारोऽहमिति विष्णुः स्वयं ब्रुवन् ।
भवता सोऽपि यत् सत्यमाकारेण लघूकृतः ॥

Subhāṣitāvali, 2460.

'Viṣṇu himself said, I am a (*akāra*) among letters. To tell the truth, Your Majesty has cast Him into the shade by your (splendid) form (*ākāra*) (even as before the long *ā*, the vowel *a* appears short).'

This reminds one of the well-known example of Śleṣa in works on Rhetoric :

दृढतरनिबद्धमुष्टेः कोषनिषण्णस्य सहजमलिनस्य ।
कृपाणस्य कृपाणस्य च केवलमाकारतो* भेदः ॥

'A miser differs from a sword merely in external appearance (*kṛpaṇa* differs from *kṛpāṇa* because of the *ā*). Both are (1) "dṛḍhatara-nibaddha-muṣṭi" (a) very close-fisted, (b) held in a very tight grip, (2) "koṣa-niṣaṇṇa" (a) sitting in the treasury, (b) resting in its scabbard, (3) "sahaja-malina" black by nature'

In the following stanza from the Naiṣadha-carita (v. 121) there would appear to be a blend of both senses of the word

* "Ākārataḥ" For a similar Śleṣa, cf. "A doctor avers that women are eating too little. *Figures prove it.*"

“akṣara”, for negation is expressed not by the letter *n* but by the syllable *na* :

नाक्षराणि पठता किमपाठि प्रस्मृतः किमथ पठितोऽपि ।

इत्थमर्थिचयसंशयदोलाखेलनं खलु चकार मकारः ॥

‘Was it not read by him while he was studying the alphabet or has it been forgotten even though he did read it?—Thus did the letter *na* disport itself in the swing of doubts in the minds of the hosts of your supplicants.’

SVARA AND VYAÑJANA.

“Svara” is derived from “svr” to sound’ and is used in RV. in the sense of ‘sound’. Then it must have meant ‘the voice which utters sound’, and then the ‘tone of the voice or accent’. In this sense it is found in AB. :

प्रगाथं शंसति । स स्वरवत्या वाचा शंस्तव्यः । पशवो वै स्वराः, पशवः प्रगाथाः । पशूनामवरुद्धौ । १२।१३

He recites the Pragāthā ; it should be recited in accented words ; sound is cattle, the Pragāthā is cattle ; (it is) for winning cattle.’

Next the word “svara” came to mean vowels which are always ‘voiced’. In this sense it probably appears first in AA. :

तद्वा इदं बृहतीसहस्रं सम्पन्नम् । तस्य यानि व्यञ्जनानि तच्छरीरम् यो घोषः स आत्मा, य ऊष्माणः स प्राणः । व्यञ्जनैरेव रात्रीराप्नुवन्ति, स्वरैरहानि ।

‘This is produced as a thousand Brhatīs. Of these the consonants are the body, the vowels (voiced consonants, acc.

to Sāyana) the soul, the sibilants the breath.... They make up the nights by the consonants, the days by the vowels.'

It would appear from the above extract that "ghoṣa" was the earlier name for the vowels, "vyañjana" for the mutes, and "ūṣman" for the semi-vowels, the sibilants and the aspirate *h*. "Sparśa" is used later on for the mutes, but "ūṣman" appears to have been used throughout for the semi-vowels and the sibilants and the aspirate *h*.

It is interesting to note that the vowels are practically compared to days and the consonants to nights. The comparisons remind one of Tennyson's 'the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night,' and points to the greater perceptibility of the vowels. The poet probably had at the back of his mind the popular etymology of 'svara', viz. "svayaṃ rājanta iti svarāḥ".

In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad ii. 22. 3. 5 we find :

सर्वे स्वरा इन्द्रस्यात्मानः, सर्व ऊष्माणः प्रजापतेरात्मानः, सर्वे स्पर्शा मृत्योरात्मानः ।...सर्वे स्वरा घोषवन्तो बलवन्तो वक्तव्याः... सर्व ऊष्माणोऽग्रस्ता अनिरस्ता चिवृता वक्तव्याः ।...सर्वे स्पर्शा लेशेनानभिनिहिता वक्तव्याः ।

'All the vowels are the limbs of India, all the spirants the limbs of Prajāpati, all the mutes the limbs of Death....all the vowels are to be pronounced voiced and strong....all the sibilants are to be distinctly articulated, are not to be thrown out with a jerk and are to be pronounced open....all the mutes are to be pronounced without being slurred over in the least.'

It is usual for grammarians from Patañjali downwards to explain "svara" as 'svayam rājante' and "vyañjana" as 'anvag bhavati'. Thus Patañjali says in his Bhāṣya on 'uccair udāttah' and 'nīcāir anudāttah' i. 2. 29-30 :

[अन्तरेणापि व्यञ्जनमच एवैते (उदात्तत्वादयः) गुणा लक्ष्यन्ते, न पुनरन्तरेणाचं व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणमपि भवति ।]

अन्वर्थं खल्वपि निर्वचनं स्वयं राजन्ते स्वरा अन्वग् भवति व्यञ्जनमिति ।

(अन्वग् भवतीति । अनुगच्छतीत्यर्थः । शिष्टसमाचाराच्चेदं निर्वचनमभिहितम्, न त्वत्र वर्णसादृश्यं किञ्चिदस्ति । अथ वा गतिरपि व्यञ्जेरर्थः । विविधं गच्छत्युपरागवशादिति व्यञ्जनमित्ययमर्थः, पर्यायान्तरेण भाष्यकारेणाभिहितः । उपरागश्च पूर्व-पराचसन्निधानेऽपि परेणाच्चा हलो भवति न पूर्वेण । कैयटः ।

'स्वयं राजन्ते' इति भाष्यस्य 'उदात्तादिगुणैः' इत्यर्थः । अनुगच्छतीति । अङ्गुणमिति शेषः । न त्वत्र वर्णसादृश्यमिति । निर्वचनं हि तत्तद्भात्वर्थयोगेनार्थाभावेऽपि वर्णसादृश्येनैवेत्याशयः । उद्द्योतः ।

This is amplified by Uvaṭa in his commentary on TP. xxi. 1 :

दुर्बलस्य यथा राष्ट्रं हरते बलवान्नुपः ।

दुर्बलं व्यञ्जनं तद्वद्वरते बलवान् स्वरः ॥ [याज्ञवल्क्य-शिक्षा १११]

किञ्च शिक्षा-व्याकरणे

य स्वयं राजते तं तु स्वरमाह पतञ्जलिः ।

उपरिष्ठापिना तेन व्यङ्ग्यं व्यञ्जनमुच्यते ॥

'Just as a powerful king wrests away the state of a weak one, even so the powerful vowel carries away the weak consonant, Patañjali calls that vowel (svara) which shines by

itself, that which is manifested by the vowel placed after it is a consonant'.

The Vṛtti-traya-vārttika says :

एकाकिनोऽपि राजन्ते सत्त्वसाराः स्वरा इव ।

व्यञ्जनानीव निःसत्त्वाः परेषामनुयायिनः ॥

अर्थः खल्वपि निर्वचनं स्वयं राजन्त इयि स्वराः (?) ।

व्यञ्जनान्यनुयायीनि स्वरा नैवं यतो मताः ॥

'Spiritual souls, like vowels, shine even by themselves. Spiritless fellows follow others like consonants. The derivation is also significant : they shine by themselves and hence they are known as svara (vowel), since the consonants follow others, and the vowels never do so.'

Under RP. i. 3 Uvaṭa gives the true etymology of svara : svaryante śabdyanta iti svarāḥ, 'those which are sounded are svaras'. Under RP. i. 6 he says : vyañjayanti prakāṭi-kurvanty'arthān iti vyañjanāni.

Pāṇini has no occasion to use the word 'svara' in his Aṣṭādhyāyī, as he denotes the vowels by means of the pratyāhāra 'ac'. Candra, J., Śāk., Sam., Mu., Su.* and others follow Pāṇini. K., Sār., and Hc. retain the older term. PR. uses both. HN. calls the vowels "Sarveśvara" because the consonants have to depend on them for their pronuncia-

* In "vargya-svarau saṁjātiyāḥ savarṇau" i. 1. 15, Su. uses 'svara' also. The author says in the Pañjikā :

नन्वक्षप्रत्याहारे विद्यमाने स्वरग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? शब्दान्तरज्ञानार्थम्, स्वस्य सौभाग्यार्थं च ।

Similarly in i. 2. 52 we find "jhaṣas tṛtīyo jhaṣi ca" where the Pañjikā says :

जश्प्रत्याहारे विद्यमानेऽपि तृतीयग्रहणं सुखोच्चारणार्थं स्वस्य सारस्वतार्थं च ।

tion : kādīnām uccāraṇaṃ caisām adhīnam iti Sarveśvarāḥ. Vṛtti on HN. i. 2.

The consonants are termed “vyañjana”. The word is derived from *vi-añj* ‘to manifest’ and means ‘that which is manifested’. The word appears to be used first in its technical sense in AĀ.,

Pāṇini and his followers use the pratyāhāra ‘hal’ for consonants. Mu. has ‘has’. HN. uses ‘Viṣṇujana’ for ‘vyañjana’ owing to the similarity of sound and explains : Viṣṇoḥ sarva-vyāpakatayā Sarveśvarasya janā iva tasyā’ dhīnā ity’arthah.

In the Bhāṣya on “ajāder dvitīyasya” vi. 1. 2. Patañjali compares the consonants to actors’ wives :

व्यञ्जनानि पुनर्नटभार्यावद् भवन्ति । तद् यथा नटानां स्त्रियो रङ्गं गता यो यः पृच्छति—कस्य यूयम् ? कस्य यूयम् ? इति, तं तं तव तवेत्याहुः । एवं व्यञ्जनान्यपि यस्य यस्याचः कार्यमुच्यत तं तं भजन्ते ।

‘The consonants, however, are like actors’ wives. Thus, when actors’ wives go to the stage, to whomsoever asks them, ‘whose are you;’ they reply ‘yours’, even so consonants also cling to those vowels which are subject of some grammatical operation.’

Under “aṅco’napādāne” viii. 2. 48 Patañjali explains “vyañjana” meaning ‘sauce’ thus :

[अञ्जे रञ्जनम् अञ्जनं च प्रकाशनम् । “अङ्क्तेऽक्षिणी” इत्युच्यते, यत्तत् सितं चासितं चैतत् प्रकाशयति ।] तथाऽञ्जे व्यञ्जनम् । व्यञ्जनं च प्रकाशनम् । यत्तत् स्नेहेन मधुरेण च जडीकृतानामिन्द्रियाणां स्वस्मिन्नात्मनि व्यवस्थापनं स रागस्तद्व्यञ्जनम् । अन्वर्थं खल्वपि निर्वचनम्—‘व्यञ्जतेऽनेनेति व्यञ्जनम्’ इति ।

‘Vyañjana’ is derived from the root ‘añj’ (to manifest), thus ‘vyañjana’ means ‘manifesting’. The bringing back of the senses rendered torpid by oily substances and sweetness to their own natural state is known as rāga, or, in other words, ‘sauce’. And there is also the significant derivation : that by which (rasa) is manifested is ‘vyañjana’.

In the Kātantraṭīkā ‘svara’ and ‘vyañjana’ are explained thus : svayaṃ rājanta iti svarāḥ, ekākinopy’arthapratipādana-samarthāḥ. This is thus explained in the Pāñjī :

तथाहि लिङ्गधातुनिपातानाम् असहायनामप्यर्थप्रतिपादने
सामर्थ्यमुपलभ्यते, नैवं व्यञ्जनानामिति ।

‘Vyañjana’ is thus explained :

व्यज्यत एभिरिति व्यञ्जनानि, यथा सूपादीन्योदनस्य,
तथेमान्यपि व्यञ्जनानि स्वरस्येति ।

The Pāñjī explains :

व्यञ्जन्त एभिरिति व्यञ्जनानि, स्वराणामर्थप्रतिपादन उप-
कारकाणि यथा सूपादीन्योदनस्येति ।

ऋ प्रा । अष्टौ समानाक्षराण्यादितः । ततश्चत्वारि सन्ध्यक्षरा-
ण्युत्तराणि । एते स्वराः । १।१-३ । सर्वः शेषो व्यञ्जनान्येव । १।६

वा प्रा । तत्र स्वरः प्रथमम् । ८।२ अथ व्यञ्जनानि । ८।७...

तै प्रा । षोडशादित स्वराः । शेषो व्यञ्जनानि । १।५-६

का । तत्र चतुर्दशादौ स्वराः । १।१।२ । कादीनि व्यञ्जनानि ।

१।१।९

हे । औदन्ताः स्वराः । १।१।३ । कादिव्यञ्जनम् १।१।१०

व्यज्यते प्रकटीक्रियतेऽर्थोऽनेनेति व्यञ्जनम्, स्वराणामर्थप्रकाशन
उपकारकम्, यथा सूपादीन्योदनस्य । लघुन्यासः ।

प्र । अकारादिक्षकारान्ता वर्णमालानुवर्तते ।

तस्यामकारादौकारं यावद्वर्णाः स्वरा अचः ॥ ११६-७

ककाराकिहकारान्ता व्यञ्जनानि हलश्च ते । ११९

खृ शब्दोपतापयोः अच् । स्वयं राजन्त इति वा । “अन्यतोऽपि च” [१७।१०१] इति डः । “खगोऽन्तक—” [१७।११०] इत्यादिना निपातः । अच् गतौ क्तिप् ! ! !...स्वरोपरागेणैव व्यञ्ज्यन्ते इति व्यञ्जनानि । विपूर्वादञ्जधातोर्नट् । अन्ये तु व्यञ्जन्ति स्वरानुगतत्वेन तिष्ठन्तीति नन्धादित्वादन इत्याहुः । प्रभाप्रकाशिका ।

ह । तत्रादौ चतुर्दश सर्वेश्वराः । १११२

एते स्वरा अचश्च प्राचीनानाम् । एते स्तन्त्रोच्चारणाः । कादीना-
मुच्चारणश्चैषामधीनमिति सर्वेश्वराः ।

कादयो विष्णुजनाः । ११११७

HRASVA, DĪRGHA AND PLUTA.

“Hrasva” is derived from the root *hras* ‘to become short or small’ and means originally ‘short, small, dwarfish’. In the Śrautasūtras it is used in the sense of later *laghu* i.e. prosodically or metrically short. In the Prātiśākhya it is used in the sense of a ‘short vowel’. The root *hras* is used in the Nirukta and RP. (*nirhrasitopasarga Nir. ii. 17, vi. 11; sparsāntasthā-pratyayau nirhrasete RP. iv. 90) in the sense of shortening of a vowel. In the third chapter of AA.

* “Prakṛtīnirhrāsa” occurs in Kāśikā iv. 3. 1000 :

माद्रः...स भक्तिरसीति प्रकृति-निर्ज्ञासे कृते मद्रकः ।

(प्रकृतिनिर्ज्ञासे कृते इति । सर्वगृहणात् प्रकृत्यतिदेशेन निर्ज्ञासीत्युतापचय इत्यर्थः । माद्र इति । एताच्च प्रकृतिमपेक्ष्य मद्र इति या प्रकृतिरस्या भवति । काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका ।)

where we find speculations on phonetics, “hrasva” is used as an adjective to Māṇḍūkeya in the sense of ‘dwarfish’ but not as an adjective to *svara* in the passage (iii. 1. 5) :

अथ वयं ब्रूमो निर्भुजवक्त्रा इति ह स्माह ह्रस्वो माण्डूकेयः,
पूर्वमेवाक्षरं पूर्वरूपम्, उत्तरमुत्तररूपं योऽवकाशः पूर्वरूपोत्तररूपे
अन्तरेण येन सन्धिं विवर्तयति, येन स्वरास्वरं विजानाति, येन
मात्रामात्रां विभजते सा संहितेति ।

‘Hrasva Māṇḍūkeya says: We that recite the Nirbhuja say that the former syllable is the former half and the latter syllable the latter half, but that the union is the space between the former and the latter halves in so far as thereby one produces the union and distinguishes accented and unaccented and separates the mora and what is not.’

“Dīrgha” is an older word than “hrasva” and goes back to RV. It originally means long in space and in time. In the sense of a long vowel it is used in Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra ii. 8. 15, Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra i. 2. 17, x. 5. 28, etc.

“Pluta”* comes from “plu” ‘to float, swim’. Thus on the one hand the root means ‘to vanish away’, on the other ‘to swell’ i.e., ‘to be lengthened or prolated’: “makṣvityukāraḥ plavate (is lengthened) sarvatrāpy apadānta-bhāk” RP. vii. 5.

* Pandit T. Venkatakarya says in the Journal of the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Vol. viii. No. 2, p. 16 : ऋस्वः प्रुती भवतीतुक्ते माविकः अच् समनन्तरदिमावत्वमतिक्रम्य विमावत्वं गच्छतीति भावः । तत्र प्रथमं माविकमचमनुसृत्य तस्य प्रुत्वत्वेन विमावतीभवनं निरौच्य प्रुतशब्दः तादृशविमाविकस्य संज्ञात्वेन परिकल्पितः । ...अथवा ...प्रवते = स्वकालस्य परां काष्ठां = विमावत्वं गच्छति इत्यर्थात् प्रुतशब्दः विमाविके अचि अन्वर्थः । All this is rather fanciful.

“saiva plutiḥ” (lengthening), RP. vii. 2, “saiva plutir iti veditavyā yā harsvasya dīrghatā”—Uvaṭa. Again “pluti” is used in the sense of ‘prolation’ in “adhaḥ svid āāi 3d upari svid āsi 3d arthe plutir bhīr iva vindati 3 triḥ” RP. i. 31, is used in the sense of a lengthened vowel in “ādyakṣaram plutam teṣām” RP. ix. 32 and in the sense of ‘a prolated vowel’ in “i-paro dīrgha-vat plutaḥ” RP. i. 4.

RT. uses “sva” for “hrasva” in the rule “sparśaḥ sve” 25 and “bhe sve māntasthī” 150. Similarly for “dīrgha” it uses “gha” in “gham” 50 (dīrgham ca guru-saṃjñam bhavati—Vivṛti); “rau gham” 93 (svarau dīrgham āpadyete—Vivṛti).

Śāk., Kramadīśvara and Padmanābha use “hrasva”, “dīrgha” and “pluta” without defining them.

J. uses “dī” for “dīrgha” and “pa” for “pluta” and to make out a word with meaning uses “pra” instead of “hra” for “hrasva”. Thus with the symbols for hrasva, dīrgha and pluta the nice word “pradīpa” was formed, the science of grammar being regarded as “pradīpaḥ sarvavidyānām.” Vopadeva uses the second syllable “sva” and “rgha” for “hrasva” and “dīrgha” respectively. For “pluta” he should have used “ta”, but as the latter is required for “taddhita”, the claims of which are far greater inasmuch as it both begins and ends with *ta*, the first syllable “plu” is used for “pluta”.

HN. calls the ‘hrasvas’ Vāmana and the “dīrghas” Trivikrama. Now Trivikrama being used up for the dīrghas, the plutas are called Mahāpuruṣa. From HN. we learn that the short vowels were also called “nirhrasva” in several

systems. The name Trivikrama would have been much more appropriate for Pluta. "Urugāya" or "Urukrama" might have been used for Dīrgha.

ऋ प्रा । ओजा ह्रस्वाः सप्तमान्ताः स्सराणाम् । अन्ये दीर्घाः ।
उभये त्वक्षराणि । १।१७-१९ (ओजाः विषमाः स्वराणां मध्ये
ह्रस्वसंज्ञा वेदितव्याः सप्तमपर्यन्ताः । यथा अ ऋ इ उ इति ।
उवटः)

तै प्रा । ऋकारलकारौ ह्रस्वौ । अकारश्च । तेन च समान-
कालस्वरः । अनुस्वारश्च । द्विस्तावान् दीर्घः । त्रिः प्लुतः । १।३१-६
वा प्रा । अमात्रस्वरो ह्रस्वः । १।५५ । द्विस्तावान् दीर्घः ।
प्लुतस्त्रिः । १।५७-५८

चतुरध्यायिका । एकमात्रो ह्रस्वः । द्विमात्रो दीर्घः । त्रिमात्रः
प्लुतः । १।५९-६१

ऋ त । ह्रस्वादीर्घो दीर्घाद्भ्रस्वः । १।३

पा । ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घः प्लुतः । १।२।२७

का । पूर्वो ह्रस्वः । परो दीर्घः ।* १।१।६-७

जैः । आकालोऽच् प्रदीपः । १।१।५

च । अत्र चावर्णो ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः । एक-
मात्रिको ह्रस्वः । द्विमात्रिको दीर्घः । त्रिमात्रिकः प्लुतः । वर्णसूत्र
२६, ४१-४२

* A poet-aster has framed the following Samasyāpūraṇa stanza with these rules :

पूर्वो ऋक्षः परी दीर्घः सतां स्नेहो निरन्तरम् ।

असतां विपरीतस्तु पूर्वो दीर्घः परी लघुः ॥

'The friendship of good men is slight at first and constantly grows great afterwards ; that of bad men is just the reverse, great at first and slight afterwards.'

- हे । एकद्वित्रिमात्रा ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुताः । १।१।५
 मु । आवत् स्वर्घप्लु । ५
 प्र । अ इ उ ऋ लृ ह्रस्वाः स्युर्लघवश्चैकमात्रकाः ।
 अन्ये स्वरा दीर्घसंज्ञा ज्ञातव्यास्ते द्विमात्रकाः ॥
 गानाह्वानक्रन्दनेषु स्वरास्त्रिमात्रकाः प्लुताः । १।१०-१२
 ह । पूर्वो वामनः । परस्त्रिविक्रमः । त्रिमात्रो महापुरुषः ॥
 १।५-७

नाट्यशास्त्र । य इमे स्वराश्चतुर्दश निर्दिष्टास्तत्र वै दश

समानाः ।

पूर्वो ह्रस्वस्तेषां परश्च दीर्घो विधातव्यः ॥

१४।२२-२३

GURU AND LAGHU

“Guru” is a very old word occurring in RV. in the sense of ‘heavy’. In its technical sense it means ‘a vowel long by nature or by position’, a vowel which is long both by nature and by position is known as “Gārīyah”. In its technical sense Guru occurs first in RP. The opposite of “guru” is “laghu”, the younger form of “raghu”. “Laghu” literally means ‘light’ and is used of a vowel which is metrically short. A short vowel which stands alone without any consonant is known as “laghīyah”. RT. and ST. use ‘ghu’ for ‘laghu’, e.g., “yugmaṁ ghu” RT. 236. “u ghor ghuni ghoṣādiḥ” 237. J. uses ‘ru’ for ‘guru’. In the system of Pāṇini ‘ru’ represents a ‘visarjanīya which stands for an original s’. Śāk. uses “guru” and HN. has no objection to the use of the word in rules like

“ṛccha-varjita-gurvīśvarāder ām adhokṣaje” i. 481. Candra uses ‘laghu’ and ‘guru’ in his rules, e.g., “laghor upāntasya” vi. 2. 4, etc., but is silent about these terms in his Varṇa-Sūtras, though he defines ‘hrasva’ and ‘dīrgha’ there. Kramadīśvara does not use ‘guru’ in the rule “dīrghopānto yuktāntaś ca dhātuḥ” i. 74 where Goyīcandra says : gurūpānto dhātur iti na kṛtaṃ vaicitryārtham. The word “guru” is, however, used later on in “gurvijāder anṛcchorṇoḥ” ii. 1725 and in “anṛser antājdviṭiyagurvacaḥ” iv. 13. J. uses ‘ghi’ instead of ‘ghu’ for ‘laghu.’ It seems to have some objection to ‘ghu’ as it not only avoids ‘ghu’ here, but uses ‘bhu’ for Pāṇini’s ‘ghu’. In most systems, however, ‘ghu’ stands for the roots *dā* and *dhā*. In several early systems of grammar ‘ghu’ meant ‘uttara-pada’. Thus in a śloka-vārttika under P. vi. 4. 149 we find ghau (v. 1 dhau) :

घौ । लोपोऽन्तिषदित्यत्र अथाघौ येऽन्त्यथर्वसु* ।

घु-शब्देनोत्तरपदं पूर्वाचार्य्यप्रसिद्धोच्यते । अघाविति । अनु-
त्तरपदे इत्यर्थः । कैयटः ।

It is just possible that ‘dyu’ is the correct reading here, as in J. an uttarapada is technically designated ‘dyu’ : uttarapadam dyu i.3.104 (se i.e. samāse yad uttarapadam tad dyu-samjñam bhavati. Mahāvṛtti). This ‘dyu’ is evidently composed of ‘d’ of ‘pada’ and ‘u’ of ‘uttara’ with a ‘y’ thrown in between, to distinguish the resulting word from ‘du’ which, in the Jainendra system, is a technical terms for Vṛddha of the

* What actually occurs in AV. is “ye anti ye ca dūrake”. Kat. and Pat. evidently read ‘antiye ca dūrake’.

Pāṇini system (see J. i. 1.68 ff.). Śāk. uses 'uttarapada' and is thus of no help to us in determining the correct meaning.

Vopadeva uses 'ghu' for laghu' and 'ru' for guru'.

It is difficult to understand why K. and its followers use Laghu and Guru without defining them. They evidently think that the words are too well-known to require any explanation. But Hrasva and Dīrgha are still better known and yet they have been defined. The Vṛtti says under i. 1. 6:

ह्रस्वो लघुर्दीर्घो गुरुरित्युच्चारणवशाद् गम्यते, तथा संयोगे सति ह्रस्वोऽपि गुरुः, "गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः" [३।१।१९] इति वर्जनाच्च ।

The Tīkā says :

लघुगुरुसंज्ञापि लोकोपचारात् [१।१।२३] इत्याह—ह्रस्वो लघु-रित्यादि ।...ननु तर्हि ह्रस्वदीर्घावपि लोकेत एव सिद्धौ । सत्यम्, बालबुद्धिनिष्पत्त्यर्थावेव हि तौ, ततो हि लघु-गुरु-संज्ञा प्रतिपद्यन्ते श्रोतारः ।

Acc. to works on Śikṣā, y and v. are "guru" when initial, "laghu" when medial and "laghūṭara" when final.

ऋ प्रा । गुरूणि दीर्घाणि तथेतरेषां संयोगानुस्वारपराणि यानि । १।२०-२१

लघु ह्रस्वं न चेत् संयोग उत्तरः । १।२७-३८

गुरु दीर्घं गरीयस्तु यदि सव्यञ्जनं भवेत् ।

लघु सव्यञ्जनं ह्रस्वं लघीयो व्यञ्जनादृते । १।४१-४४

तै प्रा । यद् व्यञ्जनान्तं यदु चापि दीर्घं संयोगपूर्वं च तथानु-नासिकम् ।

एतानि सर्वाणि गुरूणि विद्याच्छेषाण्यतोऽन्यानि ततो लघूनि ॥
अव्यञ्जनान्तं यद्भ्रस्वमसंयोगपरं च यत् ।

अननुस्वारसंयुक्तं यत् तल्लघु निबोधत ॥ २२।१४-१५

वा प्रा । संयोगपूर्वव्यञ्जनान्तावसानगताः स्वरा द्विमात्राः ।
४।१०९

चतुरध्यायिका । ह्रस्वं लघ्वसंयोगे । गुर्वन्यत् । अनुनासिकं
च । पदान्ते च । १।५१-५४

ऋ त । गुरु सणि । घम् । १।४९-५० (सणि = संयोगे ।
घ = दीर्घ ।)

पा । ह्रस्वं लघु । संयोगे गुरु । दीर्घं च । १-४।१०-१२
जै । प्रो घि च । स्फे रुः । दीः । १।२।१११-११२ (प्र=ह्रस्व ।
स्फ=संयोग । दी=दीर्घ ।)

द्वैभप्रकाशः । दीर्घो विसर्गानुस्वारयुक् संयोगपरो गुरुः ।
असंयोगपरो ह्रस्वो विसर्गाद्युज्झितो लघुः ॥
मु । स्वर्धौ घुरु । स्वः स्ये रुः । ५४०-५४१ । (स्व=ह्रस्व,
घ=दीर्घ, स्य=संयोग ।)

सु । ह्रस्वो लघुः । दीर्घो गुरुः । ह्रस्वश्च संयोगे । १।१।१६-१८

प्र । संयोगस्य तु यत् पूर्वं गुरु तत् ग्रहयोस्तथा । १।२५

सानुस्वारविसर्गं च दीर्घं च गुरुसंज्ञकम् ।

गुरुभिन्ना लघव इति सारम् । १।१६

ह । वामनो लघुः । त्रिविक्रमो गुरुः । सत्-सङ्गात् पूर्वो
वामनोऽपि गुरुः । १।७९-८१ (वामन=ह्रस्व । त्रिविक्रम=दीर्घ ।
सत्सङ्ग=संयोग ।)

“Guru-lāghava” is very happily used in the following stanza:

वर्णस्थं गुरुलाघवं न गणयत्याशङ्कते न क्वचि-
द्रूपं नैव परीक्षते न पुरुषं वृत्तेषु वार्त्ता कुतः ।

कष्टं नायशसो बिभेति महतो नैषापशब्दान्तरा-
न्मृत्युर्मूर्खकविः खलः कुनृपतिश्चौरश्च तुल्यक्रियाः ॥

सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार, ६२।३७६

प्रकृतिलघोर्येन कृता जघन्यघर्णस्य गौरवापत्तिः ।

जघनचपला यद्यार्या स पिङ्गलस्ते कथं तुल्यः ॥

कुट्टनीमत ७५३

NĀMIN AND BHĀVIN

“Nāmin” is the name given to vowels with the exception of *a* (short, long and prolated). The word is devived from the root *nam* with the suffix *nini* and means much the same thing as “*nanṭṛ*” (RP. i. 66), viz., that which induces “*nati*”. It has already been mentioned that the change of a dental (especially of *s* and *n*) into the corresponding cerebral is known as *Nati*, probaly because the dental bows to, i.e., yields to the cerebral. Hence those vowels after which the dental *s* is changed into the cerebral *ṣ* are known as *Nāmin*. Thus R.P. says :

ऋकारादयो दश नामिनः स्वराः पूर्वो नन्ता नतिषु नम्यमुत्तरम् ।
१६'१-६६

नमयन्ति दन्त्यं सन्तं मूर्धन्यं कुर्वन्तीति नामिनः । ऋ ऋ इ ई
उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ इति । उवटः ।

VP. defines *Nati* in the rule “*dantyaśya mūrdhanyaṅāpatir natiḥ*” i. 42, but uses the term “*bhāvin*” for “*nāmin*” :

अकण्ठ्यो भावी । १।४६

कण्ठ्यावकाराकारौ वर्जयित्वा स्वराणां भावि-संज्ञा भवति ।
उवटः ।

Neither Uvaṭa nor Anantabhaṭṭa takes the trouble of explaining “bhāvin”, but the term appears to have reference to the phenomenon of Nāti. It is derived from the root *bhū* with the suffix *ṇini* and means that which causes mutation of a dental *s* into the corresponding cerebral.*

TP. has no technical terms corresponding to Nāmin.. CA. uses the word in *nāmyupadhasya repaḥ*” ii. 42 etc., but does not define it.

In ĀSS. i. 5. 10 “anatyakṣara” is used in the sense of Nāmin.

Pāṇini and his followers use the Pratyāhara “ik” for Nāmin. Kātyāyana uses “vināma” in his Vārttikas :

अग्रहणं चेन्नुड्विधि-लादेश-विनामेष्वुकारग्रहणम् । शि०सू० ४।११
अनो नुकि विनाम-रुविधि-प्रतिषेधः । ८।१।१६।१

Patañjali uses “vinata” in the sense of a dental *s* turned into cerebral :

अथ षणीति किमर्थम् ? सेषीव्यते । को विनतेऽनुरोधः ?
अविनते नियमो मा भूत् । सुषुप्सतीति । ८।३।६१

But neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali uses “nāmin”.

K. has “svaro’varṇavarjo nāmī” i. 1. 7. By the time of the commentators the original sense was entirely forgotten. Hence Durga says in his commentary :

नमनं नामः, सोऽस्यास्तीति नामो, तथा चैषां ध्वनिर्ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-
भेदेन स्वत एव निःसरति, न चोर्ध्वं स्पृशति ।

* Monier Williams says : prob. as liable to become the corresponding semi-vowel. Weber explains : yo bhāvayati, i.e., nāmayati, that which causes bhāva, i.e., nati.

Kulacandra says :

नामिनो घर्णाः स्थानेन वैदिकहस्तस्वरेणोर्ध्वमादत्ते, न ध्वनिना
इति भावः । अघर्णस्तु ध्वनाघप्यूर्ध्वमादत्ते ।

Hc. has the rule “anavarṇo nāmī” i. 1. 6, but neither he nor his commentators explain “nāmin”. Sār., as usual follows K. and frames the rules “a-varjā nāminah” i. 5. Puruṣottama lays down :

इकाराद् यावदौकारं नाम्यल्लकारान्त इक् स तु । प्र १।१७
नमनं नामः सोऽस्यास्तीति नामी ! इकारादीनां नम्रो ध्वनि-
रित्यर्थः !!! प्रभाप्रकाशिका ।

HN. calls these vowels Īśvara : a-ā-varjitāḥ sarveśvarā īśvarāḥ i. 8, probably because people bow down before God, and also because the word “Īśvara” is part of the word “Sarveśvara.”

AGHOṢA AND GHOṢAVAT.

Śabda, Dhvani, Ghoṣa, Nāda—all mean ‘sound’. Of these Śabda was seized upon by grammarians and used in the sense of ‘sound, uninflected word with a conventional meaning.’ Thus we find in the Mahābhāṣya :

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः ? किं यत् यत् सास्त्रालाङ्गूलककुद-
खुरविषाण्यथैरूपं स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—द्रव्यं नाम तत् ।

यत् तर्हि तदिङ्गितं चेष्टितं निमिषितं स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—क्रिया नाम सा ।

यत् तर्हि तच्छुक्लो नीलः कृष्णः कपिलः कपोत इति स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—गुणो नाम सः ।

यत् तर्हि तद् भिन्नेष्वभिन्नं छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नं सामान्यभूतं स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—आकृतिर्नाम सा ।

कस्तर्हि शब्दः ?

येनोच्चारितेन सास्त्रा-लाङ्गूल-ककुद-खुर-विषाणिनां संप्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः । अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते । तद् यथा—शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्यं माणवकः इति ध्वनिं कुर्वन्नेवमुच्यते । तस्माद् ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

‘Now when we say “gauḥ”, what is this “gauḥ”—what is the concept behind this word ? Does it mean a thing possessed of dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns ? No, says the writer, for that is merely the substance. It is then a bundle of various movements indicating internal feelings (such as licking the calf), or voluntary (such as walking) or reflex (such as movements of the eyes, ears etc) ? No, replies the writer, for that is merely activity (or motion). Is the word then some colour like white or dark, dun or spotted ? No, says the writer, for that is merely a quality. Is it then something which constitutes the generality which remains undifferentiated though the individuals might differ, which is not destroyed though the individuals might be destroyed (is it the general conception of *gotva* ‘cowhood’) ? No, replies the author, for that is merely the genus.

Then what is ‘word’ ? That is ‘word’ which when uttered brings us the knowledge of an individual possessing dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns, or, in other words, the sound

which conventionally conveys a particular sense is properly called a word. Thus one making a sound is spoken to and spoken of as follows : make a sound, do not make any sound, this boy is making a sound.'

A little further on Patañjali says :

श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलित आकाशदेशः
शब्दः ।

'Sound is that which is perceived by the ear, which is thoroughly grasped by the intellect, which is lit up by by letters and which is (nothing but the vibration of) ether.'

"Dhvani" is taken possession of by rhetoricians and made to denote suggested sense more charming than the literal meaning (*vācyaṭiśāyini vyaṅgye dhvaniḥ*). Thus in the well-known stanza :

विक्रीय विस्पष्टमुखेन बाला मालाकृतः कैरवकोरकाणि ।
विक्रेतुकामा विकचाम्बुजानि चेलाञ्जलेनाननमावृणोति ॥

'Having sold kairava-buds with her face unveiled, the gardener's daughter, desirous of selling full-blown lotuses, covers her face with the border of her garment.' The suggested sense which is much more charming than the literal meaning is that the girl's face is the moon. The kairava buds open out in the presence of the moon, while the lotus closes its petals. Hence she uncovers her face while selling the kairava-buds but veils it at the time of selling the full-blown lotuses, lest they become shrunk into buds.

Phoneticians took charge of "ghoṣa" and "nāda" and used them in the sense of "voice". We read in RP. that

“śvāsa” is the material of the surd sounds and “nāda” of the sonants (śvāso’ ghoṣāṇām. itareṣām tu nādaḥ xiii. 4-5). Similarly we find in TP. “nādo ’nupradānaṃ svāra-ghoṣavatsu” ii. 8 and “aghoṣeṣu śvāsaḥ” ii. 10 i.e. in vowels and sonant consonants the after-effort is sound, in surd consonants it is breath. Similarly we find in CA. : śvāso* ’ghoṣeṣv-anupradānaḥ nādo ghoṣavat-svareṣu i. 12-13.

As Whitney says : The Prātisākhya here lays down with entire correctness the distinction between the surd and sonant sounds, which consists in the different nature of the material furnished in the two classes to the mouth organs by the lungs and throat ; in the one class it is mere breath, simple unintonated air ; in the other class, it is breadth made sonant by the vocal chords on its passage through the throat and thus converted into sound (Atharva-Veda Prātisākhya, p. 17).

“Ghoṣa” in its technical sense occurs for the first time in AA. where it appears to have been used in two distinct senses. In ii. 2. 2 after mentioning the etymologies of Sūkta, Rk., Ardharca, Pada and Akṣara, the Āraṇyaka says :

ता वा एताः सर्वा ऋचः सर्वे वेदाः सर्वे घोषा एकेव व्याहृतिः
प्राण एव, प्राण ऋच इत्येव विद्यात् ।

Keith rightly translates : “Therefore one should know that all these verses, all these Vedas, all sounds are one word, *prāṇa*, and that *prāṇa* is all verses.” There can hardly be any doubt that “ghoṣa” has been used in the sense of ‘phoneme’ here. This would appear to be the earliest technical sense

* Cf. English *surd*, originally ‘deaf’, then mute, voiceless.

of the word. In the next passage in the same chapter "ghoṣa" is evidently used in the sense of vowel :

तद्वा इदं बृहतीसहस्रं सम्पन्नम्, तस्य यानि व्यञ्जनानि तच्छरीरम्, यो घोषः स आत्मा, य ऊष्माणः स प्राणः । २।२।४

With this we may compare Chândogya-Upaniṣad ii. 22 : 5 :

सर्वे स्वरा घोषवन्तो बलवन्तो वक्तव्याः...सर्व ऊष्माणोऽग्रस्ता अनिरस्ता विवृता वक्तव्या...सर्वे स्पर्शा लेशेनानभिनिहिता वक्तव्याः ।

Curiously enough the sense of "ghoṣa" was next shifted from 'vowels' to 'voiced consonants' as is clear from the Prātiśākhya.

The ghoṣavat letters are vowels, g, gh, ṅ, j, jh, ñ, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, d, dh, n, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v and h ; the rest are aghoṣa.

Acc. to Indian Phoneticians, the current of air expelled from the lungs by the will of the speaker coming to the mouth organ becomes śvāsa or nāda, acc. as the glottis is open or narrowed ; when it becomes śvāsa it gives rise to aghoṣa sounds and when it becomes nāda it gives rise to ghoṣavat sounds. It will appear from this that śvāsa and nāda refer to the speaker and ghoṣa and aghoṣa to the hearer ; in other words, ghoṣa and aghoṣa are the acoustic effects of śvāsa and nāda respectively.

RP. xiii. 1 says :

वायुः प्राणः कोष्ठमनुप्रदानं कण्ठस्य खे विवृते संवृते वा ।

आपद्यते श्वासतां नादतां वा वक्त्रीहायाम् ॥

Hc. quotes from the Āpiśali-Śikṣā in his Bṛhad-vṛtti on i. 1. 17 :

स इदानीं प्राणो नाम वायुरुर्ध्वमाक्रामन् मूर्ध्नि प्रतिहतो निवृत्तः कोष्ठमभिहन्ति । तत्र कोष्ठेऽभिहन्यमाने कण्ठबिलस्य ध्रुवतत्त्वाद् विधारः, संवृतत्वाद् संधारः । तत्र यदा कण्ठबिलं ध्रुवतं भवति, तदा श्वासो जायते, संवृते तु नादः । तावदनुप्रदानमाचक्षते । अन्ये तु ब्रुवते । अनुप्रदानम् अनुस्वानो घण्टादिनिर्हादवत् । तत्र यदा स्थानकरणाभिघातजे ध्वनौ नादोऽनुप्रदीयते, तदा नादध्वनि-संसर्गाद् घोषो जायते, यदा तु श्वासोऽनुप्रदीयते, तदा श्वासध्वनिसंसर्गाद् घोषो जायते ।

VP. uses “jit” for “aghoṣa” and “dhi” for “ghoṣavat”. *Jit* is used, probably because the letters stand at the beginning of each varga and are consequently regarded as victorious. In ‘dhi’ *dh* is taken as the type of the alghṣas and a euphonic *i* is added for ease of utterance.

[Similarly in “dhuṭ” (of K. and its followers) standing for all the consonants except the nasals and the semivowels, *dh* is taken as the type of aspirate voiced consonants. Thus “dhuṭ” stands for the aspirate voiced consonants, aspirate breath consonants, unaspirate voiced consonants, unaspirate breadth consonants, sibilants and *h*. It is just possible that in some form of the Śivasūtras the aspirate voiced consonants began with *dha* instead of *jha*. The commentators of K. make no attempt to etymologize over this term, but the Haimapra-kāśa explains “dhuṭ” thus :

धुक्षि धिक्षि सन्दीपने । धुक्ष धातुः । धुक्षते इति धुट् ।
क्लिप् प्रत्ययः ।

If we accept this etymology the Loc. sig. will be *dhuṣi*, but the form met with in grammar is *dhuṭi*.]

Ghoṣavat occurs in most of the Gṛhyasūtras in the technical sense in the nāma-karaṇa section, e.g. ghoṣavad ādyantar-antastham abhiniṣṭhānāntam dvyakṣaram catura kṣaram vā. Āśvalāyana Gr. Śu. i. 13. 5.

Pāṇini never has occasion to use either "ghoṣavat" or "aghoṣa." For the former he uses the pratyāhāra 'haś' and for the latter 'khar'. C., J., Śāk., Sārasvata, Vopadeva and others follow Pāṇini. HN. uses "Gopāla" for "ghoṣavat" and "Yādava" for "aghoṣa". This is rather unfortunate since both Gopāla and Yādava begin with "ghoṣavat" letters. The author of HN. thought that the relations of Viṣṇu were either Gopālas or Yādavas, consequently he divided the letters into Gopālas and Yādavas.

In the same way Sam. which uses the Pratyāhāras for the vowels only takes *k* and *g* as the types of the surds and sonants respectively and uses "kādi" for "aghoṣa" and "gādi" for "ghoṣavat". For "svara-ghoṣa" of K. it has "aj-gādi" (i. 187).

The vowels are not generally included in the list of ghoṣavat sounds in the Prātiśākyas. Thus RP. mentions "svara" along with "ghoṣavat" in :

सहोपधोऽरिफित एकवर्णवद्

विसर्जनीय स्वरघोषवत्परः । १।६७

अनर्धचान्ते स्वरघोषवत्परमूयः । १।९७

RP., however, quotes a view according to which the sound *a* constitutes the "ghoṣa" of the ghoṣavat sounds :

आहुर्घोषं घोषवतामकारमेके । १३।१५ (घोषवतां घर्णानामकारं घोषमाहुरेक आचार्याः ।)

K. also uses “ghoṣavat” along with “svara” in its rules :

वर्गप्रथमाः पदान्ताः स्वरघोषवत्सु तृतीयान् । १।४।१

घोषवत्स्वरपरः । १।४।१३

But it is clear from the Mahābhāṣya that both Kātyāyana and Patañjali regarded the vowels as ghoṣavat. Thus under “paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā” i. 4. 109 we find the seventh Vārttika :

ह्रदाधिरामे स्पर्शाघोषसंयोगेऽसन्निधानादसंहितम् ।

Patañjali explains :

ह्रदाधिरामे स्पर्शानाम् अघोषाणां संयोगेऽसन्निधानात् संहिता-
संज्ञा न प्राप्नोति—कुक्कुटः पिप्पका पित्तमिति ।*

किमुच्यते संयोग इति । अथ यत्रैकः—पचतीति ?

एकः पूर्वपरयोर्ह्रदिम प्रच्छाद्यते । तद् यथा द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये
शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणम् उपलभ्यते । बदरपिटके रित्तको लोहकंसस्तद्गुण
उपलभ्यते ।

‘If hrādāvirāmaḥ or continuity of ghoṣa be regarded as the correct definition of Saṃhitā then the name Saṃhitā is not applicable to cases of conjunction of mutes and aghoṣas, e.g., kukkuṭaḥ, pippakā, pittaṃ, because there is the cessation of ghoṣa. If it be objected. Why do you speak of conjunction? What about those cases where there is no conjunct but only one sound as in *pacati*? Our reply will be, a single sound is coloured by the ghoṣa of the preceding and

* The correct reading would appear to be कुक्कुटः पिप्पली पित्तम् which, as Kielhorn notes, is reading in Goldstücker’s Ms. under I 26. 20 we find in the printed editions : तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनाद्ययो विधिर्न सिध्यति । कुक्कुटः पिप्पलः पित्तमिति ।

following sounds. Thus a white cloth between two red cloths is perceived as red, a polished mirror in a basket of plums takes on the colour of the plums.'

Kaiyaṭa explains :

द्वयोरकारयोर्घोषघतोर्मध्ये चकारो घोषघानिष लक्ष्यते ।

'Because the two *a*-sounds which are ghoṣavat the *c*-sound appears as ghoṣavat.'

Again we find in the Bhāṣya on "supām su-luk...." vii. 1. 39 :

इदं चाप्युदाहरणम् । आर्द्रे चर्मन् । ...ननु चोक्तं पूर्वसवर्णे-
नाप्येतत् सिद्धमिति ? न सिध्यति, यद्यत्र पूर्वसवर्णः स्यादान्तर्यतो
दकारः प्रसज्येत ।

Patañjali says that as an instance of the elision of a case-ending we may mention 'ārdre carman'. It cannot be argued that 'carman' here can well be justified by regarding the pūrva-savarṇa as the substitute for the case-ending, for since the case-ending is *i* the svarṇa of *n* as the substitute for it would be *d*. What Patañjali means is that since the vowel is alpa-prāṇa (unaspirate) and ghoṣavat (voiced) the substitute for it must also be alpa-prāṇa and ghoṣavat according to the Paribhāṣā : sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ i. 1. 50. From this it is quite clear that Patañjali regards the vowel *i* as ghoṣavat.

ऋ प्रा । घर्गे घर्गे च प्रथमावघोषौ । १।१२

वा प्रा । द्वौ द्वौ प्रथमौ जित् । ऊष्माणश्च ह-घर्जम् । मुष् ।

धि शेषः । १।५०-५३ ।

तै प्रा । ऊष्म-घिसर्जनीय-प्रथम-द्वितीया अघोषाः । १।१२,

व्यञ्जनशेषो घोषघान् । १।१४

चतुरध्यायिका । श्वासोऽघोषेस्वनुप्रदानः । नादो घोषवत्-
स्वरेषु । १।१२-१३

व्यञ्जनं घोषवत्-संज्ञमन्तस्था हः परौ यमौ ।

त्रयस्त्रयश्च वर्गान्ता अघोषः शेष उच्यते ॥ टीका

[अप्रा । रेफप्रकृति घोषवत्-स्वरेषु । ३।३१]

ऋत । उत्तमा घोषाः । हान्तस्थाः । १४-१५

महाभाष्य । वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीया विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना
अघोषाः । .. तृतीयचतुर्थाः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोष-
वन्तः । १।१५

का । वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शपसाश्चाघोषाः । घोषवन्तोऽन्ये ।
१।१।११-१२, धुङ् व्यञ्जनमनन्तस्थानुनासिकम् । २।१।१३

नाट्यशास्त्र । द्वौ द्वौ वर्णौ तु वर्गाद्यौ शपसाश्च त्रयोऽपरे ।

अघोषा घोषवन्तस्तु ततोऽन्ये परिकीर्तिताः ॥

वर्गे वर्गे समाख्यातौ द्वौ वर्णौ प्रागवस्थितौ ।

अघोषा इति ये त्वन्ये सघोषाः संप्रकीर्तिताः ॥

ग घ ङ ज झ ञ ट ण द ध न ब भ म य र ल वा मता घोषाः ।

क ख च छ ट ठ त थ प फ श ष सा इति वर्गेष्वघोषाः स्युः ॥

१४।११-१२, १४

अमरेश-शिक्षा । वर्गाणां प्रथमौ द्वौ द्वावूष्माणश्च हवर्जिताः ।

जित्संज्ञका भवन्त्येते शेषा धिसंज्ञकाः स्मृताः ॥

हे । आद्यद्वितीय शपसा अघोषाः । अन्यो घोषवान् । १।१।१३-१४

अविद्यमानो घोषो येषाम्, यथा अनुदरा कन्या ।...अघोषा-
पेक्षयाचान्यत्वम्, तेन येषामतिशायी घोषः, तेऽन्यत्पञ्चाध्यासिता
घोषवन्त इत्यर्थः । लघुन्यासः । न विद्यते घोषः घण्टानिर्हादवद्
अनुस्वानो येषां ते अघोषाः । हैमप्रकाशः ।

प्र । प्रथमद्वितीया वर्णाः शषसाश्चाघोषसंज्ञाः स्युः । येऽन्ये
घोषाद् गाद्यास्ते* घोषा घोषवन्तोऽपि । १।२२।२३

ह । हरिगदा-हरिवेणु-हरिमित्रानि हश्च गोपालाः । यादवा
अन्ये । १।६१-३२

यद्यपि यादवानां कियद्गोपालानां चैकवंशत्वं तथापि वृन्दावनस्थ-
त्वेन गोपालो मथुरास्थत्वेन यादव इति भेदो विवक्षितः । टीका ।

ŪṢMAN

“Ūṣman” is found in AV. and the Brāhmaṇas in the sense of ‘heat, hot vapour, vapour.’ Then it came to signify ‘those letters or sounds in the pronunciation of which there is the emission of hot breath.’ Acc. to RP. the three sibilants ś, ṣ, s along with h, anusvāra, visarjanīya, jīhvāmūliya and upadh-
mānīya are “ūṣman”. TP. excludes anusvāra and visarjanīya from the list. VP. goes a step farther and excludes jīhvāmūliya and upadh-
mānīya also. CA. mentions “ūṣman” several times, but it is not clear which particular sounds are meant. Acc. to Whitney, visarjanīya, jīhvāmūliya, upadh-
mānīya and the spirants constitute the “ūṣmans”. Grammarians accept the view that found favour with the author of VP. and regard ś, ṣ, s and h as “ūṣman” Later on the initial vowel was shortened and “ūṣman” became “uṣman”. The aspirates are termed “soṣman”. Later on they are called “hamāprāṇa”.

* PR. uses ‘ghoṣa’ in the sense of ‘ghoṣavat’ in “ghosāt tu na ī”
iv. 489.

Pāṇini uses “sál” for “ūṣman” and “jhaṣ” for the sonant “sosmans”. The word “uṣman” is explained in several ways :

(१) ऊष्मा वायुः, तत्प्रधाना वर्णाः ऊष्मानः । ऋग्रा
भाष्य १।१२

(२) ऊष्माख्यबाह्यप्रयत्नयोगादुष्माण इत्याख्या न तु स प्रथम-
द्वितीयादिषु, रूढ्यभावात् । वैदिकाभरणम् (तै प्र १।९) ।

(३) उष्म-धर्मयोगाद् उष्माण इहोच्यन्ते । दुर्गटीका । उष्म-
धर्मयोगादिति । उच्चारणे यो मुखं तपति स एषोष्मधर्मः । पञ्जी ।

RT. and ST. abbreviate “ūṣma” to “ṣma”.

As has already been pointed out the ūṣmans originally included the antahsthās. “Antahsthā” occurs only once in AA.

K. calls the spirants “ūṣman”, but in the ākhyāta-section śiṭ is used several times. The Vṛtti points out “ūṣmaṇ” is a self-explanatory name, whereas “śiṭ” and “śādi” are contracted terms, apparently without any meaning. But “śiṭ” is formed with the first letter of the series, viz., ś with i (abbreviation of ‘iti’) for ease of utterance and a final ṭ to round it off, “śādi” means the same thing and is found in Sam. in “ha-varjaṃ śādiś ca haṣyate i. 206 etc. Śiṭ is found in the Phiṭ Sūtras in the sense of ‘pronoun’. Cf. svāṅga-śiṭām adantānām PS. ii. 6. Here ‘śiṭ’ evidently stands for ‘siṭ’, formed with the initial s of “sarvanāman.” Hc. uses “śiṭ” in the sense of the spirants.

HN. calls these Harigotras, because Śāmba begins with ś, the first of the ūṣmans.

“The term ūṣman, literally ‘heat, hot vapour steam’, is, in

the grammatical language applied to designate all those sounds which are produced by a rush of unintonated breath through an open position of the mouth organs, or whose utterance has a certain similarity to the escape of steam through a pipe : they are sibilants and aspirations or breathings. In the term *soṣman*, 'aspirated mute,' and in its correlative *anūṣman*, 'unaspirated mute', *ūṣman* is to be understood, not in this specific sense, but in that of 'rush of air, expulsion of unintonated breath.' Whitney on Atharva Veda Pratiśākhya i. 10.

ऋ प्रा । उत्तरेऽष्टावूष्माणः । ... यथा ह श ष स अः क प ।
अ इति । १।१०

अन्तस्थाऽभ्य उत्तरेऽष्टाऊष्माणो वेदितव्याः । उचटः ।

वा प्रा । अथोष्माणः । शिति षिति सिति हिति । ८।१३-१७

The sibilants are known as "mut" in VP. from the *m* of "ūṣman" with "ut" instead of "it", because *m* is a labial. And because the *ūṣmans* begin with *ś*, they are known as *śit* or *śādi* in K. etc.

तै प्रा । परे षडूष्माणः । १।९

अन्तस्थेभ्यः परे ये वर्णाः षट् ते ऊष्मसंज्ञा भवन्ति । यथा क श
ष स प ह इति । माहिषेयः ।

आपिशलि-शिक्षा । शादय ऊष्माणः । ४।७

TP. uses "anūṣmavat" instead of "anūṣman" in "vyut-pūrva ānanudātto" nūṣmavati" iii. 16.

"Soṣmavān" occurs in RP. xi, 25, but the reading is doubtful.

Aghoṣavat is used for aghoṣa in K. i. 5. 9. Some use ghoṣa for ghoṣavat or ghoṣin. Cf. Upalekha Sūtra (i. 7) :

प्रथम-द्वितीया वर्गाणामूष्माणाश्च हकारवर्जमघोषघन्तः ।

का । ऊष्माणः श-ष-स-हाः । १।१।५

शिङिति शादयः । ४।४

हे । अं अः × क (प-श-ष-साः शिट् । १।१।१६

सं । शादि इत्यनेन श-ष-स-हानां ग्रहणम् । १।८३ वृत्तिः ।

प्र । शिट्-संज्ञकाः श-ष-स-हा एत एवोष्मसंज्ञकाः । १।२७

शिट्-संज्ञा-फलं शिट्प्रैऽनादीत्यादौ । उष्मसंज्ञा तु पाणिन्यनु-
रोधात् । प्रभाप्रकाशिका । उष्मसंज्ञाफलं गीतासुबोधिन्याम्—
स्पर्शोष्मभिर्वेद्यमानमिति । फेत्कारिणीतन्त्रे च—

उष्ममुद्धृत्य मीनाक्षि वामकर्णेन्दुभूषितम् ।

वह्निजायां परे दत्त्वा यन्मनुर्विश्वपूजितः ॥

उष्मः श ष स हाः । वामकर्ण ऊकारः । इन्दुरर्धचन्द्रबिन्दुः ।
वह्निजाया स्वाहा । तेन शूँ षूँ सूँ हूँ स्वाहा इति षडक्षरमन्त्र इत्यर्थः ।
गूढप्रकाशिका ।

ह । श-ष-स-हा हरिगोत्राणि । १।२८

ऊष्माणः शिटः शलश्च । वृत्तिः । हरेर्गोत्रम् हरिगोत्रम् । हरि-
गोत्रशब्देन कन्दर्प-साम्बादय उच्यन्ते इति भगवन्नामता । टीका ।

The earlier name for the aspirate was "soṣman".
Mahāprāṇa would appear to have come into use later, the
expression occurring for the first time in the Āpiśali-Sikṣā.

ऋप्रा । युग्मौ सोष्माणौ । १।१३

घाप्रा । द्वितीय-चतुर्थाः सोष्माणः । १।५४

चतुरध्यायिका । द्वितीय-चतुर्थाः सोष्माणः । १।१०

आपिशलिशिक्षा । महति वायौ महाप्राणः । अल्पे वायाघल्प-
प्राणः । स्यात्प्राणमहाप्राणता । महाप्राणत्वादुष्मत्वम् । ८।१३-१९

ऊष्मव्यपेता रहिताश्च वृद्धा

संयोगहीना लघवोऽपि चास्तः ।

श्लोकस्य घर्णा इव विद्विषस्ते

पादान्तमागम्य गुरुभवन्ति ॥

Subhāṣitāvali, 2485.

‘Your enemies, though bereft of all heat, deprived of all prosperity, removed from all contact (with allies) and humble of heart, attain dignity when they crouch at your feet, even as the syllables of a stanza, though there be no anusvāra or the like, no lengthening, no conjunct, though their vowels proper be short, become long by position when they come at the end of a verse (pāda).’

ANUNĀSIKA

“Anunāsika” literally means ‘accompanied by a nose sound, pronounced through the nose’ and, like anu-svāra etc., appears to be a learned scholarly word created by grammarians or phoneticians. The term “anunāsika” is used in the sense of (i) the nasal mutes and anusvāra as also in that of (ii) the nasalization of vowels or semi-vowels. RP. uses the technical term “Rakta” (lit. ‘coloured’, being pronounced through the nose) for “anunāsika”. RT. also uses “Rakta”*

* वेणुव्रीणास्त्राणामेकौभावे रक्तमित्युच्यते । नारदी शिष्या २।१

* Raṅga is used in the śikṣās in the sense of nasalization :

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तक् इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं रक्ताः प्रयोक्तव्याः खे चरा इव खेदया ॥

पाणिनिशिष्या ।

in “ā raktaḥ” 114. J. uses the first nasal *ṇ* as *upalakṣaṇa* for all the five nasals. Hc. uses the word “anunāsika” without defining it. Sam. sometimes uses “vargānta” as in “varge vā tadvargāntaḥ” i. 131 for the nasal mutes and “sānunasika” in the sense of ‘nasalized’. Vopadeva uses the pratyāhara “ñam” for the nasal mutes, but speaks of the two kinds of “yar”—niranunāsika” and “sānunāsika” i.e. non-nasal and nasal semi-vowels. Su. uses “anunāsika” in the sense of ‘nasal’ and in the rule “aṇo’pragṛhyasyānunāsikaḥ” i. 2. 47 the word is used in the sense of ‘nasalized’. HN. calls these “Hariveṇu” or the flute of Hari, because of the nasal sounds of flutes.

It is to be noted that Pāṇini never uses the Pratyāhāra “ñam” in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, but has always recourse to the self-explanatory term “anunāsika.” We are understand his using “anunāsika” in a rule like “upadeśe’j anunāsika it” i. 3. 2 or “aṇo’nunāsikaś chandasi” vi. 1. 126 in the sense of ‘nasalized’, but “ñam” could easily have been used in “cchvoh śūḍ anunāsike ca” vi. 4. 19, “anudāttopadeśa....” vi. 4. 37, “anunāsikasya kvi-jhaloḥ kñiti” vi. 4. 15 etc. “ñam”, however, is found in the Uṇādi-sūtra “ñamantāḍ ḍah” i. 111. It may be noted in this connexion that the Agnipurāṇa does not mention “ñam” in its list of pratyāhāras.

सौराष्ट्रिका गोपवधूः सुकण्ठस्वरेण तक्ताः इति भाषते यथा ।

तथा समुच्चयं वदेत् स्वकालाद् रक्तस्य कम्पः खलु वर्धते सः ॥

पारिशिष्टा-टीका ।

यद्येन्द्रनीलप्रभयाभिभूतौ मुक्तामणिर्याति हि नीलभावम् ।

तथैव नासिक्यगुणेन युक्तः स्वरोऽपि रक्तत्वमुपैपि क्लृप्तः ॥

शिष्ट्या-पाठः ।

In VP. "uttama" is used in the sense of 'anunāsika' e.g. "uttamāntam uttamena" vii. 11. "Uttama" literally means 'highest', 'topmost' and so means 'the last of the series'. Pāṇini uses "uttama" in the sense of 'last' in his rule "uttamaikābhyāñ ca" v. 4. 90 and "upottama"* in the sense of 'last but one' in "añiñor anārṣayor gurūpottamayoh syañ gotre" iv. 1. 78, "yopadhād gurūpottamād vuñ" v. I. 132 etc. Hc. cannot use "uttama" for the nasal as the term is reserved for the first person. Daṇḍin in his Kavyādarśa uses "nāsikya" for nasal.*

"Nāsikya" appears to occur for the first time in CU. i. 2. 2 "te ha nāsikyam prāṇam udgītham upāsāñcakrire" where "nāsikya" evidently means 'being in, or coming from, the nose'. So it must have meant first any nasal sound. Probably it is used in this sense in the Mahābhāṣya (nāsikyo varṇaḥ vi. 1. 63). Next it came to be used in opposition to "anunāsika" and was restricted to the nasal glide or the transition sound between *h* and a nasal (represented by *hum* because of its connexion with *h* and nasal), the Yamas and Anusvāra. It is used in this sense in :

शेष श्रोष्ठ्योऽपवाद्य नासिक्यान् । ऋ प्रा १।४७

नासिक्यानां नासिका । चतुरध्यायिका १।२६

नासिक्ये नासिकास्थानं तथानुस्वार उच्यते ।

यमा वर्गोत्तिमाश्चापि यथोक्तं चैव ते मताः ॥ टीका

* RP. uses "uttama" and "upottama" in exactly the same senses.

* नासिक्यमध्या परितस्तुवर्णवि श्रुतिः ।

असि काचित् पुरी यस्यामऽवर्णोद्भवा नृपाः ॥ १।११४

(क् षा ज् च् ङ् । प् छ ण् ङ् र् ष क् ष ।)

Next it was further restricted to the nasal glide from *h* to a nasal and it is this sense that the word is generally used in the Prātiśākhya.

नासिक्ययमानुस्वारान् । ऋप्रा १।४८

समानस्थानकरणा नासिक्योष्ठ्याः । वा प्रा १।८० (नासिका-
मूलेन यमाः । जिह्वामूलीयानुस्वारा हनुमूलेन । १।८२-८३, अनुनासि-
काश्चोत्तमाः । १।८९) ।

“What the sound may be which is thus taught to form the step of transition from the aspiration to a following nasal, it is hard to say with confidence. I can only conjecture it to be a brief expulsion of surd breath through the nose, as continuation of the *h*, before the expulsion of the sonant breath which constitutes the nasal. The pure aspiration *h* is a corresponding surd to all the sonant vowels, semi-vowels, and nasals of the alphabet : that is to say, it is produced by an expulsion of breath through the mouth organs in any of the positions in which those letters are uttered ; it has no distinctive position of its own, but is determined in its mode of pronunciation by the letter with which it is most nearly connected. Thus the *h*'s of *ha*, of *hi*, of *hu*, and those heard before the semi-vowels *w* and *y* in the English words *when* and *hue*, for instance, are all different in position, corresponding in each case with the following vowel or semi-vowel. *H* is usually initial in a word or syllable, and is governed by the letter which succeeds, and not by that which precedes it : but where it occurs before another consonant in the middle of a word—which is always its position in the Vedas before a nasal—the question may arise whether it shall adopt the

mode of utterance of the letter before or after it : whether in *brahma*, for example, we divide, *brahoma*, and pronounce the *h* in the position of the *a*, or *braohma*, and in the position of the *m*, through the nose. According to the Hindu method of syllabication, the former is the proper division, and the Hindu phonetists doubtless, regarded the *h* as belonging with and uttered like the *a*; and noticing at the same time the utterance, scarcely to be avoided, of at least a part of the *h* in the position of the *m*, they took account of it as a separate element, and called it *nāsikya*." Whitney under CA. i. 100.

ऋ प्रा । अनुनासिकोऽन्त्यः १११४, रक्त-संज्ञोऽनुनासिक । ११३६

वा प्रा । मुखनासिकाकरणोऽनुनासिकः । ११७५

तैप्रा । अनुस्वारोत्तमा अनुनासिकाः । २१३०

चतुरध्यायिका । उत्तमा अनुनासिकाः । ११११

ऋत । हुं इत्यनुनासिकः । ११२

पा । मुख-नासिका-वचनोऽनुनासिकः । १११८

आपिशलिशिक्षा । अ-म-ण-ङ-ना स्वस्थानाः नासिकास्थानाश्च ११२४

का । अनुनासिका ङ-अ ण-न-माः । ११११३

अनु पश्चात् नासिकास्थानम् उच्चारणम् एषाम् इत्यनुनासिकाः ।

अनु पश्चात् नासिकायोगाद् वा अनुनासिकाः । अनुग्रहणम् उभय-वचनप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम्—मुखवचना नासिषचनाश्चेति । टीका । पूर्व-मुखस्थानम् उच्चारणं पश्चान्नासिका-स्थानम् । पञ्जी ।

जै । नासिक्यो ङः । १११७

नासिकायां भवो वर्णो ङ-संज्ञो भवति । अ-म-ङ-ण-नाः । लघुवृत्तिः ।

सु । अं ङमोऽनुनासिकाः । १११४

प्र । पञ्चमा अनुनासिका ङ-ञ-ण-न-माः । ११२५

ह । ङ-ञ-ण-न-माः हरिवेणवः । ११२५

AYOGAVĀHA.

The word "Ayogavāha" does not occur in the earliest *Prātisākhya*s. It is not found in Pāṇini, but occurs in several later systems of grammar. The term is explained to mean "sounds) which occur (in the actual language) without being given (by grammarians) together with (the other letters of the alphabet), a term for Anusvāra, Visarjanīya, Upaḍhmānīya, Jihvāmūlīya and the Yamas." (M.W.).

"Yoga" is used in grammatical literature in the sense of 'rule'. Cf. "Yoga-vibhāga", "na hyekam udāharaṇaṃ yogārambham prayojayati" etc., etc. The "Ayogavāhas" are not read in the *Śivasūtras* nor in the *Varṇa-samāmnāya* of other schools, hence the name. Uvaṭa appears to think that these can only be pronounced with the help of "a" etc., hence they are called "a-yogavaha" :

अकारादिना वर्णसमाम्नायेन सहिताः सन्त एते ब्रह्मन्ति आत्म-
लाभं प्राप्नुवन्ति अयोगवाहाः । वा प्रा । ८१।८ भाष्य ।

The sense of the word was forgotten in later times and so "Yogavāha" came to be used instead. Even in VP. viii. 18 the commentator Ananta Bhaṭṭa reads "yoga-vāha" instead of "ayoga-vāha."

The Mahābhāṣya (ed. Kielhorn, vol. I, p. 28) explains the term thus :

इमेऽयोगवाहा न कचिदुपदिश्यन्ते, श्रूयन्ते च । तेषां कार्यार्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । के पुनरयोगवाहाः ? विसर्जनीय-जिह्वामूलीयोप-
ध्मानीयानुस्वारनासिक्ययमाः । कथंपुनरयोगवाहाः ? यद्युक्ता
वहन्ति, अनुपदिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते । (अयुक्ता इत्यस्यैव हेतुकथनम्—
अनुपदिष्टाश्चेति । अयुक्ताः प्रत्याहारलक्षणेन, पाठाभाषादसम्बद्धा
इत्यर्थः । उपदेशो द्विविधः—पाठः, ग्रहणकशास्त्रेण प्रत्यायनं च ।
स द्विविधोऽप्येषां नास्त्यर्थः । चशब्दो हेतौ । यतोऽनुपदिष्टा-
स्ततोऽयुक्ता इत्यर्थः । क्वचित्तु च-शब्दो न पठ्यते । कैयटः ।
एवञ्चाक्षरसमानायेऽयुक्ताः सन्तो वहन्ति प्रयोगं निर्वाहयन्तीत्ययोग-
वाहशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिर्दर्शिता । उद्द्योतः) ।

Kātyāyana uses Ayogavāha in the Vārttika :

अयोगवाहानामट्सु णत्वम् । शि० सू० ५।६

Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabda-Kaustabha :

अविद्यमानः योगः प्रत्याहारिषु सम्बन्धः येषां ते अयोगाः, अनुप-
दिष्टत्वाद् उपदिष्टैरगृहीतत्वाच्च प्रत्याहारसम्बन्धशून्या इत्यर्थः ।
वाहयन्ति निर्वाहयन्ति प्रयोगमिति वाहाः । अयोगाश्च ते वाहाश्च
इति कर्मधारयः । अनुपदिष्टत्वे उपदिष्टैरगृहीतत्वे च सति श्रूयमाणा
इत्यर्थः ।

The Kātantra does not use the word “ayogavāha,” but its commentator Durga says under i. 1. 19.:

घर्णसमाम्नाये क्रमपरिपठितयोरनुस्वारविसर्जनीययोर्व्यस्तसंज्ञा-
धिधानम् आभ्यां सह स्वरव्यञ्जनयोरभिन्नसन्निकृष्टत्वाधिर्भाषार्थम् ।
एवं सत्यमीदृह योगवाहा एवोच्यन्ते । प्रत्याहार-वादिनः पुनराहुः

—अयोगवाहा इति । कथं पुनरयोगवाहाः ? अयुक्ता वहन्त्यनुप-
दिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते ।

The commentary known as Kaviṛāja says :

स्वरव्यञ्जनत्वाभ्यां युक्ताः सम्बद्धा वहन्तीत्यथः । श्रोपतिस्तु
केवलानामनुच्चार्यत्वाद् घर्णान्तरयोगं वहन्तीति योगवाहाः । कुल-
चन्द्रस्तु संज्ञात्वेन स्वरव्यञ्जनयोर्योगं सम्बन्धं वहन्तीति ।

The Vṛtti-traya-vārttika, a work of the Kātantra school
existing only in MS., says :

स्वरव्यञ्जनौ अं अः × क (पौ तन्मध्यगौ स्मृतौ ।

स्वरव्यञ्जनवत्त्वाच्च कृतौ × क (पौ परं नयेत् ॥

योगवाहा विनिर्दिष्टा अत एव मनीषिभिः ।

यतो युक्ता च सम्बद्धा संज्ञा-त्रितयवाहिनी ॥

In the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā these are known as “Ayogavāha” :

उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके ।

अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥

(न विद्यते योगः संयोगो वर्णान्तरेण येषां ते अयोगवाहाः ।
अन्ये तु यमानप्ययोगवाहान् मन्यन्ते । तेषां मतेनायोगवाहशब्दः
प्रत्यस्तमितावयवो रुढिशब्दोऽश्वकर्णवद् वेदितव्यः । पञ्जिका ।)

In the Varṇa-pradipa-śikṣā Amareśa calls them
“samayogavāha” :

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च नासिक्योऽथ यमस्तथा ।

जिह्वामूलमुपध्मा च नवैते स्युः पराश्रयाः ॥

संयोगवाहा एवैते निजस्वर-विधर्जिता ।

पूर्वस्याङ्गं भवन्त्येते स्वरा एतेषु पूर्वघत् ॥

Śrīpatidatta says in his Kātantra-Parīṣiṣṭa :

उक्तं हि व्यञ्जनता स्वरसन्धौ स्वरता णत्वविधौ योगवाहानाम् ।
 ×क(पोः परगमनार्थं व्यञ्जनतेष्टानुशिष्टिकृतः । केवलानामनु-
 च्चारणाद् वर्णान्तरयोगं वहन्तीति योगवाहा अनुस्वारादयः । १।८९

The commentator explains :

योगं वहन्तीति कर्मण्यम् । योगो हि नियतयोग इत्युच्यते ।
 अथाचोक्तम्—

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च द्वावेतौ पूर्वसंश्रयौ ।

जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ परयोगोवहावम् ॥

इति । कुलचन्द्रस्तिवह व्याकरणे संज्ञात्वेन स्वरव्यञ्जनयोर्योगं सम्बन्धं
 वहन्ति, तेन स्वरकार्ये स्वरा व्यञ्जनकार्ये व्यञ्जनान्येवोच्यन्ते, एतेन
 टीकाकारहृदयं वर्णयाम्बभूव । प्रत्याहारवादिनः पुनः प्रत्याहारे-
 ष्वनुक्तत्वात् न स्वरव्यञ्जनाभ्यां युक्ता वहन्तीति अयोगवाहा एवा-
 नुस्वारादय इति ।

Neither “yogavāha” nor “ayogavāha” occurs in RP. or
 TP. In VP. we find the “ayogavāhas” clearly enumerated at
 the end :

अथायोगवाहा ×क इति जिह्वामूलीयः । (प इत्युपध्मानीयः ।
 अँ इत्यनुस्वारः । अः इति विसर्जनीयः । हुँ इति नासिक्यः ।
 कूँ खूँ गुँ बूँ इति यमाः । ८।२४

Under “urahkeṇa bṛmhaṇam tṛmhaṇam iti svara-
 dharmatvād visargānusvārayoh” Saṃkṣiptasāravṛtti i. 298,
 Goyīcandra quotes :

विसर्गानुस्वारजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्चत्वारोऽमी योगवाहाः ।
 स्वरधर्माः ।

The introduction to the Rktaṅtra enumerates the vowels and consonants and then says :

इति योगवाहाः । अथायोगवाहाः । अः इति विसर्जनीयः ।
 (क इति जिह्वामूलीयः । (इत्युपध्मानीयः । हुं इति नासिक्यः ।
 अथ यमाः । कुं इति खुं इति गुं इति घुं इति यमाः...
 अथानुस्वारौ अं आं इत्यनुस्वारौ ।

ANUSVĀRA.

Pāṇini uses “Anusvāra” without defining or describing it. The word literally means ‘after-sound’, and appears to have been specially coined by grammarians for their own purposes. Lexicons do not know any use of the word anterior to the Śrauta Sūtras.* The Atharva-veda Prātiśākhya do not mention “anusvāra”, though CA. distinctly describes the same phenomenon which is specified by other grammarians with the name of “Anusvāra” (Varma) and it is included in the term “Anu-nāsika.” The other Prātiśākhya and the later systems of grammar generally use the word. Mu., with its craze for monosyllabic technical terms, calls it by its second syllable “nu”, and HN. calls it “Viṣṇucakra” from its appearance. Some grammarians call it “Bindu” also. (mo bindur avasāne vā iti Govinda Bhaṭṭaḥ—Rāma Tarkavāgīśa’s commentary on Mu.; ‘no’ntaś cāchor bindu-

* तस्यान्नापत्तिः । स्वर्शेषु स्ववर्ग्यमुत्तमम् । अन्तस्थासु तां तामनुनासिकाम् । रिकीष-
 खनुस्वारम् । आश्रयायन १।२।१६-१८

Anu-sv is used in JUB. iv. 8. 3. 2 :

दिङ्गाराद गकारमीकारेण वाचमनुस्वरन्ताः ।

pūrvam śam taṭhoḥ śam tathostu sam" PR. i. 99). It appears from HN. that it is also called "Lava" (lit. 'a point', Cf. Gk. *iota*) in some grammars. J. uses "an" for 'anusvāra.' Thus J. has "nugmo'n" v. 4. 11, for Pāṇini's "mo'nusvāraḥ" viii. 3.23. Su. also represents anusvāra by "an" in i. 1. 14; later on it uses the word "Anusvāra".

Now as regards the nature of "Anusvāra," three distinct views have been held by phoneticians :—

(i) "Anusvāra" is merely a nasalized vowel. This is the view of CA. which, however, does not use the term anusvāra but speaks of Anunāsika or Nāsikya. "The Prātiśākhya of the AV. recognizes this nasal vowel, called anunāsika, 'accompanied by a nasal', alone, ignoring Anusvāra, which with the preceding vowel, represents two distinct successive sounds." Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* p. 53. Thus according to "nakārasya ca" CA. ii. 34 in the interior of a word *n* is elided before spirants, and according to "nakāra-makāryor lope pūrvasyānunāsikaḥ" i. 67, the preceding vowel is nasalized. So for "sarāṃsi" CA. will have "sarāsi". TP. identifies anusvāra with anunāsika in v. 31, x. 11; xv. 1, xxii. 14.

(ii) According to the second view represented by RP., anusvāra is either a vowel or a consonant (anusvāro vyañjanam vā svarō vā RP. i. 5). Similarly the commentators of Pāṇini hold that Anusvāra, Visarjaniya, Jihvāmuliya upadhmāniya and Yamas are to be regarded as having been read after "a" and also included in "śar" (anusvāra-visarga-jihvāmūliyopadhmāniyayamānām akāropari śarṣu ca pāṭhasyopasamkhyātātvena) and consequently they are both vowels and consonants. When

Uvaṭa says in his commentary on RP. : 'tasmāt svara-vyañjana-vyatiriktam anyad varṇāntaram etad ity etat-khyāpana-param evaitat sūtram,' he merely means that just as Nṛsiṃha is neither man nor lion, but partakes of the nature of both, so anusvāra is neither vowel nor consonant but partakes of the nature of both.

(iii) The third view which is expounded by the Vaidikābharṇa. Yājuṣabhūṣaṇa etc. holds that the anusvāra is merely a consonant and consists of half "g". Thus the Vaidikābharṇa says under TP. ii. 30 :

अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं वा स्वरः वा [ऋग्रा १।१] इति परमतम् ।
तन्निरासार्थमुच्यते । अनुस्वारोऽप्युत्तमवद् व्यञ्जनमेवास्मच्छाखायाम्,
अर्धगकाररूपत्वात् ।

The Pāriśikṣā says :

यजुष्यनुस्वार इहापि यत्र भवेत् तदाद्यर्धगकारयुक्तः ।

The Yājuṣabhūṣaṇa says :

...अनुस्वर्यते पश्चार्धे स्वरवदुच्चार्यते इत्यनुस्वारः ।

(Quoted by Varma, p. 151).

For greater details and bibliography, see Varma, *Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, Chap. IX and Surya Kanta, *Ṛktaṇtra* notes pp. 4-5.

"That the anusvāra in OIA. was not a mere nasalization, but a nasal continuation of, or a nasal glide following a pure vowel is borne out by MIA. and also by the traditional pronunciations of Sanskrit in different parts of India, which has altered of OIA. to a definite nasal [ŋ, n. w]". S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 244.

The modern Bengali pronunciation of anusvāra is merely a development of the pronunciation described in (iii)—a nasal “g” naturally becomes ñ. Cf. Mahābhāṣya :

यथा तृतीयास्तथा पञ्चमा आनुनासिक्यवर्जम् । आनुनासिक्यं
तेषामधिको गुणः । १।१।९

ऋ प्रा । अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं वा स्वारो वा । १।५, अनुस्वारो
व्यञ्जनं चाक्षराङ्गम् । स्वरान्तरे व्यञ्जनान्युत्तरस्य । पूर्वस्यानुस्वार-
विसर्जनीयौ । १।२२-२४, (विसर्जनीयानुस्वारौ भजेते पूर्वमक्षरम् ।
१।८।३४) स्वरानुस्वारोष्मणामस्पृष्टं स्थितम् । १३।११

ह्रस्वामर्धस्वरभक्त्या समाप्तमनुस्वारस्योपधामाहुरेके ।

अनुस्वारं तावतैवाधिकं च ह्रस्वोपधं दीर्घपूर्वं तदूनम् ॥ १३।३२-३३

अनन्तस्थं तमनुस्वारमाहुः । व्याब्धिर्नासिक्यमनुनासिकं वा ।
१३।३६-३७

तै प्रा । अनुस्वारोत्तमा अनुनासिकाः । २।३०, तीव्रतरमानु-
नासिक्यमनुस्वारोत्तमेष्विति शैत्यायनः । समं सर्वत्रेति कौहली-
पुत्रः । अनुस्वारेऽण्विति भारद्वाजः । १७।१-३

घा प्रा । अं इत्यनुस्वारः । ८।२१, अनुस्वारो ह्रस्वपूर्वोऽध्यर्ध-
मात्रा पूर्वा चार्धमात्रेति । ४।१५०

ऋत । अथानुस्वारौ ।* अं अं इत्यनुस्वारौ ।

* Here the dual stands for short and long “anusvāra”.

There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to the quantity of the anusvāra. Acc. to TP. i. 34 it has the quantity of a short vowel. Acc. to VP. iv. 150-151, an anusvāra preceded by a short vowel consists of a mora and a half, when preceded by a long vowel, it consists of half a mora. Regarding the anusvāra before ś.

का । अं इत्यनुस्वारः । १।१।१९

अकार इहोच्चारणार्थः इति बिन्दुमात्रो वर्णोऽनुस्वार-संज्ञो भवति ।
वृत्तिः । अनुस्वर्यते संलीनं शब्धते इत्यनुस्वारः । दुर्गटीका ।
अनुशब्दः संश्लेषे । पूर्ववर्णेन संश्लिष्टिर्यथा स्यात् तथा उच्चार्यते ।
कधिराजः ।

हे । अं अः अनुस्वारविसर्गौ । १।१।२०

अकाराबुच्चारणार्थौ । अं इति नासिक्यो वर्णः । वृत्तिः ।

मु । अं अः नुवो । १२

अकार उच्चारणार्थः, बिन्दुद्विबिन्दुमात्रौ वर्णौ क्रमानुविसंज्ञौ
स्तः । वृत्तिः ।

प्र । एको बिन्दुरनुस्वारस्तिलवद् वार्धचन्द्रवत् । १।२८

अनु पश्चाद् वर्णान्तरानन्तरं स्वर्यते उच्चार्यतेऽसाविति.....
अनुस्वारः । प्रभाप्रकाशिका । एक इति बिन्दुविशेषणम्, तेन एको
बिन्दुरनुस्वारः स्यादिति केचित् । तन्न, एक इत्यस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तेः ।
किन्तु एको मुख्यः प्रसिद्धो वर्णो बिन्दुः बिन्दुसंज्ञः, अनुस्वारः
अनुस्वार-संज्ञः स्यात् इत्यर्थः ।...तिलवदित्यागमातिरिक्तशास्त्रेषु अर्ध-
चन्द्रवदित्यागमशास्त्रे ।

ह । अं इति विष्णुचक्रम् । १।१४

अकार उच्चारणार्थः, बिन्दुस्वरूपो वर्णो विष्णुचक्रनामा ।
अनुस्वारो बिन्दुर्लवश्च ।

ṣ, ś, ḥ and ṛ the Prātiśākhya-Pradipa-Śikṣā quotes from Kātyāyana Śikṣā :

अनुस्वारस्य एकार आदेशश्चन्द्रसि श्रुतः ।

ऊष्मरेफेषु परतस्तस्य त्रैविध्यमिष्यते ॥

ऋस्वाद्दीर्घो दीर्घाङ्गुली गुरी च परतो गुरुः ।

अकारपर ऊष्मानो दीर्घाद्दीर्घोऽपि जायते ॥

अनुस्वारो नमस्यैव (?) यावत् तद्देशयोगतः ।

मृद्धिं सङ्गं लभेत् (?) तावन्नेक्षते पुरतः स्वरम् ॥

सारस्वतटीका

VISARJANĪYA.

“Visarjanīya” means literally ‘concerned with the letting out (of the breath)’ and is, like anusvāra etc., confined to grammatical literature. The earlier name seems to have been “abhiniṣṭāna” as would appear from “visarjanīyo’bhiniṣṭānaḥ”. CA. i. 42 and from Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra i. 13. 5 : “Nāma dadyur ghoṣa-vad ādyantar-antastham abhiniṣṭānāntaṁ dvyakṣaraṁ catur-akṣaraṁ vā”. Pāṇini says : “abhinisastanaḥ śabda-saṁjñyām” viii. 3. 86 and his commentators explain “abhiniṣṭāna” as “visarjanīya”. Normally ‘visarjanīya’ should have been found in the Prātiśākhya and Kātantra and ‘visarga’ in Pāṇini. This is, however, not the case. “Visarga” is a very late word and does not occur in the Prātiśākhya, Pāṇini and Kātantra. Hemacandra appears to be the first to use “Visarga,” and Kramadīśvara and others follow him. Padmanābha uses both “visarjanīya” and “visarga.” Thus we find “rusoḥ padānte visarjanīyah” i. 3. 1 where the Vṛtti has “visarga”—padānte ro rephasya sakārasya ca visargo bhavati” and “ickuro num-visarga-vyavāye’pi” i. 4. 1. J. simplifies matters by using the symbol “aḥ” for “visarjanīya”. Thus for “khar-avasānayoḥ visarjanīyah” vii. 3. 15, J. has “ante’ḥ” v. 4. 21. Mu. uses the first syllable “vi” for “visarjanīya” and H.N. calls it “Viṣṇusarga” (adding “ṣṇu” after the first syllable of “visarga”), just as it uses “Viṣṇubhakti” for “vibhakti”.

In “visarjanīya” it was thought that the suffix -anīyar had been added in the karmavācya, so “visarga” was formed with ghañ in the karmavācya and two syllable were saved. K. uses “visr̥ṣṭa” for ‘visarga’ in “ra-sakārayor visr̥ṣṭaḥ” iv. 4. 2 for the same reason. The corresponding rule in the nāma-section is “repha-sor visarjanīyaḥ” ii. 3. 63.

“It is called visarjanīya either from its liability to be ‘rejected’, or from its being pronounced with full ‘emission’ of breath, or from its usually appearing at the ‘end’ of a word or sentence”, says Monier Williams in his Dictionary. Of these the second explanation appears to be the correct one.

“There are three **voiceless spirants** appearing only as finals. The usual one, called Visarjanīya in the Prātiśākhya, is according to the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya articulated in the same place as the end of the preceding vowels [pūrvānta-sasthāno visarjanīyaḥ TP. ii. 48]. Its place may be taken by Jihvāmuliya before the voiceless initial gutturals **k, kh**; and by Upadhmānīya before the voiceless initial labials **p, ph**. These two are regarded by the RV. Prātiśākhya as forming the second half of the voiceless aspirates **kh** and **ph** respectively [“soṣmatām ca soṣmaṇām ūṣmaṇāhuḥ sasthānena” RP. xiii. 16], (just as **h** forms the second half of **gh, bh** etc.) [“ghoṣiṇām ghoṣiṇaiva” RP. xiii. 17]. They are therefore the guttural spirant (Greek) **x** and the bilabial spirant **f** respectively.” Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 18.

In Sanskrit works Visarjanīya is described thus :

शृङ्गवद् बालवत्सस्य कुमार्याः स्तनयुग्मवत् ।
नेत्रवत् कृष्णसर्पस्य स विसर्ग इति स्मृतः ॥

वा प्रा । अः इति विसर्जनीयः । ८।२२

ऋ त । अः इति विसर्जनीयः । १।२

का । अः इति विसर्जनीयः । १।१६

अकार इहोच्चारणार्थः । ० इति कुमारीस्तनयुगाकृतिर्वर्णो
विसर्जनीयसंज्ञो भवति । वृत्तिः ।

हे । अं अः अनुस्वार-विसर्गौ । १।१।९

विसृज्यते विरम्यते घञि विसर्गः । कर्मप्रत्ययोपलक्षणं चेदम् ।
तेन विसृष्टो विसर्जनीय इत्यपि संज्ञाद्वयं द्रष्टव्यम् । लघुन्यासः ।

मु । अं अः नुवो । १९

प्र । ऊर्ध्वाधःस्थं बिन्दुयुग्मं विसर्ग इति गीयते । १।२९
इतेराद्यर्थत्वाद् विसर्जनीयो विसृष्टश्च गीयते । वृत्तिः । वि
सृजिरविसर्गं । विसृज्यते विरम्यतेऽत्रेति, उत्पाद्यते सकारादाविति
वा ।...कर्मणि के विसृष्टश्च । प्रभाप्रकाशिका ।

ह । अः इति विष्णुसर्गः । १।१६

बिन्दुद्वयाकारो वर्णो विष्णुसर्गनामा । विसर्गो विसर्जनीयः
विसृष्टोऽभिनिष्ठानश्च । वृत्तिः । सर्गं सृष्टिः । विष्णोः सर्गं विष्णुसर्गं
इति विष्णुसर्गशब्दस्यार्थः । ब्रह्मलोकोपरि वैकुण्ठ-ध्रुवलोकयोर्बिन्दु-
द्वयाकारत्वेन विष्णुसर्गस्य प्रसिद्धिः । टीका ।

According to many commentators Śrīharṣa refers to the
Visarjanīya in the following stanza of the Nāiṣadha (x. 87) :

द्विकुण्डली वृत्तसमाप्तलिप्याः

कराङ्गुली काञ्चनलेखनीनाम् ।

कैश्यं मसीनां स्मितभाः कठिन्याः

काये यदीये निरमायि सारैः ॥

'On whose body was formed the pair of ear-rings with
the best portion of the circular terminal script (i.e. the

visarjanīya), the fingers of whose hands with the best of golden pens, the tresses of whose hair with the essence of ink and the sheen of whose smile with the best of chalks.'

Anusvāra and visarjanīya are referred to in the following well-known stanza :

बिन्दुद्वन्द्वतरङ्गिताग्रसरणिः कर्ता शिरोबिन्दुकं
कर्मैत्यन्वयकल्पनं विदधते ये केऽपि तेभ्यो नमः ।
ये तु ग्रन्थसहस्रशाणकषणबुद्ध्यत्कलङ्कैर्गिरा-
मुल्लासैः कषयन्ति विद्वानकविस्तेष्वेव सन्नह्यते ॥

'I bow to those who construe sentences by regarding that which has its forward path undulated by a couple of dots as the subject and that which has a dot on its head as the object. Bilhaṇa Kavi arms himself against those alone who compose poems with flow of diction from which all alloy has been removed by rubbing in the touchstone of thousands of books.'

JIHVĀMŪLĪYA.

"Jihvāmūlīya" literally means 'belonging or pertaining to *i.e.* formed at or uttered from the root of the tongue'. The word "Jihvāmūlīya" occurs as early as the Atharva Veda (i. 34. 2), but as a technical term "Jihvāmūlīya" is found in grammatical literature only. Pāṇini makes special provision for the derivation of the word in his rule "Jihvāmūlāṅguḷeś chaḥ" iv. 3. 62, 'the suffix cha (īya) is added to *jihvāmūlu* and *aṅguḷi* in the sense of '*tatra bhavaḥ*'. The word in its narrower sense of the peculiar pronunciation of the visarjanīya before *k* and *kh* is not found in RP., but the sonants *r*, *l* and

the sixth of the Ūṣman letters or spirants as well as the first varga are described there as Jihvāmūlīya, *i.e.* formed at the root of the tongue : “ṛkāra-lkāṛāv atha saṣṭha ūṣmā jihvāmūlīyāḥ prathamāś ca vargaḥ” i. 41. The commentary on CA. i. 20 “jihvāmūlīyānām hanumūlam” also mentions the same sounds as Jihvāmūlīya. TP. mentions “jihvāmūlīya” in its specialised sense in the rule :

न विसर्जनीय-जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वारनासिक्यानाम् ।

१।१८

(जिह्वामूलीयं जिह्वामूलेन जन्यत्वात् । उपध्मानीयः उपध्मानेन जन्यत्वात् । वैदिकाभरणम् ।)

VP. frames the rule “ṛ-kau jihvāmūle” i. 65 excluding ṛ from the list and states the sthāna to be Jihvāmūla or the base of the tongue. In i. 83 “jihvāmūlīyānusvārā hanumūlena” the karaṇa is stated to be the base of the jaws. TP. reverses the sthāna and karaṇa and says : “Hanu-mūle jihvāmūlena ka-varge sparśayati” ii. 35 and “sparśasthāneṣūṣmāṇa ānupūrvyeṇa” ii. 44. Whitney points out that CA. nowhere mentions Jihvāmūlīya and Upadhmānīya, but they are implied in the rule “visarjanīyasya para-sasthāno’ghoṣe” ii. 40.

According to RP. ii. 33 Visarjanīya optionally remains unaltered before guttural and labial sounds : “prathamot-tama-vargīye sparśe vā”. From TP. ix. 4 we learn that Āgniveśya and Vālmiki did not accept the change of visarjanīya into jihvāmūlīya.

Vopadeva calls the jihvāmūlīya “mū” from its middle syllable.

UPADHMĀNĪYA.

“Upadhmānīya” appears to be formed from “upadhmāna,” ‘breathing or blowing upon,’ and literally means ‘on-breathing’, and is, like similar other words, confined to grammatical literature. It is the bilabial spirant produced by the sound of the Visarjanīya before *p* or *ph*. The word does not occur in RP. or the Prātiśākhya belonging to the Atharva Veda. This is first found in TP. and VP. The Kātantra school also uses the term, and so does RT. Pāṇini does not use “jihvāmūliya”, or “upadhmānīya”, but uses the symbol \smile “ardha-visarga” in his rule; kupvo \smile k \smile pau ca” viii. 3. 3. 7, though he uses “anusvāra” and “visarjanīya” each time. C., J. and Śāk. follow Pāṇini,. Hc. and PR. follow K. Krama-diśvara, as usual, uses “jihvāmūliya” and “upadhmānīya” without defining them in his rules : “jihvāmūliyopadhmānīyau” i. 217 and “pa-phayor upadhmānīyah” i. 378, and the commentator says under ka-khayor jihvamūliyo vā visargaḥ ii. 376 :

अनुस्वारानुनासिकसंज्ञावज् जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयसंज्ञापि लोक-
प्रसिद्ध्या ज्ञातव्या ।

Vopadeva calls “upadhmānīya” “nī” from the penultimate syllable, and describes, after Hc., Jihvāmūliya as “vajrākṛti and Upadhmānīya as “gaja-kumbhākṛti”. Su, evidently reads “upādhmānīya” for “upadhmānīya” in its Vṛtti on i. 1. 15. The author himself explains the word thus in the Pañjikā :

उप-आ-पूर्वकध्माधातोऽनन्तस्य रूपम् । उपाध्माने भवः ।
गहादित्वात् [५।३।१८] ईयः । उपाध्वानीय इति वकारसंयोगो यदि
तदा ध्वनधातोर्ध्वणन्तादीयः ।

वा प्रा । ॐ प इत्युपध्मानीयः* । ८।२०

का । × क इति जिह्वामूलीयः । ॐ प इत्युपध्मानीयः ।

१।१।१७-१८

ककार इहोच्चारणार्थः । × इति वज्रकृतिर्वर्णो जिह्वामूलीयसंज्ञो भवति । पकार इहोच्चारणार्थः । ॐ इति गजकुम्भाकृतिर्वर्ण उपध्मानीयसंज्ञो भवति । वृत्तिः । उपपूर्वात् ध्मा शब्दाशिसंयोगयोः इति धातोः कर्मन्त्यनीयप्रत्ययः—उप समीपे ध्यायते शब्दते इति । पञ्जी ! यद्यपि अन्योऽपि उप समीपे ध्यायते तथापि रूढिवशादस्यैव प्रतीतिरिति । समीप इति पफयोरिति विशेषः । कविराजः ।

हे । अ' अः × क ॐ प श ष सः शिद् । १।१।१६

अनुस्वारो विसर्गो वज्राकृतिर्गजकुम्भाकृतिश्च वर्णः शषसाश्च शिद् संज्ञका भवन्ति । अकार-वकार-पकारा उच्चारणार्थाः । बहुवचनं वर्णेष्वपठितयोरपि × क ॐ पयोवर्णत्वार्थम् । बृहद्वृत्तिः । शिद्-धुद्-शब्दयोर्विषयनामत्वात् पुंस्त्वम् × क ॐ पयोर्देशकाललिपिभेदेऽपि रूपाभेदाद् दृष्टान्तमाह—वज्राकृतिरिति । वज्रस्यैवाकृतिर्यस्य स तथा । गजकुम्भयोरिवाकृतिर्यस्य सोऽपि तथा । ककारपकारौ चानयोः परदेशस्थानुच्चार्येते । सर्वत्र परसम्बद्धावेवैतौ भवतो न स्वतन्त्रौ, नापि पूर्ववम्बद्धावनुस्वारवदिति । रेफादेशत्वात् कखपफ-सन्निधावेव तयोः प्रयोगादल्पविषयत्वम् । अत एव सत्यपि सामानाधिकरण्येऽल्पीयस्त्वज्ञापनाय शिडित्येकवचनेन निर्देशः कृतः । अथ कथमनयोर्वर्णत्वम्, वर्णसमाम्नाये पाठाभावात् । सत्यम्, रेफस्य वर्णत्वात् तयोश्च रेफादेशत्वाद् वर्णत्वसिद्धिः । न च वर्णादेशत्वेन लोपस्यापि वर्णत्वमाशङ्कनीयम्, तस्याभावरूपत्वात् । न चाभाषो

* In "uvopopadhmā oṣṭhe" i. 70 "upadhmā" is used for "upadhmānīya".

भावस्याश्रयो भवितुमर्हति, अतिप्रसङ्गात् । अयमेवार्थो बहुवचनेन सूच्यते, अनुवादकत्वेन तस्य साधकत्वाभावात् इत्याह—बहुवचनमिति । ननु ×क—पयोर्व्यञ्जनसंज्ञापि पूर्वेषामस्ति, तत् कथं तैः सह न विरोधः ? उच्यते । रेफस्थानित्वेन व्यञ्जनसंज्ञापीति न विरोधः ।

प्र । [शिटोऽनादिकखोर्जिह्वामूलीयः स्याद् विभाषया । १।१२३ ।] उदुखलाकृतिर्वज्राकृतिर्वायं निगद्यते । वृत्तिः । [शिटोऽनादिपफोर्वा स्यादुपध्मानीयसंज्ञकः । १।१२४] स चाशीत्यङ्गवत् गजकुम्भवद् वा ।

मु । ×क — पौ मून्यौ । २०

जिह्वामूल उच्चार्यतेऽसौ जिह्वामूलीयः । उपाध्मानीयस्योच्चारणस्थानमोष्ठः । सर्पश्वासवदुच्चारणम् ।

“नुवी पूर्वेण सम्बद्धौ मुन्यौ तु परगामिनौ ।

चत्वारोऽयोगवाहाख्याः णत्वकर्मण्यचो मताः ।

अचः स्वयं विराजन्ते हसस्तु परमाश्रयेत् ॥”

दुर्गादासः ।

‘The lip is the organ of pronunciation of the Upadhmānīya, and the pronunciation is like the breath of the serpent. Anusvāra and Visarjanīya are connected with the preceding letter and Jihvāmūliya and Upadhmānīya with the following. These four “ayogavāhas” are regarded as vowels in the matter of the mutation of *n* into *ṇ*. The vowels shine by themselves, while the consonants cling to others for support.’

ANTAHSTHĀ.

“Antahsthā” was originally an ā-stem evidently formed with the agent suffix *vic* from the root *sthā* preceded by *antar*.

The word means 'standing in between, occupying an intermediate position'. In grammatical literature the semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* are called "antahsthā", because they stand between the mutes and the spirants, or (according to Western scholars), because they stand midway between the vowels and consonants. The word was originally either masc. or fem., like *viśvapā*, *śaṅkhadhmā* etc. in the later language. Thus we find in ŚB. i. 4. 3. 8 :

य एवायं मध्यमः प्राण एतमेवैतया समिन्धे । सा हैषान्तस्था प्राणानाम्, अतो ह्यन्त ऊर्द्धाः प्राणाः, अतोऽन्येऽवाञ्चः । अन्यस्था ह भवति, अन्तस्थामेनं मन्यन्ते, य एवमेतामन्तस्थां प्राणानां वेद ।

In the above extract the fem. *sā* appears to stand for the fem. *sāmidhenī* (*saṣṣā* "Agniṃ dūtam vṛṇīmahe" iti *sāmidhenī*—S.), so it is not possible to conclude that since "antahsthā" is fem., *sā* and *eṣā* are fem. (*vidheyaprādhānyāt* *strīlinga-nirdeśah*, as in Kālidāsa's well-known line "*śaityaṃ hi yat sā prakṛtir jalasya*"). Similarly "*ya evam etām antasthām prāṇānām veda*" is inconclusive, because here also "*etām antasthām prāṇānām*" refers to "*sāmidhenī*" which is fem. On the other hand "*antasthā*" is evidently masculine in the expression. "*antasthām enam manyante*".

The word occurs for the first time in its grammatical sense in AA. iii. 2. 1 :

तस्यैतस्यात्मनः प्राण ऊष्मरूपम्, अस्थीनि स्पर्शरूपम्, मज्जानः स्वरूपम्, मांसं लोहितम् इत्येतदन्यच्चतुर्थमन्तस्थारूपम् इति ह स्माह ह्रस्वो माण्डूकेयः ।

It is not clear from this passage if the word is masc. or fem. Since, however, most words ending in *ā* are feminine,

it soon came to be regarded as belonging to the feminine gender and in the Prātiśākhya and K. and its followers the word is uniformly fem.*

In AŚS. i. 2. 17 we find : antasthāsu tām tām anu-nāsikām.

After mentioning the mutes RP. says : catasro 'ntasthāstataḥ i. 12 and follows it up with : uttare' ṣṭāv ūsmāṇaḥ. Hence the commentator Uvaṭa says : sparśoṣmaṇām antar madhye tiṣṭhantīty antahsthāḥ.

In TP. "parāś catasro'ntahsthāḥ" i. 8 comes between "ādyā pañcaviṃśatiḥ sparśāḥ" i. 7 and "pare ṣaḍ ūsmāṇaḥ". The commentary Vaidikābharṇa says : jihvā-madhyā-prabhṛtīnām karaṇānām antair janyatvād ya-ra-vā antasthā ity ākhyāyante. The commentator evidently reads 'antasthā' for 'antahsthā'.

VP. viii. 14-15 and RT. (introduction) have : athānta-sthāḥ. *Yiti riti liti viti*, RT. uses "sthā" for "antasthā" in the rule "raṇam api sthāyām" 181 (karaṇam api antasthāyām āpadyate—Vṛtti).

Pāṇini and his followers use the Pratyāhāra "yaṇ" for "antasthā". Patañjali, however, is not averse to the use of the word.

अथ किमर्थमन्तस्थानामणसूपदेशः क्रियते । शिः सूः ५
स्पृष्टं स्पर्शानां करणम् । ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । १।१।१०

*सति लिङ्गान्तरे यव स्त्रीलिङ्गञ्च प्रयुज्यते ।

शोभा-नित्यत्तये यस्मान्नामैव स्त्रीति पेशलम् ॥

वकीर्तिजीवित २।२२

The tradition of the Prātiśākhya had continued upto Hc.

The visarga of "antasthā" was dropped very early according to RP. iv. 36 "ūṣmanyaghoṣodaye lupyate pare nate'pi" (corresponding to the Vārttika "vā śar-prakarane khar-pare lopah" viii. 3. 36. 1), even as the visarga of "niḥsthā" was dropped. This gave rise to the erroneous idea in the minds of later commentators that the word was composed of 'anta' and 'stha'.

HN. calls these Harimitra. The commentary does not explain why they are called Harimitra. The fact is that the word Yādava begins with the semi-vowel y and the Yādavas are the relations ("mitras") of Hari, hence the semi-vowels are designated Harimitra.

का । अन्तस्था य-र-ल-वाः । १।१।१४

स्वस्य स्वस्य स्थानस्यान्ते तिष्ठन्तीत्यन्तस्था उच्यन्ते । यकार-
स्तालव्यः, रेफो मूर्धन्यः, लकारो दन्त्यः, वकारो दन्त्यौष्ठ्यः । तथा-
चोक्तम्—ईषत्स्वृष्टा अन्तस्था इति । लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वात्
इति वर्णविशेषणमप्यन्तस्थाशब्दः स्त्रियां घर्तते, यथा कलत्रं स्त्रियामपि
नपुंसकम् । टोका । स्वभावात् वर्णविषयेऽप्यन्तस्थाशब्दः स्त्रीलिङ्ग-
एव । पञ्जी । यकारादीनां स्वस्थानानि, तात्वादीनि, तदन्तेऽवसाने
शेषावयवे तिष्ठन्तीत्येतदेवाह । अन्तस्थो वर्ण इति जिनेन्द्रः,
तदसम्मतमित्याह—स्वभावादिति । कविराजः ।

हे । य-र-ल-वा अन्तस्थाः । १।१।१५

लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वात् इति वर्णविशेषणमप्यन्तस्थाशब्दः
स्त्रीलिङ्गो बाहुलकात्, शब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात् बहुत्ववृत्तिश्च प्रायः ।
लघुन्यासः । अन्तस्थाशब्दी बाहुलकात् स्त्रीलिङ्गः, अन्यथा शिद्-

धुद्-शब्दवत् विषयनामत्वात् पुंस्त्वं स्यात्, “मानद्रुमाद्रिविषया-
शुगशोणमास” [पुं ३।३] इति लिङ्गानुशासनवचनात् । हैमप्रकाशः ।

सु । यवरलो यण् । १।१।८

प्र । ज्ञेया यरलघोऽन्तस्थाः । १।१।२४

वर्णानां स्वस्थ स्वस्याच्चारणस्थानस्य वा अन्ते तिष्ठन्तीति “स्थश्च”
[१७।१०६] इति डः, “डानुबन्धेऽन्त्यस्वरादिलोपः” इत्यालोपः ।
प्रभाप्रकाशिका ।

ह । यरलवा हरिमित्राणि । १।२७

अन्तस्था यलश्च । वृत्तिः । हरिमित्र-शब्देन नन्दादिरुच्यते ।
“यन्मित्रं परमानन्दम्” इति स्मरणात् । अतोऽस्य भगवन्नामता ।
टीका ।

SPARŚA.

“Sparśa” (from *spṛś* ‘to touch’) literally means ‘contact’. In grammatical literature it denotes the mutes (including nasals), because in their case the contact of the *sthāna* with the *karana* is complete. The word appears to have been used for the first time in this sense in AA. where in the first two passages in which it occurs it is used in opposition to *ūṣman* which evidently includes the semi-vowels. In the sense of mute “sparśa” is found in the Śrauta sūtras, RP., T.P., CA and PR.

अकारो वै सर्वा वाक् । सेषा स्पर्शोष्मभिव्यञ्ज्यमाना बह्वी
नानारूपा भवति । ऐ आ । २।३।६

तम्यैतस्यात्मनः प्राण ऊष्मरूपम्, अस्थीनि स्पर्शरूपम्, मज्जानः

स्वररूपम्, मांसं लोहितम् इत्येतदन्यच्चतुर्थमन्तरूपमिति ह
स्माह ह्रस्वो माण्डूकेयः । ऐ आ । ३।२।१

पृथिव्या रूपं स्पर्शाः अन्तरिक्षस्योष्माणः, दिवः स्वराः । अग्ने
रूपं स्पर्शाः, वायोरूष्माणः, आदित्यस्य स्वराः । ऋग्वेदस्य रूपं
स्पर्शाः, यजुर्वेदस्योष्माणः, सामवेदस्य स्वराः । चक्षुषो रूपं स्पर्शाः,
श्रोत्रस्योष्माणः, मनसः स्वराः । प्राणस्य रूपं स्पर्शाः, अपानस्योष्माणः,
व्यानस्य स्वराः । ३।२।५

अन्तस्थासु तां तामनुनासिकाम् । आश्वलायन १।२।१८

VP. uses "sparśa" in "sparśeṣveva samkhyā" i. 49 etc.
and defines it in chapter viii which is regarded as a later
addition. Similarly CA. uses the word in the rule "sparśāḥ
prathamottamāḥ" i. 6 etc. without defining it.

Similarly RT. uses "sparśa" in the rules "sparśe rgasya"
13 and "sparśāḥ sve" 25 and defines it in the introductory
chapter which is distinctly a later addition.

Pāṇini has no occasion to speak of the mutes and so he
neither uses the term "sparśa" nor any Pratyāhāra to denote
the mutes. Kātyāyana uses it once in the Vārttika :

हादाविरामे स्पर्शाघोषसंयोगोऽसन्निधानादसंहितम् । १।५।१०७

Patañjali uses the term in the sentence :

स्पृष्टं स्पर्शानां करणम् । १।१।१०

K. has no occasion to use the word, hence it is conspi-
cuous by its absence in K.

Mu. uses the Pratyāhāra *ñap* for Sparśa.

ऋ प्रा । तेषामाद्याः स्पर्शाः । १।७

तेषां व्यञ्जनानाम् आद्या घर्णाः स्पर्शसंज्ञा वेदितव्याः । स्पृष्ट-
करणः स्पर्शाः कादयो मान्ताः ।

तै प्रा । आद्या पञ्चविंशतिः स्पर्शाः । १।७

वा प्रा । (ऋ त १।२) किति खिति गिति घिति ङिति कवर्गः ।
चिति छिति जिति झिति ञिति चवर्गः । टिति ठिति डिति ढिति
णिति टवर्गः । तिति थिति दिति धिति निति तवर्गः । पिति
फिति बिति विति भिति मिति पवर्गः । इति स्पर्शाः । ८।८-१

प्र । वर्गवर्णाः स्पर्शरूपाः कथितास्तन्त्रवेदिभिः । १।२१

“Sparśa” is used in its technical sense in the following stanza of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa :

स चिन्तयन् द्वयक्षरमेकदाम्भ-

स्युपाभृणोद् द्विर्गदितं षचो विभुः ।

स्पर्शेषु यत् षोडशमेकविंशं

निष्किञ्चनानां नृप यद्धनं विदुः ॥ २।९।६

‘One day, while meditating, he heard in the water close by a word of two syllables uttered twice—that which is the sixteenth and that which is the twenty-first among the mutes (constituting the two syllables, and the whole word meaning) O King, that which is regarded as the wealth of the penniless’.

VARGA.

“Varga” literally means group or series. In the Śrauta Sūtras and Prātiśākhya the word is used to denote a class or series of mutes or consonants. Thus we find in ĀSS. : sparśeṣu svavargyam uttamam i. 2. 16, ‘before a mute, *m* is changed into the last consonant of the series of that mute’. In RP. we find “varge varge ca prathamāv aghoṣau” i. 12,

'in each series (of mutes) the first two letters are aghoṣa', ṛkāra-lkārav atha ṣaṣṭha ūṣmā jihvāmūliyāḥ prathamāś ca vargaḥ" i. 41. 'r, l, the sixth ūṣmam and the first series of mutes are produced at the root of the tongue'. It is worthy of note in this connexion that PR. invariably adds -kāra to the name of the sound and then puts in 'varga', thus it speaks of cakāra-varga (i. 42., xii. 1), ṭakāra-varga (i. 43, v. 11), and takāra-varga (i. 44. v. 11). In v. 42 etc.* RP. speaks of 'sparśa-varga.' TP. and CA. invariably use the shorter forms ka-varga (TP. ii. 35, CA. i. 20 com.), ca-varga (TP. ii. 36. CA. i. 7), ṭa-varga (TP. ii. 37, CA. ii. 14), ta-varga (TP. ii. 38, CA. ii. 26) and pa-varga (TP. iii. 39, CA. i. 25 com.). VP. uses both takāra-varga and ta-varga :

तकारवर्गश्चकारवर्गे चकारवर्गम् ४।९६, तवर्गे ३।९३, स्ववर्गोऽपि चानुत्तमे ४।११९, (स्फोटनं च ककारवर्गे वा स्पर्शात् ४।१६५) ।

TP. distinctly says : prathamo vargottaro vargākhyā i. 27. 'a first mute followed by the word *varga* is the name of the series'. VP. is not so clear, it says : prathama-graṇaṇe vargam i. 64, 'by the mention of the first (mute) of a series ("followed by the word *varga*" Uvaṭa) is to be understood the entire series'.

Pāṇini goes a step farther and shortens "varga" into "u"

* न मध्यमे स्पर्शवर्गेऽव्यवहितम् । (न नमन्ति नकारस्यकार-रेफ-षकारा मध्यमे; स्पर्शवर्गेऽव्यवहितम् । चवर्ग-टवर्ग-तवर्गा मध्यमाः । उवटः ।)

प्रथमे स्पर्शवर्गे ४।९८, नान्योन्निन मध्यमाः स्पर्शवर्गाः संयुज्यन्ते । १।१३

विभिन्न मध्यमेर्वर्गैः शषस्यैव व्याप्ते न । महाभाष्य १।१।८

which is merely the Samprasāraṇa form of “va”, the first syllable of “varga.” He distinctly lays down that a letter with an indicator ‘u’ stands for both itself and its homogeneous letters (“an udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ i. 1. 69). In exactly the same way an indicator long \bar{u} in the Dhātupāṭha denotes that the root admits the union-vowel i optionally (P. vii. 2. 44), and an indicator short u denotes that it does so before the suffix $-ktvā$ (P. vii. 2. 56), because u and \bar{u} are the reduced forms of $vā$ denoting optionality.

RT. goes farther still and uses the first letter of each varga to denote the varga, and in its rule 13 uses ‘rga’ for ‘varga’.

K., Hc., Su. and PR. use “varga”.

J., Śāk. and Mu. follow Pāṇini.

HN., as usual, prefixes Viṣṇu to “varga” and uses Viṣṇuvarga as the generic term for “varga”. In the case of the specific vargas, however, it uses ‘ṭa-varga’ etc. (i. 102).

ऋ प्रा । [तेषामाद्याः स्पर्शाः ।] पञ्च ते पञ्च वर्गाः । १।८

तै प्रा । स्पर्शानामानुपूर्व्येण पञ्चपञ्च वर्गाः । प्रथमद्वितीयतृतीय-
चतुर्थोत्तमाः । १।१०-११, प्रथमो वर्गोत्तरो वर्गाख्या । १।२७

वा प्रा । प्रथमग्रहणे वर्गम् । १।६४

वर्गादौ प्रथमवर्णग्रहणे वर्गं जानीयात् । उवटः । वर्गस्य
प्रथमाक्षरग्रहणे सम्पूर्णो वर्गः प्रत्येतव्यः । अनन्त ।

[चतुरध्यायिका । न टवर्गस्य चवर्गे कालविप्रकर्षः ।...२।३९]

का । ते वर्गाः पञ्च पञ्च पञ्च । १।१।१०

वर्गशब्दः समुदायवाची सजात्यपेक्षया । टीका ।

हे । पञ्चको वर्गः । १।१।१२

सजातीय-समुदायो वर्गः, स च वर्गः कवर्गादिभेदेनाष्टधा वर्ण-
समाम्नाये केवलिकादिशास्त्रेषु प्रसिद्धः । तत्र च यः पञ्चसंख्यात्वेन
व्यवस्थितस्तस्येह वर्गसंज्ञा । लघुन्यासः ।

मान्तेषु कादिवर्णेषु क-च-ट-त-प-संज्ञकाः ।

पञ्चभिः पञ्चभिर्वर्णैर्वर्गाः पञ्च प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ हैमप्रकाशः ।

सु (क-च-ट-त-पादीनां पञ्चकानां वर्गसंज्ञा प्रतीतैव । १११३
वृत्तिः ।

प्र । कादिमान्ताः पञ्चपञ्चावच्छिन्ना वर्गसंज्ञकाः । ११२०

ह । ते मान्ताः पञ्च पञ्च विष्णुवर्गाः । ११२९

VARṆA AND SAVARṆA.

“Varṇa” primarily means ‘colour’, then it came to mean ‘sound, letter of the alphabet’, probably because the letters when written were covered with a coating of colour*. Dr. Batakriṣṇa Ghosh says in his article on Aspects of Pre-Pāṇinean Sanskrit Grammar (B. C. Law Com. Vol. p. 338) : “This meaning of the word *varṇa* should have been developed first in the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda in which we constantly come across locutions like *rathantaravarṇā* ṛc ‘verse which gets the colour of Rathantara Sāman in chant’. In these passages the word *varṇa* is visibly changing its meaning from ‘colour’ to ‘sound’ of melody. Thus gradually the ‘sound of melody’ became ‘sound in general.’” It may be mentioned in this connexion that “varṇa” generally comes immediately after “svara” and works like the Nārādī Śikṣā

* In ancient Egypt all sacred manuscripts were written in colours.

mention the different colours of different melodies.* As has already been pointed out *varṇa* is sometimes used in the sense of 'syllable' also.

In Tantra literature "*arṇa*" is often used in the sense of *varṇa*. The *r* of "*varṇa*" was probably first dropped due to the exigencies of metre and thus "*arṇa*" came to be used for "*varṇa*". Writers probably thought that since *udaka*, *daka* and *ka* mean the same thing why should not "*varṇa*" and "*arṇa*" have the same meaning? Gradually "*arṇa*" came to be used for "*varṇa*" in all its senses. Thus in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ii. 6. 45) "*adbhutārṇa*" is used in the sense of '*āścaryarūpa*'.

In PR, "*arṇa*" is a special technical term denoting any letter except *th*, *y* and vowels of suffixes. Thus "*arṇa*" corresponds roughly to *padānta* of Pāṇini and other systems (according to Sanskrit grammarians members of compounds are regarded as *pada*, even though they have dropped their case-endings). "*Arṇa*" would thus appear to be merely a disguised form of "*anta*".

प्रत्ययथ्यस्वरादन्योऽर्णः स्यात् । प्र १।३१

प्रत्ययथकार-प्रत्यययकार-प्रत्ययस्वरादन्योऽर्णः स्यात् । स च प्रकृतिस्वरः प्रकृतिथकारः प्रकृतियकारो व्यञ्जनश्च गृह्यते । वृत्तिः ।

* पञ्चपत्रप्रभः षड्ज ऋषभः शुक्रपिङ्गरः ।

कनकाभस्तु गान्धारी मध्यमः कुन्दसप्रभः ॥

पञ्चमस्तु भवेत् कृष्णः पीतकं धैवतं विदुः ।

निषादः सर्ववर्णः स्यादित्येताः स्वरवर्णताः ॥

नारदी शिखा । पृ१-२

On *Varṇa* see Goldstücker's Pāṇini, pp. 25 ff.

PR. has very cleverly added *th* to *y* and *ac* of Pāṇini. Because the great grammarian does not take into account *th* in framing the rule “*yaci bham*” i. 4. 18, he has to prescribe the āgama *th* in his rule “*ṣaṭ-kati-katipaya-caturām thuk*” v. 2. 51, instead of the suffix *tha* as in the immediately preceding rule “*thaṭ ca cchandasi*”, for if *tha* be prescribed as a suffix in the case of *catur* and *ṣaṣ* they will be regarded as *padas* before the suffix according to “*svādiṣ-vasarvanāmasthāne*” i. 4. 17 and the resulting forms would be ‘*catuṣṭha*’ and ‘*ṣaḍḍha*’.*

“*Savarṇa*” goes back to RV. where it is used in the sense of ‘having the same colour or appearance, similar’. In grammatical literature the word means “having the same, *i.e.*, similar, sound, homophone’. Pāṇini makes provision for the change of “*samāna*” to “*sa*” in a Bahuvrīhi compound in the rule “*jyotir-janapada—*” vi. 3. 85. Later commentators, like Durga, think that Karmadhāraya will serve our purpose.

RP. (i. 55) defines *Savarṇa* thus :

स्थानप्रभृषोपदेशे स्वराणां

ह्रस्वादेशे ह्रस्वदीर्घौ सवर्णौ ॥

* अथ किमर्थं यट्थुकोऽप्युक्ते न सर्वे यट्थे वा स्यात् युगेव वा ?

यट्थुकोः प्रत्यक्करणं पदान्तविधि-प्रतिषेधार्थम् ।

यट्थुकोः प्रत्यक्करणं क्रियते पदान्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थम् । पदान्तविध्यर्थे पदान्तप्रतिषेधार्थं च । पर्यायानि पञ्चानि भवन्ति । रथः समथः । पदान्तसीति नलोपो यथा स्यात् । पदान्त-प्रतिषेधार्थम् । यट् । पदान्तसीति जश्त्वं मा भूत् । इह चतुर्थं इति पदान्तसीति विसर्जनीयो मा भूदिति । महाभाष्ये ५।२।५१

'In the statement regarding the place of articulation as also of contraction of vowels, we are to understand the homogeneous vowels—long and short, even when only the short vowel is mentioned.'

TP. (i. 3) is very simple in its definition :

द्वे द्वे सवर्णे ह्रस्वदीर्घे ।

इयमन्वर्थसंज्ञा । सवर्णत्वं नाम सादृश्यमुच्यते । त्रिभाष्यरत्नम् ।

VP. is very explicit and appears to include for the first time consonants also within the scope of "savarna" :

समानस्थानकरणास्यप्रयत्नः सवर्णः । १।४३

'Those sounds of which the place of articulation, the producing organ, and the effort in the mouth are identical are homogeneous.'

In "pratyaya-savarṇam mudi Śākaṭāyānaḥ" VP. iii. '9, 'a visarjanīya followed by a sibilant is changed into the savarṇa of the following sound', the 'savarna' is identical with the original sound.

CA. uses the word without defining it. The commentary (i. 27), however, evidently follows Pāṇini and says :

मुखनासिके ये वर्णा उच्यन्ते तेऽनुनासिकाः ।

समानास्यप्रयत्ना ये ते सवर्णा इति स्मृताः ॥

Pāṇini's "tulyāśya-prayatnam savarṇam" i. 1. 9 would appear to be an abbreviation of the definition as found in VP. In VP. 'karaṇa' is superfluous, and in Pāṇini we miss "sthāna". Pāṇini evidently takes "āśya" in the of sense in the "āśyasthāna" and "prayatna" sense of "ābhyaṅtara yatna". "Samāna" he paraphrases by "tulya",

saving one syllable.* In the Mahābhāṣya various explanations are offered of “tulyāśya-prayatnam”, but the one put forward first viz., “tulayā sammitam tulyam, āśyam ca prayatnaś ca āśya-prayatnam. tulyāśyam ca tulya-prayatnam ca savarṇa-samjñam bhavati” appears to be the most plausible explanation.

C. uses “sasthāna” for “savarṇa”, cf. “halo jharām jhari sasthāne lopo vā” vi. 4. 155 for Pāṇini’s ‘jharo jhari savarṇe’ viii. 4. 65. For “asavarṇa” he uses “asama”; cf. “dvitve pūrvasyāsama” v. 3. 84 corresponding to Pāṇini’s “abhyāsasyāsavarṇe” vi. 4. 78.

K. follows TP. whose definition it amplifies thus :

तेषां द्वौ द्वावन्योऽन्यस्य सवर्णौ । १।१।४

समानी वर्णः सवर्णः, स पुनरस्मादेव वचनाद् भिन्नजात्योरपि ह्रस्वदीर्घयोरुपपद्यते । टीका ।

Since K. restricts *savarṇatva* to vowels it uses “savarga” ‘of the same group of consonants’ for the consonants.

J. paraphrases Pāṇini’s rule and lays down “sasthānakriyaṃ svam” i. 1. 4 using “sa” for “tulya”, saving one syllable and

* Pāṇini uses “samāna” in its Vedic sense of ‘identical’ (cf. samānaṃ cid ratham ātasthivāṃsā nānā havete RV. ii. 12. 8), e.g., samāna-kartṛka iii. 1. 7, samāna-karmaka iii. 4. 48, samāna-tīrtha iv. 4. 107, samāna-pada viii. 4. 1, samāna-pāda viii. 3. 9, samāna-śabda iv. 3. 100, samānādhikaraṇa i. 2. 42 etc. “Tulya” is explained by Pāṇini as ‘tulayā sammita’ (iv. 4. 91) ‘measured out equally by the balance’ and used in the sense of ‘similar’; e.g., tulyārtha ii. 3. 72, tulya-kriya iii. 1. 87, tulya-yoga ii. 2. 28. It is curious therefore, that Pāṇini should use “tulya” here instead of “samāna” in the sense of ‘identical’.

“sva” for “savarṇa” saving two syllables. It will be noticed that J.’s term “sva” is made up of *s* from the first syllable and *va* from the second syllable of “savarṇa”. The word is very appropriate since “sva” literally means ‘belonging to one’s self, one’s kin’ and thus practically means the same thing as *savarṇa*, but J. has been anticipated by RT. which uses “sva” in very nearly the same sense in the rule “sparśaḥ sve” 25. For “āśya” J. substitutes the more definite “sthāna” and “prayatna” is replaced by “kriya” with the saving of one syllable. Śāk. has “savaḥ sthānāśyaikye” i. l. 6 where “āśya” is used in the sense of “āśya-prayatna”. The commentary says :

आस्यं मुखम् ओष्ठात् प्रभृति प्राक् काकलकात् । तत्र भवम् ।
स्पृष्टादिप्रयत्नपञ्चकमास्यम् ।

Hc. improves on his predecessor by framing the rule “tulya-sthānāśya-prayatnaḥ svaḥ” i. l. 17. Both “sthāna” and “āśya-prayatna” are explicitly mentioned here.

Sam. uses “savarṇa” in the rule “savarṇenāḡ dīrghaś ca” i. 85 without defining it. The Vṛtti says :

लृकारस्य दीर्घस्याप्रयोगादष्टावाकारादयो द्विशः सवर्णाः ।

Goyīcandra explains:-

समानो वर्णः सवर्णः । समानः सदृशः । अकारादीनां ह्रस्वानां ह्रस्वैः सह दीर्घाणां च दीर्घैः सह समानता विद्यत एव । ह्रस्वानां दीर्घैः सह दीर्घाणां च ह्रस्वैः सह सवर्णतास्ति न वेति सन्देह-
निरासार्थमाह—लृकारस्येत्यादि ।...द्वौ द्वौ भूत्वा सवर्णा भवन्ती-
त्यर्थः । एतच्चोपलक्षणम्, उच्चारणस्थानकृतमेव सवर्णत्वमुप-
लक्षणीयम्, तेन प्लुतैरपि सह सवर्णतावगन्तव्या ।

Intent on having a monosyllable like J. and unable to use "sva" which is reserved for "hrasva", Vopadeva uses the last syllable "ṛṇa" for "savarṇa" in his rule "ñapo'k samo ṛṇa ṛk ca" 6 and since he specifically lays down that similar mutes are homogeneous with one another and similar simple vowels are homogeneous with one another, he defines 'similarity' as 'having the same place of articulation' (sāmyan tvekasthānatvam)..

As a follower of K. Sār. restricts *savarṇatva* to vowels but goes a step farther in admitting the Plutas within the fold of "savarṇa" and says :

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुभेदाः सवर्णाः । १।१।३

Padmanābha's definition is similar to that of Vopadeva :

वर्ग्यस्वरौ सजातीयौ सवर्णौ । १।१।१५

PR., as usual, follows K. and restricts the term "savarṇa" to the simple vowels :

सस्थानाकौ सवर्णं स्यात् सावर्ण्यमृलृवर्णयोः । १।१।९

HN. also follows K., but is not satisfied with mere "varṇa" but wants to drag in Ātman (soul). so its term for "savarṇa" is "ekātmaka". Thus after mentioning the ten simple vowels (daśāvatāra) HN. says .

तेषां द्वौ द्वावेकात्मकौ । १।१।४

Originally "savarṇa" appears to have been formed after "samānākṣara" and was, therefore, restricted to the simple vowels.

For "varṇa" HN. uses Rāma.

KĀRA.

The element *kāra* appears to occur for the first time with letters of the alphabet in AB. xxv. 7 :

तेभ्योऽमितप्तेभ्यस्त्रयो वर्णा अजायत—अकारो उकारो मकार इति । तानेकधा समभरत् । तदेतदोमिति ।

“From them when brooded over the three sounds were born : the letter *a*, the letter *u*, and the letter *m*. Them he brought together ; that made (the word) *om*.” KEITH.

This *-kāra* has evidently been formed after the analogy of *kāra* in words like “*vaṣaṭ-kāra*, *hiṃ-kāra*, *om-kāra*” etc. In the case of these latter words forms of the root *kr* are also used with *vaṣaṭ*, *hiṃ*, *om* etc.; thus we have *vaṣaṭkaroti*, *vaṣaṭ-kṛta*, *hiṃ-karoti*, *hiṃ-kṛta*, *anom-kṛta* etc. So when we find *kāra* used with *vaṣaṭ*, *hiṃ*, *om* etc., we are inclined to regard *kāra* as formed with the agent suffix *-aṇ* as in the case of the well-known words “*kumbha-kāra*”, “*nagara-kāra*” etc., *vaṣaṭ-kāra* meaning ‘the maker of the sound *vaṣaṭ*’, thence ‘the sound *vaṣaṭ*’. Though we never come across forms of the root *kr* used with the letters of the alphabet still the element *kāra* was extended by analogy to these cases also, *a-kāra* meaning the letter which produces the *a*-sound, *ma-kāra* the letter which produces the *m*-sound and so on. It is, however, better to regard *-kāra* in these cases as formed with the verbal suffix *-ghañ* in the sense of action, pronunciation, sound, and then compounded with *vaṣaṭ*, *hiṃ*, *om*, *a*, *ma* etc., so that ‘*vaṣaṭ-kāra*’ means the sound ‘*vaṣaṭ*’, ‘*a-kāra*’ means the sound *a* and so on. Thus *-kāra* came gradually to be regarded as a pleonastic suffix and so we find in VP. i. 18-19 ;

ओङ्कारं वेदेषु । अथकारं भाष्येषु ।

There is also the well-known stanza about the meaning of the particle *eva* :

अयोगमन्ययोगश्च अत्यन्तायोगमेव च ।

व्यवच्छिनत्ति वर्णस्य एवकारस्त्रिधा मतः ॥

Svāhā-kāra occurs in AB. xxiv. 1 : “anto vai svāhā-kārah”. With this we may compare “anto vai svar” Ib.

After laying down “upadiṣṭā varṇāḥ” i. 34 VP. says :

निर्देश इतिना । कारेण च । अव्यवहितेन व्यञ्जनस्य । १।३६-३८

In TP. (i. 16-17) we find similar rules :

वर्णः कारोत्तरो वर्णाख्या । अकारव्यवेतो व्यञ्जनानाम् । १।१६-१७

In the introductory chapter of RT. we find ;

वर्ण इतेः पूर्वः काराद्याख्यायाम् । व्यञ्जनमकारपूर्वात् । अकाराद्वा ।
रिति रेफः ।

Vyāsa Śikṣā 13 lays down that “varṇa” is added to simple vowels. In TP. i. 20 we find :

ह्रस्वो वर्णोत्तरस्त्रयाणाम् ।

‘A short vowel with *varṇa* after it is the name of the three (varieties—short, long and prolated).’ Acc. to Whitney “varṇa” in this case, indicates only the ‘colour’ or phonetic complexion of the vowel, without regard to its length. As Whitney points out since “TP. acknowledges no protracted *r*, and neither a long nor a protracted *l*, it does not admit the compounds *rvarṇa* and *lvarṇa*.”

Kātyāyana has the Vārttika “varṇāt kārah” iii. 3. 108. 3. On this Kaiyaṭa remarks :

वर्णवाचिनो वर्णानुकरणादित्यर्थः । बहुलग्रहणात् कचिन्न

भवति, 'अस्य चवौ' [७।४।३२] इति यथा । तथा कचिद् वर्ण-समुदायानुकरणादपि—एवकार इति । कार-प्रत्ययस्य ककारस्येत्-संज्ञा प्रयोजनाभावात् न भवति । ननु करणं कारः । अस्य कारः अकार इत्येवं सिध्यति । नैतदन्ति । एवं हि विज्ञायमाने अकार-करणमित्यादि न सिध्येत् । कारप्रत्ययस्य कृदतिङ् [३।१।९३] इत्यधिकाराद् धात्वविहितत्वेऽपि कृतसंज्ञा । ततस्तदन्तस्य प्राति-पदिकत्वाद्विभक्त्युत्पत्तिः ।

Nāgeśa says :

कृतसंज्ञकेति । बाहुलकादित्यन्ये ।

The suffix *-kāra* is not added to the *Ayogavāhas* because they are not read in the *varṇasamāmnāya* :

नानुस्वार-यम-विसर्जनीय-जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाः । वा प्रा १।४१

Though *-kāra* is added in the sense of 'varṇa' there is some distinction between the two. *Kāra* can be added to any letter, vowel or consonant, short or long but *varṇa* is used only with the letters read in the *Śiva-sūtras*. Thus we can have *akāra*, *ākāra*, *ikāra*, *īkāra* etc., but we can only have *avarṇa*, *ivarṇa* etc. and not *āvarṇa*, *īvarṇa* etc. Then again "akāra" means the short *a*, but "avarṇa" means all *a*'s, short, long, and prolated.

See Goldstücker's Pāṇini, pp. 26ff.

जै । वर्णात् कारः । ४।२।५६

शा । वर्णात् कारः । ३।४।१२६

बाहुलमित्येव । तेन 'अभिनिष्ठानम्' इत्यादौ न भवति, एवकार इत्यादौ च भवति । रेफ इति "रियः फः" इति सिद्धम् । रकार इत्यपीष्यते । चिन्तामणिः ।

हे । वर्णान्वयात् स्वरूपे कारः । ७।२।१५६

वर्णेभ्योऽन्येभ्यश्च स्वरूपार्थवृत्तिभ्यः स्वार्थे कारप्रत्ययो भवति ।
 अकारः । इकारः । ककारः । खकारः । ककारादिष्वकार
 उच्चारणार्थः । अव्ययः । ओङ्कारः । स्वाहाकारः । स्वधाकारः ।
 वषट्कारः । हन्तकारः । नमस्कारः । चकार । इतिकारः ।
 एवकारः । हुङ्कारः । फूत्कारः । सीत्कारः । सूत्कारः । ननु
 यथा हुङ्कृतिः । फूत्कृति-सूत्कृतम् सीत्कृतम् इति भवन्ति तथा
 कारशब्देन घञन्तेत समासे ओङ्कारादयो भविष्यन्ति । सत्यम् ।
 किन्तु 'ओङ्कारम् उच्चारयति' 'वषट्कारम् अभिधत्ते' 'हुङ्कारं करोती'
 त्यादि न सिध्यति । स्वरूप इति किम् । अः विष्णुः, इः कामः,
 कः ब्रह्मा, खमाकाशम्, ओँ ब्रह्म वषडिन्द्राय, स्वाहाग्नये, स्वधा
 पितृभ्य इत्यर्थपरतायां न भवति । प्रायोऽनुवृत्तेरन्यत्तापि भवति ।
 मन एव मनस्कारः । अहमेवाहङ्कारः । बृहद्बृत्तिः ।
 ओङ्कारमुच्चारयतीति । यद्यत्र कृ इत्यस्य कार इति निष्पद्यते तदा
 ओमिति करणस्य किमुच्चारणमिति न सङ्गच्छते । लघुन्यासः ।

उक्ते वर्णे सघर्णोऽपि ग्राह्यः कारे च केवलः । हैमप्रकाशः ।

सु । घर्णात् कारः । ५।४।२२९

प्र । घर्णात् कारः । स्वरात् तश्च । ७।१२५४-५

घर्णस्वरूपे रामः । १।३७

वर्णस्य स्वरूपे मात्रे घाञ्ये रामशब्दो देयः । तस्यैकपरिग्रहता-
 र्ख्यातेः यथा अराम इराम इत्यादिः । अत् इत् इत्यादि पाणिनेः ।
 अकार इत्यादि च कलापस्य । यथा च कराम इत्यादि ककार
 इत्यादि तु प्राचाम् ररामस्तु रेफ इति ।

श्रुतिशतमपि भूयः शीलितं भारतं वा
 धिरचयति तथा नो हन्त सन्तापशान्तिम् ।
 अयि सपदि यथायं केलिषिश्चास्तकान्ता-
 वदनकमलचलात्कान्तिसान्द्रो नकारः ॥

भामिनीचिलास २।३३

मौनं कालविलम्बश्च प्रणामं भूमिदर्शनम् ।
 भ्रूकुट्यन्तमुखी वार्त्ता नकारः षड्विधः स्मृतः ॥
 सम्पत् सरस्वती सत्यं सन्तानः सद्नुग्रहः ।
 सत्ता सुकृतसम्भारः सकाराः सप्त दुर्लभाः ॥
 जामाता जठरं जाया जातवेदा जलाशयः ।
 पूरिता नैव पूर्यन्ते जकाराः पञ्च दुर्लभाः ॥
 मनो मधुकरो मेघो मानिनी मदनी मरुत् ।
 मा मदो मर्कटो मत्स्यो मकारा दश चञ्चलाः ॥

REPHA.

“Repha” is the name of the letter *r* in grammatical literature. It is found in the Śrauta Sūtras, Prātiśākyas and works on grammar posterior to Pāṇini. The word is formed from the root *riph* ‘to snarl’ (*ripha katthana-yuddha-nindā-hiṃsādāneṣu* —Dhātupāṭha vi. 26). As Whitney points out “it is the sole example of a specific name for an alphabetic element of its class”. The derivative “*riphita*” is found in VS. in the sense of ‘pronounced with a guttural roll as the letter *r*’. In the Prātiśākyas the word means ‘rhotacized’.

“Viriphita” occurs in AB. several times ;

यद्वैमदं यद्विरिफितं यद्विच्छन्दाः...तच्चतुर्थस्याहो रूपम् ।...
आग्निं न स्ववृक्तिभिरिति चतुर्थस्याह आज्यं भवति वैमदं विरिफितं
विरिफितस्य ऋषेश्वतुर्थेऽहनि चतुर्थस्याहो रूपम् । २१।४, कुह श्रुत
इन्द्रः कस्मिन्नयेति सूक्तं वैमदं विरिफितं विरिफितस्य ऋषे-
श्वतुर्थेऽहनि चतुर्थस्याहो रूपम् । २१।५

The sense of "viriphita" in the above passage is not clear. Keith translates : that which is by Vimada, *that which is sounded*, that which has various meters,.....these are the symbols of the fourth day....'With offerings for ourselves, Agni' is the Ājya of the fourth day ; it is by Vimada and *is sounded*, being of the seer *who is sounded*, on the fourth day it is the symbol of the fourth day....'There is Indra famed, in what to-day ?' is the hymn by Vimada. *which is sounded* ; being of the seer *who is sounded*, on the fourth day it is a symbol of the fourth day." "Viriphita" appears to have been used here in the sense of 'without the sound *r*'. (Cf. "ariphita" 'not rhotacized' found in the Prātiśākhya.) The root *riph* is used by Āśvalāyana in the rule : visarjanīyo 'natyakṣaropadho riphya' i. 5. 10, 'a visarjanīya preceded by any vowel except *a* and *ā* is rhotacized.' In the next rule "rephin" is used in the sense of 'rajāta visarjanīya' : itaraś ca rephī, 'and the other visarjanīya (i.e., a visarjanīya preceded by avarṇa) is also rhotacized, provided it is a 'rephin' or 'ra-jāta visarjanīya'.

VP. derives "repha" from *r* with the suffix *epha* : ra ephena ca i. 39. The corresponding rule in TP. is "ephas tu rasya" i. 19. Kātyāyana has a Vārttika "rād iphaḥ" iii. 3. 108. 4. VP. and TP. add the suffix to *r*, hence the suffix is *epha* ; the Vārttikakāra adds it to the *a*-stem *ra*. hence the

suffix is *ipha*. And because the Vārttika is found. under “rogākhyāyām nṣul bahulah” iii. 3 108, the suffix is regarded as a kṛt suffix.

तै प्रा । [वर्णः कारीत्तरो वर्णाख्या । अकारव्यबेतं व्यञ्जना-
नाम् । १।१।७८] एफस्तु रस्य । १।१९

र इत्यस्य व्यञ्जनस्य स्वरूपपूर्वक एफशब्द आख्या । संज्ञायाः...
निर्वचनम्...रिप्यते विपाठ्यते वस्त्रादिपाठनध्वनिघट्टुच्चार्यत इति
रेफः । तथाच याज्यान्तविसर्जनीयस्यादेशविधावाहाश्वलायनः—
विसर्जनीयोऽनत्यक्षरोपधो रिप्यते इति । तत्रापवादादेघ कार-
शब्दाख्यानिवृत्तेस्तत्प्रतिषेधो न कर्तव्य इति तुशब्दार्थः । यद्वा
रादिफः [३।३।१०८।४] इत्यकारसहितादेव स्वरूपादिफप्रत्ययो
विधीयते, न तु केवलादिति वैदिकाभरणम् ।

वा प्रा । [निर्देश इतिना । कारण च । अ-व्यघहितेन
व्यञ्जनस्य । ३६-३८ ।] स्वरैरपि । र एफेन च । १।७९-४०

कात्यायन । [इक्श्तिपौ धातुनिर्देशे । वर्णात् कारः ।] रादिफः
३।३।१०८।४

हे । रादेफः ७।२।१५७

रशब्दादेफप्रत्ययो वा भवति । रेफः । प्रायोघचनाद् रकार
इत्यपि ।

सं । रादेफः । तद्धितपरिशिष्ट १२५१

राट्ठर्णात् कारप्रत्ययं बाधित्वा एफः स्यात् । वृत्तिः ।

सु । रादेफः । ५।४।२३०

प्र । रादेफः । ७।१२५३

रेफ उल्लघनः । वर्णोऽधमश्च । रकारादीनि नामानीत्यार्षम् ।
वृत्तिः । उल्लघन इति रेफविशेषणं स्पष्ट इत्यर्थः ।...

रकारादीनि नामानि शृण्वतो मम पार्वती ।

मनः प्रसन्नतां याति रामनामाभिश्ङ्कया ॥ गूढप्रकाशिका ।

In Rāja-taraṅgiṇī vi. 39 “repha” is used in its ordinary sense :

तस्मै मितधनार्हाय बहुमूल्यर्पणान्नृपः ।

रेफे सफारं वणिजा कारितं निश्चिकाय सः ।

‘From the fact that a large sum of money had been paid as fee to him who deserved a limited amount, the king concluded that the merchant had got the letter *r* changed into *s*.’

In the following two stanzas from the Yogavāsīṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa “repha” appears to have been used in its primary sense of ‘a burring sound’.

ताराक्रन्दरणद्रेफप्रलापालापलुब्धया ।

मात्रा गृहीतं चिबुके नवव्यञ्जनलाञ्छिते । उपशम ४४।२७

(तारेण उच्चतरेण आक्रन्देन रणन्तः रेफा द्विरेफा इव प्रलापे
अनर्थकव्यक्तवाक्ये दीर्घस्वरालापे च लुब्धया आसक्तया । टीका ।)

‘Held by his mother on the chin marked with the soft downs of fresh youth—his mother who was intent on the utterance of incoherent words ringing with the burring sounds of loud lamentation.’

धुनानं वल्लकीतन्त्रीं करपल्लवलीलया ।

मृदुरेफं रणद्रेफामलिश्रेणिमिव द्रुमम् ॥ उपशम ४६।९

With the graceful movements of his hand delicate like fresh foliage stirring with a soft sound the strings of the lute vocal with music and so appearing like a tree flapping away with a soft sound the strings of humming bees.’

In the following stanza from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa "repha" appears to have been used in the sense of *svara* or note of music.

हृद्यङ्गं धर्मं स्तनयोर्मुरारे-

ऋतञ्च सत्यञ्च मनस्यथेन्दुम् ।

प्रियञ्च वक्षस्यरघिन्दहस्तां

कण्ठे च सामानि समस्तरेफान् ॥ ८।२०।२५

(अङ्ग हे राजन् । समस्तान् रेफांश्च शब्दान् । श्रीधरस्वामी ।)

SAMKHYĀ AND ṢAṢ

Acc. to Pāṇini, not only the numerals 'eka, dvi' etc., but also the words 'bahu' and 'gaṇa', as also words ending in the Taddhita suffixes *-vatu* and *-dati* are comprised within the term "saṃkhyā". Of these again numerals ending in *ṣ* and *n*, as also words ending in the taddhita suffix *ḍati* are known as "ṣaṣ," *ṣaṣ* being taken as the type of such words. Though K. uses technical terms like "śraddhā", "agni", "nadī", etc., it has got no terms corresponding to Pāṇini's Samkhyā and ṣaṣ. So far as declension is concerned, *ṣaṣ* is required practically for one rule only and K thought it would be "wasteful and ridiculous excess" to have a new technical term for a single rule. So having in mind a rule like Pāṇini's *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*" K. frames the rule "saṃkhyāvāḥ ṣṇāntāyāḥ" ii. 1. 75. The fact that K. brings together numerals ending in *ṣ* and *n* in this rule and has a separate rule "caturah" for the numeral ending in *r* which is excluded by Pāṇini and his followers from the purview of "ṣaṣ" would lead one to suppose that the technical terms "ṣaṣ" was used by

the predecessors of Pāṇini also. C follows K. and avoids these two technical terms using "saṃkhyā ṣ n" everytime. Following the Bhaṣya* C. also uses the atideśa-rules : kati-gaṇau tadvat. vatoḥ. iv. 1. 33-34. J. follows Pāṇini and uses "syi" containing both s and y of saṃkhyā" with a euphonic i for "saṃkhyā". For "śaś" J. has "il". Could "il" have been suggested by *dati*, the i being placed first with the Vedic and Prakrit inter-vocal form of *ḍ* added to it? Śāk. uses the technical terms "saṃkhyā" only, ignoring "śaś" which is necessary for only a very few cases in declension. Hc. has certain atideśa rules so separate technical terms are unnecessary. Vopadveva follows Hc. Sam. uses pañcādi (vi 400) for Pāṇini's "śaś" (i. 1. 24.) Padmanābha does not follow Pāṇini in this particular instance. PR. follows Pāṇini and uses both the terms "saṃkhyā" and "śaś. HN. has no special technical terms corresponding to these.

"Ḍu" appears to have been another ancient term for "śaś". In the Mahābhāṣya we find : kṛ punar ḍu-saṃjñā (i. 4. 1)? "Ḍu" has evidently been formed with the *ḍ* of *dati* along with a euphonic *u*.

प । बहु-गण-वतु-इति संख्या । णान्ता पद् । इति च ।
१।१।२३-२५ । (भूर्यादीनां निवृत्त्यर्थं संख्या-संज्ञा विधीयते ।
काशिका ।)

का । कति-गण-घन्तूनां संख्यावत् । तद्धित ३३७
जै । स्थिः संख्या । बहुगणं भेदे । कसेऽध्यर्थम् । उडर्ध-
प्राक् । घतुः । इतिः । णान्ता चेल् । १।१।३३-३९

* अथवा भेद संज्ञाकरणम् । तद्धितदेशीयम् । बहुगणवतुइत्ययः संख्यावद्भवतीति ।

शा । घड्ङति संख्या । बहुगणं भेदे । क-समासेऽध्यर्धः ।
अर्थपूर्वपदो डत् । १।१।९-१२

हे । [अनन्तः पञ्चम्याः प्रत्ययः । १।१।३८] डत्यतु संख्या-
घत् । बहु-गणं भेदे । क-समासेऽध्यर्धः । अर्थपूर्वपदः पूरणः ।
१।१।३९-४२

स । डत्यन्तादिश्च संख्या । तद्धितपरिशिष्ट १२७५

मु । संख्याघड् डत्यतुबहुगणा नेपि । १०२

प्र । संख्या एकद्विबह्वर्थडतिघन्तन्तका मताः । २।२९२

डत्यन्ताः सनकारान्ताः संख्याः षट्संज्ञकाः स्मृताः । २।३०७

AVASĀNA.

A rather remarkable technical term in the Pāṇini system is *Avasāna* which is defined as 'virāma' in the last rule of the first chapter of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. That the term was not coined by Pāṇini but had been current before his time is clear from its occurrences in *Prātiśākhya* literature. And in the sense of pause it goes back to the *Kauṣīṭaki-Brāhmaṇa*. The word is derived from *ava* down and *so* to bind (*ava-so* meaning originally to unbind, unharness) and its primary meaning is a place where horses are unharnessed, resting place, then it came to mean conclusion, termination, end, pause. In grammar it means the end of a *word*, *verse* or *sentence*. *Kātyāyana* points out that the definitions of the technical terms *Samhitā* and *Avasāna* (*paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā, virāmo' vasānam* i. 4. 109-110) are unnecessary, as the words are too well known in current speech to need any elucidation (*saṃhitāvasānāyor lokaviditātvaṭ siddham* i. 110. 8).

The word is found in the sense of 'the end of word' in RP. i. 15 : "tasmād anyam avasāne tṛtīyaṃ Gārgya sparśam" where 'avasāne' is explained by Uvaṭa by as *padāvasāne* vartamānam'. In VP. "parāv avasāne" iii. 31 (avasāne sthite parītyetasmin pade pratyaye—Uvaṭa, avasāne sthite pari-śabde—Ananta), "supadāvasāna-varjam" iv. 22 etc., the word is used in the sense of 'pause'. The whole of chapter VII of this Prātiśākhya treats of words in pausa and begins with the adhikāra-rule : "athāvasānāni". TP. has "avasāne ra-visarjanīya-jihvāmuliyo-padmānīyāḥ" xiv 15 which is explained by the Tribhāṣyaratna thus : padāvasāne vartamāno varṇo rephāḥ etc. In "avasitam pūrvasya" xxi. 3 'avasita is used in the sense of 'a letter at the end' and the rule is explained thus by Māhiṣeya : yad antyaṃ vyañjanam padāvasānavartītyarthāḥ, tat pūrvasya svaryaṅgam bhavati. The same sense of "avasita" is found in RP. also. Cf. nāvasitam vi 7 (na khalu padāvasāne vartamānam rephāt paraṃ vyañjanam krāmati i.e. dvitavam āpadyate. Uvaṭa). Cf. upadhā and upahita upasarga and upasṛta. The 'avasāna' also occurs in the Prātiśākhyas belonging to the Atharva school. Thus we find in CA. puruṣa ā babhūvā ityavasāne i. 70: ("In the passage *puruṣa ā babhūvā* the vowel is nasal before the pause'.) In the commentary on CA. i. 8 'āvasānika' (at the end) is distinguished from 'padya' (at the end of pada). In APr. we find "ityavasāneṣu cavaivā vayutāni cavāyogād vā" 14c where 'avasāneṣu' means 'in words standing in pausa.

In RP. 'avasāna' is used in the sense of 'pause' in "madhye vasānam tu catuṣpadānām" xviii. 47. 'In the middle, however,

is the pause in the case of stanzas with four pādas. Similarly *ava-so* is used in the sense of making a pause in *dvābhyām avasyet tripadāsu pūrvam padena paścāt kvacid anyathaitat* xviii. 46.

It will be clear from the above that Pāṇini does not always choose the shortest term for his saṃjñās, but sometimes follows in the foot-steps of his predecessors.* In the present case, though *virāma* contains a lesser number of syllables than *avasāna*, and though *virāma* must have been more easily understood in his day than *avasāna*, since he explains *avasāna* by *virāma*, still he uses *avasāna* throughout his work and not *virāma*. Cf. his use of *vibhāṣa* for *na vā*.

Of the later grammarians some use *virāma* which is generally defined as 'paravarṇābhāva' and save one syllable, others go a step farther and use *anta*, thereby effecting a saving of two syllables. K. which does not usually care much for mātrālāghava in the matter of its technical terms uses *virāma* as the better known term; e.g., *vā virāme* ii. 3. 62 corresponding to Pāṇini's *vāvasāne*. viii. 4. 56. Candra also uses *virāma* as being non-technical. Thus for Pāṇini's *khar-avasānayoḥ visarjanīyaḥ* viii. 3.15 Candra has *virāme visarjanīyaḥ* vi. 4. 70 and *khari* vi. 4.21, and for Pāṇini's *vāvasane* Candra

* Some times the words of our everyday speech appear to be too hackneyed and undignified for the needs of science and so learned words, even though they are longer and less understood than their synonyms, are used for purposes of science. It is for this reason that *Adhikaraṇa* is used as the name of the Loc. in preference to *ādhāra*, *Avasāna* is preferred to *Virāma* and *Vibhāṣā* is used for *na vā*.

has *vā virāme* vi. 4. 149. Hc., as usual, follows K. J. uses *anta* and Mu. follows J. Vopadeva also coins the term *pha* for both *virāma* and *vyañjana* (haso' ntaḥ phaḥ 86). *Pha* might have been suggested to Vopadeva by *repha* which, being a consonant, stands for all consonants, and which, being represented in writing by a stroke above the next letter, may easily mean pause also. The terms "pha" and "bhi" are peculiar to Mu. Many grammatical operations take place in pausa or before consonants (*virāma*. *vyañjanādiṣu*—K., (j)hali *padānte*—P.). So a technical terms covering these two would come in very handy. One expected Vopadeva to use *va* for this purpose, since the semi-vowel *v* occurs at the beginning of both 'virāma' and 'vyañjana' but that is not possible as *va* is required to designate "avyayībhāva." So Vopadeva combined the *p* of 'padānte' with the *ha* of 'hali' and formed the technical term *pha*. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the term is used for the first time the rule "srora viḥ phe" 103 which has to do with 'repha' and *pha* is the second syllable of 'repha'. Sār., though generally following K., uses *avasāna* in its rule *vāvasāne* vii. 66. Sam. uses *avasāna* in *vāvasāne hal dviś ca i*. 189, where Goyīcandra says : "virāmo 'vasānam iti pūrvācāryasya saṃjñā, athavā, prasiddha evāyam avasāna-śabdah samāptim abhidhatte" on which the Tippani-kāra says : etad-vyākaraṇe' vasāna-saṃjñābhāvād āha—athaveti. In the *kṛcche-śāvyaya-pāda*, however, we find *mo binduh padavirāme* 783. Under i. 189 Goyīcandra explains *avasāne* as *pada-virāme*.

RT. uses *ma* for *virāma* in its rule *unnīce me* 54 which is thus explained in the commentary : *uccī-bhavati tat svaritam nīce vā pratyaye virāme vā*.

नाश्चशास्त्रम् । यत्रार्थस्य समाप्तिः स्यात् स विराम इति स्मृतः ।
 वैदिकाभरणम् । इह द्विविधो विरामः—समाम्नायसिद्धः
 अशक्यत्वादिहेतुकश्च । तत्र समाम्नायसिद्धोऽनुवाकान्तेषु तन्मध्य-
 नित्यावसानेषु पदक्रमान्तेषु च भवति । इतरस्त्वनियतदेशः ।
 (ते प्रा ५।१)

कातन्त्रव्याख्यासारः । विरामो हि द्विविधः—पदविरामो महा-
 विरामश्च, ततो 'वृक्षान् आनय' इत्यादौ पदविरामे नकार-करणस्य
 फलमस्त्येव, 'आनय वृक्षान्' इत्यादौ महाविरामे लिङ्गसंज्ञायां सत्यां
 लिङ्गान्तनकारस्य [२।३।१६] इत्यनेन लोपश्च भवितुं पार्यते । (२।१।१)

KĀRYIN, KĀRYA AND NIMITTA.

Grammarians generally divide rules into three parts. That which undergoes a grammatical operation is known as *kāryin*, that which is the cause or condition of the operation is known as *nimitta*, and the operation itself is known as *kārya* or *vidheya*. Now since we always proceed from the known to the unknown and since the *kāryin* and *nimitta* are more or less known to us and since it is the *kārya* or *vidheya* that supplies us with the new information about the *kāryin* and *nimitta*, generally, the *kāryin*, being best known to us, comes first, then the *nimitta* and last of all the *kārya*. This is the reason why in an *Arthāntaranyāsa* the statement bearing on the matter in hand comes first and the statement supporting it comes afterwards and stanzas like the following are regarded as open to objection :

प्रतिकूलतामुपगते हि विधौ विफलत्वमेति बहुसाधनता ।
 अधलम्बनाय दिनभर्तुरभून्न पतिष्यतः करसहस्रमपि ॥

Durgādāsa quotes a kārīkā in his commentary on Mu. 21 :

कार्यो कार्यं निमित्तञ्च त्रिभिः सूत्रमुदाहृतम् ।
 कदाचित् कार्याकार्याभ्यां क्वचित् कार्यनिमित्ततः ॥
 यस्य निर्दिश्यते कार्यं स कार्यो गदितो बुधैः ।
 क्रियते यत्तु तत् कार्यमादेशप्रत्ययागमम् ॥
 यस्मात् परं परे यस्मिंस्तन्निमित्तं द्विधा मतम् ।
 आकाङ्क्षायां तु सर्वेषामनुवृत्तिः परे भवेत् ॥

'A sūtra is composed of three parts—*kāryin*, and *kārya* and *nimitta*. Sometimes it consists of the *kāryin* and *kārya* and sometimes of the *kārya* and *nimitta*. That for which some grammatical operation is prescribed is known as *kāryin* and the thing prescribed is known as *kārya* which may be a substitute (*ādeśa*), suffix (*pratyaya*) or augment (*āgama*). *Nimittas* again are divided into two classes. When an operation takes place after a *nimitta* it is known as *pūrva nimitta* and when an operation takes place when a *nimitta* follows it is known as *para nimitta*.'

In the first kārīkā 'nimittam' is put after 'kāryam' for the sake of metre, for the *kārya* being the *vidheya* ought to come last and does generally come last, as in "akaḥ savarṇe dīrghah" vi 1. 101, "ṇamo hrasvād aci ṇamuṇ nityam" viii. 3. 32, "samānaḥ savarṇe dīrghābhavati paraś ca lopam" K. i. 2. 1. "ād igecor ṇu-vrī" Mu. 23 and so on. The commentators of K. say distinctly under "ṇer yah" ii. 1. 24 : *kāryi nimittam kāryam ityeṣa nirdeśakramah*." Acc. to HN. the order is as follows : *Pūrvanimitta*, *kāryin*, *kārya*, *paranimitta*, but generally the order mentioned by the commentator of K. is followed as being

strictly logical, though sometimes for the sake of *vaicitrya* (variety) or for other causes the order is changed. Thus Pāṇini puts the *vidheya* 'vṛddhiḥ' first in the very first rule of the Aṣṭādhyāyī : vṛddhir ād aic. In the next rule he follows the normal order and says "ad eṇ guṇaḥ". Commentators point out the word vṛddhi denoting prosperity has been put first in violation of rules of logic and rhetoric, for the simple reason that it denotes increase, prosperity and is a fit and proper word to begin a work with. In VP. also "vṛddham vṛddhiḥ" occurs at the end of each chapter. But Pāṇini again places the *vidheya* first in the rule "apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ" i. 1 9 where no reason is discernible. Similarly in K. we find "smai sarvanāmnaḥ" ii. 1. 25, after a pronommal *a*-stem the dative singular ending *ṇe* is changed into *smai*. Here the normal order has been reversed and the *vidheya* 'smai' put first merely to draw pointed attention to it. In the previous rule "ṇer yaḥ" the author says that *ya* is the substitute for *ṇe* in the case of *a*-stems. This he follows up by "smai sarvanāmnaḥ". In Mu. "it kṛte" 4 the *vidheya* has been placed first for no apparent reason*. In Pāṇini's "iko yaṇ aci" vi. 1. 77, the *nimitta* has been placed after the *kārya*, so also in K.'s "ivarno yam asavarṇe na ca paro lopyaḥ" i. 2. 8 the *vidheya* is placed before the *nimitta*.

Patañjali says in the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 1) :

अथवा पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा ।

कुत एतत् ?

* It is just possible that the reversal of the normal order here is due to a desire to avoid hiatus and *bandhaśaithilya*.

सतो हि कार्यिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम् । तद् यथा—इतरत्नापि
सतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते ।

कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति ?

एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो
महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते ।
मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते, वीरपुरुषकाणि भवन्त्यायुष्मत्-
पुरुषकाणि च, अध्येतारश्च वृद्धियुक्ता यथा स्युरिति । सर्वत्र हि
व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा, अदेङ् गुणः
इति यथा ।

A commentator of KP. follows in the footsteps of Patañjali
and says in justification of the use of the word “vṛddhiḥ” first
in the rule “vṛddhir ādeśasya” i. 1 :

“आदेशो ननु वक्तुमाद्य उचितः शेषे कथं निर्मित-
पेदौताविति निर्मितेऽप्यभिमते व्याप्त्यैव वा किं फलम् ।
सत्यं मङ्गलहेतवे निजकृते निर्विघ्नसिद्धीप्सुना
ग्रन्थारब्धिवधूपरिग्रहविधौ वृद्धिः कृतादावियम् ॥

Now in AŚS. and most of the Prātiśākhyaś the *kāryin* is
generally put in the nominative and the *kārya* in the accusative.
Thus we find in AŚS. :

स्पर्शेषु स्ववर्ग्यमुत्तमम् । अन्तस्थासु तां तामनुनासिकाम् ।
रेफोष्मस्वनुस्वारम् । १।२।१६-१८

RP. lays down :

असाधमुमिति तद्भाषमुक्तं यथान्तरम् । १।५६

When a word in the nominative and one in the accusative
are used together, it is to be understood that the former is

changed into or becomes the latter, and the change takes place acc. to *āntarya* or closeness of relationship of the two letters'.

TP. follows RP. and says :

अःकार आगम-विकारि-लोपिनाम् । १।२३

अं विकारस्य । १।२८

'A word in the nominative stands for an āgama, or for an element that undergoes alteration or elision.....'The product of alteration is put in the accusative.'

The Vaidikābharāṇa explains :

अनेन पारिभाषिकाणां कृत्रिमाणां चागमादिवाचिनां शब्दानां विभक्तिविशेषो नियम्यते । अःकार इत्यकारविसर्जनीययो समुदितयोर्व्याकरणसिद्धेन कारप्रत्ययेन निर्देशः । स खलु बहुल-ग्रहणानुवृत्त्या वर्णसमुदायादपि भवति । अकारेण प्रथमा विभक्ति-रूपलक्ष्यते ।

अन्यत्र विद्यमानस्तु यो वर्णः श्रूयतेऽधिकः ।

आगम्यमानतुल्यत्वात् स आगम इति स्मृतः ॥

प्रकृतिस्थस्य शब्दस्य स्थाने यस्यापरो भवेत् ।

सतो गुणान्तरोपेतः स विकारीह तत्समः ॥

प्रकृतिस्थस्तु यः शब्दः संहितायां न दृश्यते ।

तत्स्थाने च न शब्दोऽन्यः स लोपी नश्वरोपमः ॥

एतेषामागमादीनां प्रथमा विभक्तिराख्या भवति । आगमस्य यथा—तृपुमिथुपूर्वः शकारश्चपरः [५।४], हकाराक्षणमपराक्षसिष्यम् [२१।१४] इति । विकारिणो यथा—असम्पूर्वोऽरमृकारः [५।९], लपरौ लकारम् [५।२५] इति । *लोपिनः—ईंपूर्वो मकारः [५।१२] इति ।

* Pāṇini uses the nominative with the lopin in *hal-ny-ābbhyo dīrghat su-ti-sy-aprktam* hal. vi. 1. 68.

अमिति द्वितीया विभक्तिरुपलक्ष्यते—

सविकारो यदन्यस्य स्थाने शब्दान्तरं स्मृतम् ।

द्वितीयया तु निर्देशे तस्यैव प्रत्ययो मतः ॥

यथा—असम्पूर्वोऽरमृकारः [५।९], उदात्तमनुदात्तवति [१०।१०]।

अत्र द्वितीया विभक्तिः शब्दान्तरविकारस्यैव नियम्यते, न तु गुण-
विकारस्य ; तेन पूर्वस्वरोऽनुनासिकः [१।५], अनुदात्तानां प्रचयः
[२१।१०] इत्यादिगुणविधिषु निर्देश उपपद्यते ।

Similarly VP. has :

तमिति विकारः । १।१३३

Uvaṭa explains :

तमित्युत्सृष्टसर्वनामिका द्वितीया विभक्तिर्गृह्यते । द्वितीयया यो
निर्दिश्यते स विकारः प्रत्येतव्यः । यथा, अनुस्वारं रोष्मसु मकारः
[४।१] इति । मकारोऽनुस्वारं विकारमापद्यते । भाविभ्यः सः षं
समानपदे [३।५६] इति । सकारः षकारं विकारमापद्यते ।

Similarly RT. has :

अवं वा ८९, रौ मम् ९३ (स्वरौ दीर्घमापद्यते ।—वृत्तिः) ।

In Pāṇini's system followed by most later grammarians the *kāryin* is as a rule, put in the genitive and the *kārya* in the nominative. Thus Pāṇini lays down :

षष्ठौ स्थानेयोगां १।१।४९

Curiously enough the identical rule is found in VP. (i. 136), though it is difficult to understand what purpose is served by the rule in this particular Prātiśākhya which uses the nominative with the *kārya* and the accusative with the *kāryin*. Most probably the rule has been framed for cases of elision. Contrast TP. i. 23, v. 11 ff. and Pāṇini vi. 1. 68 which is evidently a borrowed rule.

The Prātiśākhya of the Atharva Veda follow this method.
Thus we find in CA. :

सोष्मणि पूर्वस्यानुष्मा । १।९४, तेभ्यः पूर्वचतुर्थो हकारस्य २।७,
नकारस्य शकारे जकारः । २।१०

Similarly APr. has :

नकारस्य रेफः १९७, विसर्जनीयस्य मकारः २०३, अश्वादीनां
मतौ दीर्घः २१० ।

The following stanzas are current among the adherents of
the Mugdhabodha school :

प्रथमा भवतीत्यर्थे द्वितीया च विशेषणे ।
तृतीया सहयोगे च चतुर्थी च निमित्तके ॥
पञ्चमी च तदुत्तरे षष्ठी सूत्रे ततः स्थाने ।
सप्तमी च परे घाच्ये गम्ये चोपपदे क्वचित् ॥

‘When the nominative is used the verb *bhavati* is to be understood after it, the accusative has the sense of the adverb, the instrumental is used in connexion with or in the sense of *saha* (cf. *vrddho yūnā* i. 2. 65), the dative is the final dative (cf. *it kṛte* Mu. 4), the ablative shows that some operation is to take place *after* it (cf. *tasmād ity uttarasya* i. 1. 67), the genitive has the sense of ‘in the place of’ (cf. *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogū* i. 1. 49), the locative means ‘when such and such an element follows’ (cf. *tasmīnniti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* i. 1. 66), ‘in the sense of’ (cf. *vr̥tti-sarga-tāyaneṣu kramaḥ* i. 3. 38) and ‘upapada’ cf. *tatropapadam saptamīstham* iii. 1. 92, *karmaṇyaṇ* iii. 2. 1. etc.).

Sometimes in the same word in the same rule, the same

vibhakti is used in different senses. Thus the Kāśikā explains the rule तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च ii. 1. 51 thus :

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्-
संख्ये समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्येते ।

Similarly the rule धूट्स्वराद् घुटि नुः K. ii. 2. 11 is thus explained by commentators :

धुटः पूर्वः स्वरात् परो नपुंसकलिङ्गस्य स्वरात् परो नुरागमो
भवति । वृत्तिः । एकापीयं पञ्चम्यर्थवशात् पूर्वपरदिग्योगलक्षणा
मन्तव्या । टीका ।

In the vṛtti on ii. 156 HN. says :

प्राङ्निमित्तं तथा कार्यो कार्यं परनिमित्तकम् ।
अत्र क्रमेण वक्तव्यं प्रायः सूत्रेषु सर्वतः ॥
क्रमाच्च पञ्चमी षष्ठी प्रथमा सप्तमी तथा ।
कचित् परनिमित्तस्य स्थाने विषयसप्तमी ॥
कार्यपूर्वे पञ्चमी स्यात् कार्यस्थाने तु षष्ठिका ।
कार्ये तु प्रथमा वाच्या सप्तमी विषये परे ॥
विनायोगे निषेधार्थं द्वितीया कचिदिष्यते ।
सर्वाङ्गासम्भवो यत्र स्वल्पान्यङ्गानि तत्र तु ॥

We find in the Vṛtti on Sam. v. 207 :

षष्ठी सूत्रे ततः स्थाने पञ्चमी च तदुत्तरे ।
सप्तमी च परे वाच्ये गम्ये चोपपदे कचित् ॥

इको यणचि* [६।१।७७] इकः स्थाने अचि परे यणादेशो भवति ।
भावकर्मणोरात्मने [१।३।१३] । भावे कर्मणि च वाच्ये आत्मनेपदं
भवति । वाचि यमो व्रते [३।१।४०] । व्रते गम्यमाने वाच्युपपदे

*यवरलोऽचि—सम् १।८१, भावकर्मणोरात्मने—सम् २।२३, व्रते वाचो यमः—सम् ३।१०७

सति यम उत्तरे खज् भवति । (अयं श्लोकः शास्त्रव्यवहारार्थं सूत्रे षष्ठ्यादीनामर्थान्तरेऽपि वृत्तिरिति विभाषनाय पाणिनिव्याकरणस्य श्लोकवार्तिकः सूत्रकृता निबद्धः । अत एव “इको यणचि” “भाव-कर्मणोरात्मने” “वाचि यमो व्रते” इति पाणिनीयसूत्रोदाहरणान्याचार्येण दाढ्यार्थं वृत्तावुदाहृतानि । कचिदिति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । तच्छब्देन यस्माद् विभक्तिविधानं तत् परामृश्यते इति सूत्रे या षष्ठी सा तस्य स्थाने वेदितव्या । कचिद्-ग्रहणात् सम्बन्धादौ च । स्थान-शब्दोऽत्र प्रसङ्गवाची, यथा “दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैरास्तरितव्यम् ।” दर्भाणां प्रसङ्ग इत्यर्थः । कचिद्-ग्रहणादेव हेत्वादौ च । सूत्रे या सप्तमी तस्मिन् परे, तस्मिन् वाच्ये, तस्मिन् गम्ये, तस्मिन्नुपपदे । कचिद्-ग्रहणाद् अधिकरणादौ च । गोयीचन्द्रः । सर्वशास्त्रसङ्केतितं विभक्तिकार्यमुक्त्वा एतच्छास्त्रसङ्केतितमाह—षष्ठीति । एतत्तु प्रयोग-प्राचुर्यादुक्तम्—अर्थान्तरेऽपि सूत्रे विभक्तिदर्शनात् । [श्लोकवार्तिक इति] पाठे वार्तिकैकदेशे वार्तिकत्वोपचारः, षष्ठ्यन्तपाठस्तु सम्यगेव । भावकर्मणोरिति । एवञ्च वृत्तौ कचिद् “भावकर्मणो-रात्मने” इति पाठो लिपिकरप्रमादादेव, भावकर्मणोरिति पाणिनि-सूत्रे आत्मने इत्यस्याभावात्, अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् इत्यस्मादेवा-नुवृत्तेः । विद्यालङ्कारः ।

Similarly Padmanābha says under Su. i. 1. 35 :

सूत्रे षष्ठ्यां ततः स्थाने पञ्चम्यां तत उत्तरे ।

सप्तम्याञ्च परे तस्मिन् गम्ये चोपपदे कचित् ॥

सूत्रे षष्ठ्यां सत्यां षष्ठ्यन्तस्यैव स्थाने तत् कार्यं भवति । चक्षिजः ख्याज् [३।३।११३] । व्याख्याता । पञ्चम्यां सत्यां तत उत्तरे । पदात्—[२।४।४८] । त्वां मां त्वा मा वा । सप्तम्यां सत्यां तस्मिन् परे पूर्वस्य कार्यम् । इको यणचि [१।२। २] । दध्यत् ।

गम्ये च । क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे [१।२।१७] । उदि ग्रहः [६।२।४१] ।
उदुग्राहः ।

K. generally follows (i) the method of the older Prātiśākhya, sometimes it follows (ii) the newer method of Pāṇini and the later Prātiśākhya. In several cases (iii) it puts both the kāryin and kārya in the nominative.

(i) पात् पदं समासान्तः २।२।५२, (ii) बाहेर्वाशब्दस्यौ २।२।४८,
(iii) तिर्यङ् तिरश्चिः । उदङ् उदीचिः । २।२।५०-५१

C., J., Śāk., Hc. and Su. follow Pāṇini. Sam. and Mu. generally follow Pāṇini but sometimes follow K. also. Thus Sam. has *jarâci jaras vā* vi. 113 and Mu. *jaras jarâci tu* 116 corresponding to *jarâyâ jaras anyatarasyâm* vii. 2. 101 of Pāṇini.

Sār, HN. and PR. follow K.

Violations of the principle that the genitive is to be used with *kāryin* are often met with in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the best known instance being *sadīr aprateḥ* viii. 3. 66. Commentators sometimes quote this rule as *sader aprateḥ*, but the original reading is undoubtedly *sadīr aprateḥ*. Here Pāṇini is either borrowing from a predecessor who follows the principle laid down in RP. or uses the first case-ending with the *kāryin* for the sake of variety.

Rāma Tarkavāgiśa is very explicit on the point under Mu. 6 :

सूत्रे प्रयन्तं यद्विधेयं द्वयन्तं यत् प्राप्यते हि तत् ।
त्रयन्तं यत् तस्य योगे स्यात् प्यन्तं यस्मात् परं तु तत् ॥
यस्य स्थाने भवेत् कार्यं तत् प्यन्तं समुदाहृतम् ।

पत्यन्तं गम्ये परे वाच्ये यस्मिन्नुपपदे हि तत् ।

क्वचिद् व्यत्ययतो ज्ञेयमेतत् पाणिनिसम्मतम् ॥

(प्रो—प्रथमा, द्वो—द्वितीया, त्री—तृतीया, पौ—पञ्चमी, षो—षष्ठी सो—सप्तमी) ।

These vyatyayas would have been much easier to explain as due to the exigencies of metre, if we could show that Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī was originally composed in verse, like RP. among the Prātiśākhya, and portions of K. and the whole of PR. among grammars, and portions of the Jaimini sūtras among philosophical sūtras, but this is hardly possible. No doubt the the first two rules of Pāṇini form the second or fourth quarter of an anuṣṭup stanza (vṛddhir ādaijadeṇ guṇaḥ). Similarly "svam a-jñāti-dhanākhyāyām" i.1. 35, "kumāraḥ śramaṇā-dibhiḥ" ii. 1. 70, "bhaṇja-bhāsa-mido ghurac" iii. 2. 161, "saṅghe cānuttarādharye" iii. 3. 42 and the first portions of "viśeṣaṇaṁ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam" ii. 1. 57, "harater dṛtināthayoḥ paśau" iii. 2. 25 also form quarters of anuṣṭup stanza, still this verse-form would appear to be purely accidental, even as the following prose passage in Whewell's Elementary Treatise on Mechanics (1819) is an instance of accidental metre and rhyme : :

And so no force, however great,

Can stretch a cord, however fine,

In to a horizontal line

That shall be absolutely straight.

Poets have been busy making stanzas out of Pāṇini's rules, the most well-known examples of such stanzas being :

पक्षि-मत्स्य-मृगान् हन्ति* परिपन्थं च तिष्ठति** ।

†व्रातेन जीघत्स्यधुना‡‡ न वशः§ पूर्ववत् सनः§§ ॥

‘He kills birds and fishes and beasts, is refractory, has no fixed profession but makes his living by bodily labour and is not now obedient to us as before’. This was said by a parent in reply to an enquiry about how his son was getting on.

The rule “śaktau hasti-kavāṭayoh” iii. 2. 54 is also the second or fourth quarter of an Anuṣṭubh stanza as the following samasyā-pūraṇa śloka testifies :

राजन् यद्यपि ते बाहू कान्तालिङ्गनलालसौ ।

तथापि समरे भेतुं शक्तौ हस्तिकघाटयोः ॥

‘Though your arms, O King, long to embrace the beloved, still for shattering in battle they have strength in the case of elephant-kavāṭas (i.e., they are strong enough to shatter the temples of elephants in battle)..

The very first line of the Mahābhāṣya “atha śabdānu-śāsanam.” which is in all probability the first rule of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and other ancient Sanskrit grammars, is also the

* iv	4.	35.	**iv.	4.	36.	†	v.	2.	21,
‡‡ v.	3.	17.	§ vi.	1.	20.	§§	1.	3.	62.

*को नयति जगदशेषं चयमथ विभराम्भुव कं विष्णुः ।

नोचः कुत्र सगर्वः पाणिनिस्त्वं च कीदृशम् ॥

(यमो गन्धर्वा १।१।१५, यमः चरा धने)

किं स्याद् विशेष्यनिष्ठं का संख्या वदत पूरणी भवति ।

नोचः केन सगर्वः स्त्वं चन्द्रस्य कीदृशम् ॥

(विशेषणसेकार्थेन । च १।१।१८)

second or fourth quarter of an Anuṣṭubh stanza and a poet has composed the following samasyā-pūraṇa śloka with it :

गुर्वन्तिके हिया पूर्वं संक्षयार्थावबोधनम् ।
करोति पत्युर्युवतिरथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

‘In the presence of the elders the bashful young bride instructs her husband in love by means of gesture, then (after the elders have moved away) she conveys her instructions in words.’

Similarly the following stanza has been composed with several rules of the Dhātupāṭha :

भू सत्तायां विनष्टायां धनधान्ये गतेऽपि च ।
गते च तनुविस्तारे वद स्थैर्येऽन्न का कथा ॥

‘When the existence of landed property has come to an end, when wealth and corn are gone, when the breadth of the body is vanished, tell me how can you speak of tranquility?’

Similarly the rule “svaro hrasvo napuṃsake” K. ii. 4. 52 has been made use of in the following stanza :

नीचैः सङ्गे गुरुरपि तुच्छत्वं याति कौतुकम् ।
किमिह दीर्घोऽपि यथा स्वरो ह्रस्वो नपुंसके ॥

The first two words have also inspired the following stanza :

स्वरो ह्रस्वो मतिच्छन्ना गात्रकम्पो महद् भयम् ।
मरणे चानि चिह्नानि तानि सर्वाणि याचने ॥

Similarly “še ṣe se vā vā para-rūpam” K. i. 5. 6, one of the longest rules in K., has not failed to attract the attention of poetasters, and we find the following stanza :

क हरिः शेते का च निरुष्टा को बहुलार्थः किं रमणीयम् ।
वद कातन्त्रे कीदृक् सूत्रं शे षे से वा वा पररूपम् ॥

In the earliest portion of K., i.e., in the Sandhi-section *na* and *na vā* are used to denote *vikalpa*. Commentators point out that there are two varieties of *vā*. One is referred to as *samuccayārthaka*, i.e., in it there is the *samuccaya* of the *kāryās*, the other is referred to as *vikalpārthaka*, i.e., in it there is the *samuccaya* of the *nimittas*. Thus under “*vā virāme*” ii. 3. 62, the commentator Durga says : *Vā-śabda iha samuccāyartho no vikalpārthaḥ*. Kavirāja explains : *vā-śabdaḥ kāryam eva smuccinoti, na nimittam*.

It would appear from a consideration of the rules in the Sandhi-section that :

i. *na vā* is used in the sense of *samuccaya*, i.e., the *vikalpa* of *kāryas* and not of *nimittas* ;

ii. *na vā* is used when only one side is stated, when both the alternatives are mentioned in so many words or when one alternative is mentioned and the other obtained by *anuvṛtti*, *vā* alone is used ;

iii *na vā* is used only in the case of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* where the operation is prescribed for the first time and that optionally

All the above follows from the fact that “*na vā*” was originally used as a separate sentence. Cf. AŚS. vii 10. 7, viii. 1. 14.

We shall now consider the rules one by one :

1. In “*ayādīnām ya-va-lopah padānte na vā*” i. 2. 16. the *kārya* elision is prescribed for the first time and that optionally. So it is a case of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* and only one alternative is stated here.

2. In “*pañcame pañcamāṃs tṛtīyān na vā*” i. 4.2, *na* is

either an interpolation or inserted for the sake of the metre. Since both alternatives are directly mentioned here, *vā* alone was expected.

3. In the next rule “varga-prathamebhyaḥ śakāraḥ svarya-va-paraś chakāraṃ na vā”, *na vā* is quite regular as this is also a case of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* of *kāryas* and only one alternative is mentioned here.

4. In the next rule “tebhya eva hakāraḥ pūrva-caturthaṃ na vā” also, *na vā* is regular for the same reasons.

5. In “śiñcau vā” i. 4. 13 *vā* is quite regular, since one alternative is stated and the other obtained by *anuvṛtti*.

6. In “varge tadvarga-pañcamaṃ vā” i. 4. 16 *vā* is regular for the same reasons.

7. In “ka-khayor jihvāmūliyaṃ na vā” i. 5. 4. *na vā* has been used because it is a case of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* of the *kāryas* and only one alternative has been stated.

8. In the next rule “pa-phayor upadhmāniyaṃ na vā” also the same reasons apply.

9. In the next rule “śe ṣe se vā vā para-rūpaṃ vā alone is used quite correctly with the *nimittas*, but the use of the second *vā* is open to objection, since it is used of the *kāryas* and only one alternative is stated. Here *vā* has evidently been used for the sake of the metre, and it is significant that henceforth *na vā* is discarded altogether.

10. In “a-paro lopyo 'nya-savare yaṃ vā” i. 5. 9. *vā* is quite regular, since both sides are stated.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that Hc. also uses *vā* and *na vā*, but for different reasons. Under “sau navetau” i. 2. 38, the *Laghunyāsa* says :

वेत्युक्तेऽपि विकल्पे सिद्धे नवेत्यधिकारार्थं कृतम् । तेन सर्वत्र यत्र नवेति तत्राधिकारः । यत्र वेति तत्र नाधिकारः ।

Similarly the Haimaprakāśa says :

‘न वा’ इत्यखण्डमव्ययं ‘वा’ इत्यस्यार्थे, परं यत्र वा-शब्दप्रयोग-स्तत्रैकस्मिन्नेव सूत्रे विकल्पः प्रघर्तते ; यत्र नवा-शब्दप्रयोगस्तत्र बहुषु सूत्रेषु विकल्पोऽनुवर्तते इत्यनयोर्विशेषः ।

The first rule of the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra “athāto dharmajijñāsā” as also the first rule of the Brahma Sūtra “athāto Brahma-jijñāsā” are quarters of the śloka metre.

In the Kāvyaḷamkāra-Sūtra of Vāmana the very first rule is *kāvyaṃ grāhyam alamkāraṭ* which cannot fail to strike the reader as the first or third quarter of an Anuṣṭubh. Again, the second and third rules of the next section, viz., *pūrve śiṣyā vivekitvāt, netare tad-viparyayāt* forms a hemistich of Anuṣṭubh.

Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether a passage was composed originally in prose or in verse. Thus in the Vyakti-*viveka* we find :

न तावदत्र नञः श्राद्धेनोत्तरपदार्थेनाभिसम्बन्धः कश्चित् प्रतीयते, अपि तु विशेष्यतया प्राधान्येन तद्भोज्यर्थेनैव । तत्रापि कर्त्रंश एष प्रधानम्, न क्रियांशः । श्राद्धभोजनशोभो हि यतः कर्ता प्रतीयते । न तद्भोजनमात्रम्, कर्तरि णिनेर्विधानात् ।

In the Sāhitya Darpaṇa we read :

अत्रापि यदि भोजनादिरूपक्रियांशेन नञः सम्बन्धः स्यात् तदैव तत्र प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधत्वं घक्तुं शक्यम्, न च तथा, विशेष्यतया प्रधानेन तद्भोज्यर्थेन कर्त्रंशेनैव नञः सम्बन्धात् । यदाहुः—

श्राद्धभोजनशीलो हि यतः कर्ता प्रतीयते ।

न तद्भोजनमात्रं तु कर्तरीनेर्विधानतः ॥

इति ।

No doubt, several MSS. read *d.* as *kartari ñiner vidhānāt* which is supported by the commentator Maheśvara, still the Sāhitya Darpaṇa would appear to have preserved the original reading in this particular instance.

Personally I have not the slightest doubt that the whole of K. was originally composed in verse. It is only on this hypothesis that we can explain “eva” in “tebhya eva hakārah pūrva-caturtham na vā” i. 4. 4, “paras tu” in “ḍaḍha-ṇa paras tu ṇakāram” i. 4. 14 coming after “ṭa-ṭhayoh śakāram, ta-thaḥ sakāram, le lam, ja-jha-ña-śakāreṣu ṇakāram” etc., “vibhāṣyete” instead of “vibhāṣā” or “vā” in “vibhāṣyete pūrvādeḥ” ii. 1. 28, “sarvataḥ” in “sur āmi sarvataḥ” ii. 1. 29 and so on. No doubt the Kātantra, as it is extant in Bengal, is for the most part in prose, but this is only due to the fact that the versified Kārikas were divided into short prose rules, and in course of time, due to certain additions and alterations they appeared to have changed beyond all recognition. The first few rules* of K. may thus be reconstructed in verses-form :

सिद्धो वर्णसमाम्नाय आदौ चतुर्दश स्वराः ।

दश समानास्तेषां द्वौ द्वावन्योन्यस्य सवर्णौ ॥

पूर्वो ह्रस्वः परो दीर्घः स्वरोऽवर्णवर्जो नामी ।

सन्ध्यक्षरमेकारादि कादीनि व्यञ्जनानि ते ॥

*सिद्धी वर्णसमाम्नायः । तत्र चतुर्दशादौ स्वराः । दश समानाः । तेषां द्वौ द्वावन्योन्यस्य सवर्णौ । पूर्वो ऋस्वः । परो दीर्घः । स्वरोऽवर्णवर्जो नामी । एकारादीनि सन्ध्यक्षराणि । कादीनि व्यञ्जनानि । ते वर्गाः पञ्च पञ्च पञ्च ।

ĀDEŚA.

The word “ādeśa” (from *ā-diś* ‘to point out, direct, teach’) is used for the first time in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Śrauta-sūtras in the sense of ‘advice, instruction’. In grammar it means ‘that which is ordered in the place of another’, hence ‘a substitute’. The followers of Āpiśali show the distinction between ādeśa” and “āgama” etc. thus :

आगमोऽनुपघातेन विकारश्चोपमर्दनात् ।

आदेशस्तु प्रसङ्गेन लोपः सर्वाधिकर्षणात् ॥

‘An augment comes in without injury (to the original), a vikāra comes in by smashing *i.e.* ousting the original, a substitute comes in the place of something else and elision takes place by dragging away *i.e.* destroying the whole.’

Others put the same thing more vividly thus :

स्थाने शत्रुवदादेशा भाले पुण्ड्रवदागमाः ।

दन्तानामिव लोपः स्याच्छत्रवत् प्रत्ययाः परे ॥

‘An ādeśa or substitute is like an enemy taking possession of the domain of a vanquished opponent, an āgama or augment is like the mark of ashes on the forehead, lopa or elision is like the falling off of the teeth and pratyayas or suffixes are appendages following one like umbrellas.’

When one letter is substituted for another, it is known as vikāra. This is the view of the followers of Āpiśali :

एकवर्णकार्यं विकारः । अनेकवर्णकार्यमादेश इत्यापिशलीयं मतम् ।

We find the same thing in the Kavirāja on K. ii. 3. 33. Bhaṭṭoji also says :

विकारो नाम वर्णात्मक आदेशः । शब्दकौस्तुभः, पृ: ३४४

The Hemacandra Laghunyāsa (i. 4. 90) says :

एकस्यावयवस्य यो भवति स प्रोक्तो विकारो बुधै-
रादेशस्त्वस भूरिव प्रकटितः सर्वोपमर्दात्मकः ॥

Pāṇini uses ādeśa in the rules “eca ig-ghrasvādeṣe” i. 1. 48, “sthāni-vad-ādeśo’nal-vidhau” i. 1. 56 etc. Āgama does not occur in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Other grammarians use these terms when necessary HN., however, uses Viriñci” for “ādeśa” and “Viṣṇu” for “āgama”.

ह । आदेशो विरिञ्चिः । १।३९

विरिञ्चिर्ब्रह्मा यथैकं वस्तूपादायान्यत् करोति, तथा यो विधिः
प्रवर्तते स आदेशो विरिञ्चिश्चोच्यते । टीका

आगमो विष्णुः । १।४०

विष्णुर्यथा मध्यतः स्वयमाविर्भूय पोषको भवति, तथा यो विधिः
प्रवर्तते स आगमो विष्णुश्चोच्यते ।

The older name of “āgama” is “upajana” which is found in the Nirukta. Patañjali says : upajana āgamaḥ.vikāra ādeśaḥ (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 31, 11. 17-18).

RP uses both Āgama and Upajana. Other Prātiśākhya use Āgama only.

The position of the āgama is indicated in many systems of grammar by the indicatory letters ṭ, k and m. Hence in a stanza quoted in J. (i. 1. 3 Laghuvṛtti), āgamas are referred to as *ka-ṭa-matah*—

आदेशः प्रत्ययश्चैव कटमेतो हि लक्ष्मणि ।

भाव्यशब्देन पञ्चते कथ्यन्ते देवनन्दिभिः ॥

Acc. to Pāṇini indicatory ṭ and k show that the āgama will come in at the beginning and at the end respectively. When

there is an indicatory *m* the āgama is placed after the last vowel of the word, ādyantau ṭa-kitau, mid-aco'ntyāt parah i. 1. 46-47. J. follows Pāṇini, splitting up the rule "ādyantau ṭakitau" into two for the sake of consistency :

टिदादिः । किदन्तः । परोऽचो मित् । १।१।६१-६३

Durgādāsa says under Mugdhabodha 21 :

प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्यापि सम्बन्धे यो भवन्नपि ।

तयोरनुपघाती स्यादागमः स बुधैर्मतः ॥

आदेश उपघाती यः प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य वा ॥

K. generally uses "vikāra" for "ādeśa" which occurs once in "sphāyer vādeśaḥ" iv. 2. 25.

The earlier names of vikāra were : *vyāpatti* and *āpatti*.

Pāṇini generally uses the ablative and the locative respectively with the preceding and following sounds between which the āgama is inserted, the āgama itself being put in the nominative. Commentators often take great pains to show that in these cases the ablative is used for the genitive. Other grammarians generally follow Pāṇini.

R.P. uses the locative with the preceding sound as also with the following sound which is often construed with the word "pare", and the word "antarā" is used in such cases. Cf. RP. iv. 16-18 and iv. 84-89.

VP. distinctly says that an āgama is indicated by the instrumental :

तेनेत्यागमः । १।१३७ (तेनेति तृतीयाग्रहणम् । तृतीयया यो निर्दिश्यते स आगमः प्रत्येतद्वयः । यथा, "ङ्नौ काभ्यां सकारे" [४।१५], "प्रगृह्य चर्चयामितिना पदेषु" [४।१८] इति ।)

Similarly we find AC. : हकारान्नासिक्येन । १।१००

It is clear that in such cases the instrumental is construed with the word “vyavadhāna” understood.

TP., as already pointed out uses the nominative with the āgama and “paraḥ” with the word after which the āgama is prescribed. Thus we find :

त्रपुमिथुपूर्वः शकारश्चपरः । सुपूर्वश्च चन्द्रपरः । सम्पूर्व सकारः
कुरुपरः । अकुर्व च प्रत्ययात् परः । नीचापूर्वो दकार उच्चापरः ।
५।३-८

RT. uses the word “vyavadhāna” as “adhikāra” and the nominative with the intrusive sound, evidently taking “vyavadhāna” not in the sense of ‘intervention’ but in that of the ‘intervening sound’:

व्यवधानोऽन्त्यविकारे । अन्त्यात् प्रथमोऽघोषे । नात् सि ।
१८५-१८७

Pāṇini was probably thinking of the word ‘Takka’ when framing the rule “adyantau ṭakitau”. He owes his idea of the anubandha *m* probably to the fact that the most prominent āgama which is inserted after the final vowel is the nasal *n*. This particular nasal cannot be utilised for the purpose, since it will involve complications in accentuation (ñnityādir nityam vi. 1. 197), ñ and *n* will involve lengthening (aco ñṇiti vii 2. 115) and *ṇ* is required for ādeśas. So he uses the remaining nasal *m* which happens also to be next to *n*.

K. uses the anubandha *u* for this purpose (āgama udanu-bandhah svarād antyāt parah ii. 1. 6). It must have got the idea from the āgama *num* of Pāṇini and others. Sarvavarman

probably thought that since the addition of a vowel was necessary for ease of utterance, it would be conducive to brevity to use the particular vowel as an anubandha. No doubt in the case of vocalic āgamas after the final vowels the anubandha *u* cannot be used, still such āgamas are rare.

The nasal *ṇi* is used to indicate antādeśa, because it itself stands at the *end* of a varga, and because it is generally used by itself at the *end* of words.

STHĀNIN

“Sthānin” is derived from “sthāna” ‘place’ with the help of the possessive suffix ‘ini’ and means literally ‘having a place’. It is used in Āśvalāyana’s Śrauta Sūtra in the sense of ‘being in the proper place, appropriate’. In grammar it is used in two senses. As an adjective it means that which should be in the place, but is not there, that which is to be supplied as in “kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninah” ii. 3. 14. As a noun it is used in opposition to ādeśa ‘substitute’ and means the original form or primitive element of a word in place of which something else is substituted. Thus when *bhū* is substituted for *as*, *as* is “sthānin” and *bhū* “ādeśa.” Sthāna is used in the sense of place, stead in AB. and the Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras. This is but a slight development of meaning from the above sense. Hence Sanskrit grammarians generally explain “sthāna” as ‘prasaṅga, contingency, case, event.’ Under “sthāni-vad ādeśo’nal vidhau” i. 1. 55 the Mahābhāṣya says :

स्थानी हि नाम यो भूत्वा न भवति, आदेशो हि नाम योऽभूत्वा भवति ।

The Bāla-manoramā explains “sthānin” and ādeśa thus :

स्थानं प्रसङ्गः । यस्य स्थानेऽन्यद् विधीयते तत् स्थानी । येन विधीयमानेनान्यत् प्रसक्तं निवर्तते स आदेशः ।

Regarding the first sense Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabda-kaustubha :

स्थानि-शब्दोऽप्रयुज्यमानतया वैयाकरणगृहे प्रसिद्धः ।

Later grammarians became chary of the use of “sthānin” which soon became obsolete, though “sthāni-vad ādeśah” is used as an atideśa-rule in most systems. K. has “etvam asthānini” ii. 3. 17 where “asthānini” means that for which no ādeśa or substitute has been prescribed. Su. uses “sthānin” in “sthāni-tumo dhātor icchāyām” iii. 1. 3. Sam. uses “gamyamāna” in “gamyamāne” pi nāmni prathamo yuṣmad-asmadoś ca madhyamottamau” ii. 17 corresponding to Pānini’s “yuṣmadhyupapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāninyapi madhyamah.”

The Nyāsa says :

शब्दास्तिष्ठन्त्यस्मिन्निति स्थानम् । तदस्यास्तीति स्थानी । एतदुक्तं भवति—यस्यार्थः प्रतीयते न तु प्रयोगोऽस्ति स स्थानीत्युच्यते ।

इह किमुषसि पृच्छाशंसि किं-शब्दरूप-

प्रतिनियमितवाचा वायसेनैष पृष्ठः ।

भण फणिभवशास्त्रे तातडः स्थानिनौ का-

विति विहिततुहीवागुत्तरः कोकिलोऽभूत् ॥

नैषध १९।६१

Can it be that this cuckoo being asked at the break of day by the crow that had its speech restricted to the (nom. dual) form of the interrogative pronoun *kim*, “say what are the

two original endings for which *tātam* is substituted in the system of Pāṇini" (lit. in the Mahābhāṣya) made his reply in the form of the sound *tuhi*?

At the first blush of the morning the crow saws and the cuckoo cuckoos. The poet imagines the crow uttering the word "kau," the nom. dual of the interrogative pronoun *kim* with a view to asking the cuckoo what are the two endings for which the substitute *tātan* is prescribed in the system of Pāṇini, and the cuckoo utters "tuhi" in reply meaning that the original endings are 'tu' and 'hi'. The reference is to Pāṇini's rule "tuhyos tātan āśiṣyanyatarasyām" vii. 1. 35.

स्वं नैषधादेशमहो विधाय कार्यस्य हेतोरपि नानलः सन् ।

किं स्थानिघ्नद्राघमधत्त दुष्टं तादृक् कृतव्याकरणः पुनः सः ॥

नैषध १०।१३५

'Ah ! making himself substituted by Naiṣadha and also becoming the man Nala for the sake of the end in view (even in the case of a non-anal-vidhi), why did Indra, who gave an explanation like that (who had composed such a grammar), retain his original evil nature (accept sthānivadbhāva which is not valid in this case) ?'

In a previous stanza :

स्मितेन गौरी हरिणी दृश्यं वीणावती सुस्वरकण्ठभासा ।

हेमेव कायप्रभयाङ्गशेषैस्तन्वी मतिं क्रामति मेनकापि ॥

Indrā had compared Damayantī with the Apsarases Gaurī, Hariṇī, Viṇāvātī, Hemā and Menakā. Thereupon Nala had suspected his identity and looked at him with eyes full of suspicion. He dispelled those suspicions by explaining that

Gaurī, Hariṇī, Viṇāvati, Hemā and Menakā were not proper names, but meant respectively 'white', 'gazelle', 'an adept at the lyre', 'gold' and 'no one mine'. This explanation is referred to by the word Vyākaraṇa in this stanza. Vyākaraṇa also means 'grammar'. It is wellknown that Indra is the traditional author of the first complete Sanskrit grammar ever composed.* And grammar teaches "sthānivadādeśo' nalvidhau" (P. i. 1. 56) that a substitute is to be regarded as the original except in the matter of rules concerning grammatical operation with respect to single letters (analvidhi). Here Indra is impersonating Nala and so has made himself the substitute of Nala and he is not anala also for the winning of Damayantī, consequently sthānivad-bhāva which is possible only in the case of 'analvidhi' is not applicable here for the simple reason that he is not anal. He should therefore take on the nature of the ādeśa Nala and become as pure and truthful as that king. But by a curious irony of fate, the author of the first and finest work on Sanskrit grammar violates his own rule and exhibits falsehood, prevarication and his notorious foundness for other people's wives.

*वाग् वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्, ते देवा इन्द्रमनुवन्, इमां नी वाचं व्याकुर्वन्ति । सीऽन्नवीत्, वरं वृणे । मद्वा चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्णाता इति । तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्णते । तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत् । तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुच्यते । ते सं ६।१४.७

इन्द्रोऽपि महामते अनेकशास्त्रविदग्धबुद्धिः स्वशब्दशास्त्रप्रणेता तच्छिष्येण नागवेशरूपधारिणा स्वर्गे इन्द्रसभायां प्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा तत्र वा सहस्रारो रथो भज्यताम्, मम वैकैकनागभावस्य फणच्छेदी भवत्विति । स ह लोकायतिकशिष्येण देवानामिन्द्रं विजित्य सहस्रारं रथं भङ्क्त्वा पुनरपीमं लोकमागतः । लङ्कावतारसूत्रम् ।

समुद्रवद व्याकरणं महेश्वरे तदर्थकुम्भीकरणं ब्रह्मसूतौ ।

तदभागभागाच्च गतं पुरन्दरे कुशाग्रशिन्दूत्पतितं हि पाणिनौ ।

सारस्वतभाष्यम् ।

In Murāri's Anargha Rāghava (iv. 11. 3-4) we find :

तपोभिरस्य ब्राह्मणादेशेऽपि स्थानिषद्भावेन क्षत्रकार्यं न जहाति ।

UPAJANA, UPAPADA AND UPABANDHA.

“Upajana” is the earlier name of ‘āgamā’. *Upa-jan* is used in Vedic literature in the sense of ‘to be produced or to originate in addition, to be added’. Thus RV. i. 25 8 speaks of the intercalary month thus :

वेद मासो धृतव्रतो द्वादश प्रजावतः ।

वेदा य उपजायते ॥

‘He, the upholder of the law, knows the twelve months with their offspring ; he knows the month that is born besides.’

In R.P. iv. 84 we find :

पुरुषृथ्वधिपूर्वेषु शकार उपजायते ।

ह्रस्वे च पूर्वपदान्ते चन्द्रशब्दे परेऽन्तरा ॥

Similarly we find in the Mahābhāṣya :

तद् यथा द्वयोरासीनयोस्तृतीय उपजायते, न द्वितीयो द्वितीयो भवति । कस्तिर्हि ? तृतीयः । ६।१।२

Hence “upajana” means ‘addition of a letter or syllable in the formation of a word, letters or syllables added’ and so corresponds exactly to later “āgama”. In this sense the word is used several times in the Nirukta :

उपेत्युपजनम् । १।३ (उपजनम्—आधिक्यम्)

‘Upa is used in the sense of addition.’

अनर्थका उपजना भवन्ति—कर्तन हन्तन यातनेति । ४।७

“There are meaningless additions as, for instance, kartana, hantana, yātana.’

अथापि वर्णोपजनः—आस्थद् द्वारो भरूजेति । २।२

‘Further there is addition of letters ; e.g., āsthat, dvārah and bharūjā’.

“Upajana” is used in the sense of ‘birth’ in “samānajātīyasya vopajanah” Nir. iv. 20 and “Svaropajanaś cādr̥ṣṭah padeṣu saṃhitāyām ca” CA. iv. 109.

The past participial form “upa-jāta” is used in the sense of ‘appended member’ in CA. and its commentary :

उपजातः परेण । ४।१०

‘When a compound is further compounded with an appended member, the latter constituent is separated.’

भिषजा हि सुशब्दोऽयं पुंलिङ्गेन समस्यते ।

उपजातस्ततस्मात् पूर्वेणावग्रहः स्मृतः ॥ ४।४६ टीका

‘The word *su* here is compounded with the masculine *bhiṣaj* to which (the compound) *tama* is further appended, hence the former, i.e., *subhiṣak* is to be separated.’ Whitney suggests “pareṇa” for “pūrveṇa” and translates “separation by avagraha made of the latter”.

यत्रोभे प्रतिविध्येते उपजातं जरच्च यत् ।

जरतावग्रहः कार्यं ऋक्सामभ्यां निदर्शनम् ॥

“When both members are severally separable, the newly added and the ancient, the latter is to be separated by avagraha from the former : *ṛksāmabhyām* is an instance in point.”

“Upapada” literally means ‘near a word, a word standing near (another word), a word preceding or following (upocā-

ritam padam upapadam. Nyāsa). In this sense it is used by Pāṇini in “mithyopapadāt kṛṇo’ bhyāse” i. 3. 71, “vibhāso-papadena partīyamāne” i. 3. 77 etc. In “upapadavibhakti” as opposed to “kāraḥ vibhakti”, “upapada” means individual ‘word’ and the expression “upapada vibhakti” means case-ending in connexion with individual words. As the Nyāsa says under Hc. ii. 2. 100 : sā hyupapada-vibhaktir yatra kāraḥ-gandho’pi nāsti, yathā śaktārtha-vaśādādibhir yoge caturthīti: In its technical sense it refers to a word in the locative in Pāṇini’s rules under the general heading “dhātōh” iii. 1. 91 : tatropapadam saptamīstham iii. 1. 92. Thus since in the rule “karmanyaṇ” iii. 2. 1 the word ‘karmani’ is used in the locative it is to be regarded as an “upapada” for the purposes of the rules “upapadam atīṇ” ii. 2. 19, “gati-kāraḥkopapadāt kṛt” vi. 1. 139 etc.

“Upapada” occurs in the first sense in V.P. “yadvṛtto-papādac ca” vi. 14 (corresponding to Pāṇini’s “yadvṛttān nityam” viii. 1. 66). Uvaṭa says in his Bhāṣya :

अत्र यस्य यद्वृत्तस्याख्यातपदेन सह सम्बन्धो भवति तदेव
विक्रियते, न तु सन्निधिमात्रेण ।

यस्य येनार्थसम्बन्धो दूरस्थस्यापि तस्य तत् ।

अर्थतो ह्यसमर्थानामानन्तर्यमकारणम् ॥

In another rule in the same section “upapadaprayoge’pi ca” vi. 23, it has practically the same meaning, referring, as it does, to the particles *ca vā ha aha eva* which are used in proximity with the verb.

‘The commentary on CA. while explaining the rule *vrkṣā*

vanānīti vakāre ii. 28 uses “upapada” in the sense of ‘the contiguous word’ :

सोपपदस्य ग्रहणमेतावत्त्वार्थम् । इह मा भूत् । वृक्षान् वातो
वृक्षान् वयाः ।

In APr. i. 2 “karmopado vṛddhimān akāra-pratyayah”, “upapada” would appear to occur to in its usual technical sense.

Later grammarians generally avoid this word of four syllables, replacing it by *yoga*, *yukta*, *asyuka*, *ñasyukta* etc., though sometimes it is used in its ordinary sense. In the other schools generally the ablative is used with the *upapada* instead of the locative of the Pāṇini school, and so they use “ñasyukta” or “asyukta” for “upapada”. Thus Śāk. says svakṛtāsyukta ii. 1. 22. Hc. uses “ñasyukta” in ñasyuktaṁ kṛtā iii. 1. 49 which is explained thus in the Vṛtti : kṛt-pratyaya-vidhāyake sūtre ñasyanta-nāmnoktaṁ kṛdantena nāmnā nitya-samāsas tatpuruṣah syat. The Paribhāṣā “gati-kāropapadānāṁ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanam prāk sub-utputteh” is read by the followers of this school as “gati-kāraka-ñasyuktānāṁ kṛdantair vibhaktyutputteh prāg eva samāsah.”

J. uses vāk for upapada, probably because vā in this system denotes “dvitīyā” and the upapada generally takes the accusative. Thus for “upapadam atin.” of Pāṇini J. has “vāg amin.” i. 3 85. Cf. also “īpā vāk” ii. 1. 98.

Sam. uses “upapada” in the rule “tannimittopapadasya ca” vii. 53.

Su. uses “upapada” in the rule “kṛtā tadarthopapadam” iv. 3. 42.

Rāma Tarkavāgīśa uses "upapada" in his commentary on Mu. 366 : a-syādyantenāpi kṛtopapadasya.

PR. defines "upapada" thus :

सप्तम्युक्तं विधिसूत्रादावर्थपदेनायुक्तं चेत्तत् ।

पूर्वपराद्वयञ्चोपपदं स्यात् । १६।१८

"Upabandha" (from *upa* 'near' and *bandh* 'to bind') literally means 'that which is attached to' and is used in the Nirukṭa in the sense of 'suffix' :

अध्वर्युः ।...अपि वाधीयाने युरूपबन्धः । १।८

'Or the suffix *yu* is added in the sense of 'adhīyāna' (he who studies).'

The sense is not quite clear. It is possible that according to Yāska 'adhvaryu' is derived from the root *i* preceded by *adhi* with the help of the primary suffix *yu*. More probably, however, Yāska intends to derive 'adhvaryu' from the substantive 'adhvara' with the help of the taddhita suffix 'yu'. The latter is the view of both Durga and Skandasvāmin and appears to be the correct view.

अपि वा सीमित्येतदनर्थकमुपबन्धमाददीत पञ्चमीकर्माणम्—
सीमन्तः सीमतः सीमातो मर्यादातः । १।७

'Or else the word 'sīman' may have taken the suffix (*tas*) in the sense of the ablative and without any other sense.'

अग्रियाः...अपि वा अग्रमित्येतदनर्थकमुपबन्धमाददीत ६।१६

'Or else the word 'agra' might have taken on a pleonastic suffix.'

The above three passages set up a strong presumption in favour of taking 'upabandha' in the sense of 'secondary suffix'

As has already been pointed out (p. 71) the earlier name for a primary suffix was 'nāmakaraṇa.'

LOPA, LUK AND LUP

"Lopa" is derived from the root *lup* 'to break, hurt, injure' and occurs for the first time in the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa. In grammatical literature it is first found in the Nirukta in the sense of loss or elision :

अथाप्युपधालोपो भवति—जग्मतुः जग्मुरिति ।...अथापि षर्ण-
लोपो भवति—तच्चा यामीति । अथापि द्विवर्णलोपः—तृच
इति । ३।१

Here 'lopa' is used in opposition to 'āgama' or 'upajana' and appears to mean 'destruction' or 'loss'. In V.P. we find "varṇasyādarśanaṃ lopah" i. 147, but in TP. occurs "vināśo lopah" i. 58 which is the earlier sense and which is preserved in *kurral* of the Tolkapiya. RP. generally uses *lumpati* (active) or *lupyate* (neuter) and so does not deem it necessary to define the term. 'Lopa' occurs in the expression 'lopa-rephoṣma-bhāva' twice (iv. 80, xv. 12) and 'luptavat' and 'luptāntam' occur once each in x. 3. TP. uses 'lupta', 'lupyate', 'lupyete', 'lopa' and 'lopin' and distinguishes 'vikāra' from 'lopa' in "varṇasya vikāralopau" i. 57. It construes the adhikāra rule "lopah..." v. 11 with the nominatives in the following rules according to its paribhāṣā "ahkara āgama-vikāri-lopinām" i. 23. VP. uses 'lopa' and construes it with the genitive acc. to its paribhāṣā "ṣaṣṭhī sthāne-yogā". "Luk" occurs in VP. in "edoddbhyām akāro dug abhinihitah" i. 114. in the sense of that

has undergone elision'. CA. uses the nominal form "lopa" throughout, construing it with the genitive. Pāṇini says "adarśanaṃ lopah" i. 1. 60 and the Vārttikakārā suggests "prasaktādarśanaṃ lopah". The Vyāsa-Śikṣā follows Pāṇini and says : lopah syād apyadarśanam 10. RT. generally prefers monosyllables and so uses 'lup' (derived evidently from the root *lup* with the suffix *kvip*) for "lopa" in the rules "lub anyah" 83 (lupyate 'nyo' kārāh—com.), and "lub ud eṣa sā sya vyañjane 156 (lupyata udātta eṣa sa sya vyañjane pratyaye i.e. pare—com.). It is to be noticed that in both these instances Lup is construed not with the genitive but with the nominative. It must, therefore, be explained as 'lupyata iti lup'. In the Śloka-vārttikas "sarva-sāder dvigoś ca lah"* (Mahābhāṣya iv. 2. 60), "pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam" (Ib. v. 2. 37) "uvarṇā la ilasya ca" (v. 3. 83, uvarṇād ilasya ca lopo vaktavyah—Bhāṣya) "la" is used for lopa or luk. The Nyāsa says under v. 2. 37 : lukaś cāyam pūrvācārya-vihitā saṃjñā. The Padamañjarī says under v. 2. 37 : luka eṣa pūrvācārya-saṃjñā" and under v. 3. 83 : lopasya la iti pūrvācārya-saṃjñā.

Pāṇini also uses "luk", "ślu" and "lup" in the sense of elision of suffixes (including Vikaraṇas). Of these *ślu* is confined to the elision of the Vikaraṇa and the reduplication of the root in the case of juhotyādi roots and the *ś* has evidently been inserted for sārvaadhātuka-saṃjñā acc. to "tiñ-śit sārvaadhā-

*सर्वादेः सादेर्हिगोश्चोत्पन्नस्य ठको लोपो (?) भवतीत्यर्थः । व्यासः । सर्वादेः सादेर्हिगोश्चोत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लो भवति लुग् भवतीत्यर्थः । अर्धवतः सशब्दस्य ग्रहणात् सर्वशब्दः प्रयगुपात्तः । 'हिगोश्च' इत्यनेन 'द्विबोर्लुगनपरये' [४।१।८८] इत्ययमेव लुक् आरितः । पदमञ्जरी ।

tukam" iii. 4. 113), though what useful purpose is served by this saṃjñā is very difficult to determine.

Both "luk" and "lopa" occur in the Uṇādi-sūtras :

दुरीणो लोपश्च २१०, रोदेर्णिङ् लुक् च २१२

Lup is prescribed only in the Taddhita section and differs from "luk" in that in the case of elision of suffixes by "lup" the word retains its own gender and number acc. to "lupi yukta-vad vyakti-vacane" i. 2. 51, 'in the case of the elision of a Taddhita suffix by the word *lup*, the gender and number of the word formed with the suffix are the same as those of the original word'. The views of early grammarians are embodied in this rule which is apparently rejected by Pāṇini in the following rules, still the great grammarian followed their terminology. What is far more probable, however, is that the rules "taḍ aśiṣyaṃ saṃjñā-pramāṇatvāt" i. 2. 53 to "kālopasarjane ca tulyam" i. 2. 57 are really Vārttikas interpolated into the sūtras. The distinction between Luk and Lup will be clear from the following rules of the Taddhita section :

मुक्षादिभ्योऽण् । फले लुक् । जम्बूवा घा । लुप् च । हरितक्यादिभ्यश्च । ४।३।१६४-१६७

Here Lup is prescribed in the case of the words 'jambū' etc. because we get the fem. sing. 'jambūh' as the name of the fruit. But Luk is prescribed in the case of the other words, so that from the feminine stem "āmalakī" we get the neuter 'āmalaka' in the sense of 'āmalakyāh phalam' after the elision of the suffix *mayat*. Hence the Kāśikā says : yukta-vad-bhāve viśeṣah. The Siddhānta-Kaumudī also says : lupi yukta-vat.

jambvāh phalam jambūh. The Bālaṃanoramā explains : lukaiva siddhe lub-vidheh phalam āha.

The distinction between Lopa and the three suffixes Luk, Ślu and Lup is that in the case of the latter the Paribhāṣā “pratyaya-lope pratyaya-lakṣaṇam” i. 1. 62 does not apply according to the next rule “na lumatāṅgasya” i. 1. 63. Thus in the case of ‘agni-ci’ where the suffix *kvip* has been added to ‘agni-ci, a *t* comes in according to “harsvasya piti kṛti tuk” vi. 1. 71, even though the suffix is elided acc. to ‘ver aprktasya”. vi. 1. 67, because the elision here is prescribed by Lopa. In the case of ‘mrṣṭah’, however, the Vikaraṇa śap is elided by “adiprabhṛtibhyah śapah” i. 4. 72 where Luk comes by anuvṛtti from ii. 4. 58 and so the rule “mr̥jer vṛddhih” vii. 2. 114 does not apply. It may be mentioned in this connexion that Lopa is possible in the case of both Prakṛti and Pratyaya, but Luk, Ślu and Lup are prescribed in the case of Pratyaya alone*.

Luk may easily be derived from the root *luñc* to tear off with the suffix *kvip*, as has been actually done by Durga in his commentary on K. iii. 4. 92 :

लुञ्चनं लुक् । लुञ्च अपनयने । सम्पदादित्वात् भावे क्तिप् ।

But in that case the stem will be *luc*, and forms like “taddhita-luki” i. 2. 49 will be hard to explain. This derivation, therefore, is no a par with the derivation of “dhuṭ” from the root *dhukṣ* with the suffix *kvip*. Hence Goyīcandra says under “luk cihnārthasya” (Sam. vi. 1) :

लुगित्यव्युत्पन्नं नाम, न तु लुञ्चते: क्तिबन्तस्य रूपम्, तथा

*प्रत्ययस्य लुक्-श्च-लुपः १।२।६१

सति “लुकि स्त्रीविहितस्य च” [तद्धितपरिशिष्ट १४१५] इति निर्देशानुपपत्तिः स्यात् ।

The commentators of Mu., however, get over the difficulty by including Luk in the nyañkvādi group (P. vii. 3. 53).

It would appear that Pāṇini wanted to have another technical term like Lup, so he seized upon the first syllable and added to it the first of the consonants, viz. *k*, acc. to the maxim :

प्रथमोपस्थितस्य परित्यागे कारणाभावात् ।

Ślu has generally been avoided by later grammarians who directly prescribe reduplication in the case of juhotyādi roots.

K. uses “lopā” in the first rule of its second section viz. samānah savarṇe dīrghibhavati paraś ca lopam, but finds it unnecessary to define Lopa as it is sufficiently well-known (cf. “lokopacārād grahaṇa-siddhiḥ” i. 1. 23). K. does not use Luk in its earlier portions, hence it has to add “na ca tad uktam” in the rule “napuṃsakāt syamor lopo na ca taduktam” ii. 2. 6. At very nearly the end of the book we find the rule “lug-lope na pratyaya-kṛtam” corresponding to Pāṇini’s “na lumatāṅ-gasya” i. 1. 63, but that is evidently a later addition by the scholar who revised the work and used Luk in several rules of chaps. III and IV. No doubt the word Luk occurs twice in chapter II : “kateś ca jas-śasor luk” ii. 1. 76. and “anyasmāl luk” ii. 4. 3. but since the author does not mention anything about Luk at the beginning of chapter II where the other technical terms used in that chapter have been mentioned, but explains it at the end of chapter IV where the technical terms used exclusively in chapters III and IV are explained, it is quite

clear that Lup was not used in the original portion of chapter II. As regards the two rules mentioned above, the second (anyasmāl luk ii. 4. 3) is undoubtedly an interpolation like the two rules preceding it and the four following it. In the first place they are out of place in the Kāraka-section. Secondly, Sarvavarman does not deal with these details in his grammar. Thirdly, the author who gives a wide berth to kṛt, taddhita and samāsa is not likely to bother about them in connexion with other topics.

The first rule (kateś ca jaś-śasor luk ii. 1. 76) is also open to grave suspicion. It is difficult to understand why Sarvavarman should use the monosyllable "luk" in ii. 1. 76 and the disyllable "lopah" along with the reservation "na ca taduktam" only after six short rules in "napuṃsakāt syamor lopo na ca taduktam" ii. 2. 6. He might have easily written "napuṃsakāt syamor luk" which would have sounded exactly like "kateś ca jaś-śasor luk." It may be objected that in that case the rule "virāma-vyañjanādāv uktaṃ napuṃsakāt syamor lope' pi" ii. 3. 64. would not apply to words like ṣaṣ and consequently the nominative singular of ṣaṣ would be ṣaṣ and not ṣaṭ. To this our reply is that "napuṃsakāt" can easily be dropped from the rule which itself is of doubtful authenticity, if only for the masculine singular form "virāma-vyañjanādau", the grammatically regular form "virāma-vyañjanādiṣu" occurring in ii. 3. 44.

So Sarvavarman probably wrote :

कतेश्च जस्-शसोर्लोपो न च तदुक्तम् ।...

नपुंसकात् स्यमोर्लोपो न च तदुक्तम् ।...

विरामव्यञ्जनादावुक्तं स्यमोर्लोपेऽपि ।

कतेश्च जस्-शसोल्लोपः ।...

नपुंसकात् स्यमोल्लोपः ।

without bothering about “pratyaya-lope pratyaya-lakṣaṇam”.

Candra uses “lopa” without defining it. Thus he has “ino’ci lopah” v. 4. 41 corresponding to Pāṇini’s “bhāsyā ṭer lopah” vii. 1. 88. He uses “luk” for Pāṇini’s “luk”. All cases of Pāṇini’s “lup” are, however, explained away in the Vṛtti by resorting to *abhedopacāra*. Thus the Vṛtti on “ilaj deṣe” iv. 2. 109 corresponding to Pāṇini’s “deṣe lubilacau ca” v. 2. 105 says : śarkarā deṣa ity abhedopacārāt. yathā kuntān praveśaya, yaṣṭīḥ praveśayeti. Similarly we find in the Vṛtti on “nakṣatrair indu-juktaiḥ kālah” iii. 1. 5 corresponding to Pāṇini’s “nakṣatreṇa yuktah kālah” iv. 2. 3 :

“कृत्तिकासु विशाखासु मघासु भरणीषु च” इति नक्षत्रैरेष
तत्कालाभिधानमभेदोपचारात् ।

J. uses “kha” for “lopa”, because *kha* means *śūnya* which amounts to the same thing as lopa. For Luk, Ślu and Lup, J. uses Up, Uc and Uś respectively (ub-uj-uś i. 1. 71). slightly varying the order of Pāṇini.

Śāk. uses Śluc for Luk and Ślup for Ślu. Corresponding to Pāṇini’s “na lumatāṅgasya” Śāk. has the rule “ślucīgen at” i. 1. 52. Lopa and Lup are represented here by Luc. Cf. i. 2. 91-95.

Hc. uses Luk, Lup and Lopa. In the case of Luk there is Sthānivadbhāva, in the case of Lup there is no Sthānivadbhāva and Lopa is a general term for elision. Thus the author of the Haimaparakāśa says :

अवसानं विरामः स्यादादेशः शत्रुषद्भवेत् ।

त्रयो लुक् लुप् च लोपश्च वर्णादर्शनवाचकाः ॥

त्रय इति । लुक् लुप् लोपास्त्रयोऽप्येते वर्णस्यादर्शनं वदन्ति । परन्त्वेषामयं विशेषः । लुकि स्थानिवद्भावो भवति, लुपि तु स न भवति यथात्रैव वक्ष्यते । हे वारे । नामिनो लुग् वा [१।४।६१] इति मिलुकि, “लुकि च स्थानिवद्भावाल्लुप्तप्रत्ययनिमित्तं कार्यं स्यादिति सिना सह गुणे, हे वारे । पक्षे अनतो लुप् [१।४।५९] इति सिलुपि स्थानिवद्भावाभावाद् गुणाभावः, हे वारि” इति । लोप-शब्देन तु लुक् लुप् च द्वयमप्युच्यते इति सामान्यवाची लोपशब्दः । यथा सर्वेभ्यो लीपः [प ४८] इति न्याये उभयमपि गृह्यते । (पृ: १९)

Sam. uses Lopa and Luk indiscriminately, though it shows a decided preference for the latter, because it is monosyllabic. Sometimes Lopa in the Sūtra is paraphrased by Luk in the Vṛtti*. Sometimes Luk in one rule is referred to by Lopa in another. Thus in ii. 708 we find “śaṅlopa” referring to “śaṅlug iṇādeh” ii. 781. Pāṇini’s Lup is unnecessary in this system, because it has the words “prakṛtival liṅgaṃ ca” in Taddhita Pariśiṣṭa 1402 ff.

Mu. uses Lup mostly in the Sandhi section and lays down “lupi na sandhyādyavidhī” 15 i.e., when an element is elided by the word “lup”, the sounds preceding and following that element do not enter into Sandhi combination, nor does any grammatical operation prescribed with reference to the

*लोपोऽणमोऽतः । ६।२२

अणः सम्बन्धिनोऽमोऽकारस्य लुग् भवति ।

preceding sound take place. Corresponding to Pāṇini's Luk Mu. has Luk also and corresponding to Pāṇini's "na lumatāṅgasya" Mu. has "luki na tatra" 94. For Pāṇini's Lopa it generally uses Lopa.

Sār. distinguishes between Lopa and Lopaś, the latter is a blend of 'lopa' and 'nāśa' and corresponds to Mu.'s Lup.

For Pāṇini's Luk, Sār. also has Luk.

वर्णादर्शनं लोपः । वर्णविरोधो लोपश् ।

एकं वर्णं नाशयति, अन्यस्योत्पत्तिं प्रतिबध्नाति स वर्णविरोधः ।

Su. follows Pāṇini.

PR. uses Luk for Pāṇini's Luk, and Lopa and Lopana for Lopa.

HN. uses Hara for Lopa and Mahā-hara for Luk:

हरो यथा नाशहेतुर्भवति तथा यो विधिः प्रवर्तते स लोपो
हरश्चोच्यते । तत्र हरो द्विधा भवेत् । तत्रादर्शनमात्रहेतुर्हरः ।
आत्यन्तिकलयहेतुर्महाहरः । लुगित्यन्ये ।

For lup it uses smarahara T. 363. ff.

ĀKṚTIGAṆA.

In the Prātiśākhya we find lists of words where certain grammatical operations, e.g., lengthening, take place. In grammar we generally find the most important word of the group followed by *ādi* or *prabhṛti* in the rule and the full list given in the Gaṇapāṭha*. The list in the Gaṇapāṭha is generally exhaustive and a *vṛt* at the end of the gaṇa often shows this.

* Sometimes the word is merely used in the plural.

In some cases, however, the list is not exhaustive but merely illustrative. Such lists are known as Ākṛtigaṇas. Monier Williams explains Ākṛtigaṇa thus : a list of specimens, collection of words belonging to a particular grammatical rule (not exhibiting every word belonging to that rule, but only specimens, whereas a simple gaṇa exhibits every word). The arśa-ādi list (v. 2. 127) is a well-known instance of Ākṛtigaṇa. Many gaṇas which are regarded as exhaustive by Pāṇini and read with a *vṛt* at the end are regarded as Ākṛtigaṇas by his followers because of the advent of new forms in the language since the days of Pāṇini.*

The Bālaṃanoramā explains Ākṛtigaṇa thus :

आकृत्या एवञ्जातीयकतया निर्णेतव्योऽयं गण इत्यर्थः । लोक-
प्रयोगानुसारेणैवञ्जातीयकाः शब्दा अस्मिन् गणे निवेशनीया इति
यावत् ।

Later critics have often been furious against grammarians for their failure to make the list exhaustive and having recourse to Ākṛtigaṇa. Thus we find in the Nyāyamañjarī :

यच्च व्याप्तिसिद्धौ सरलमुपायमपश्यतामाकृतिगणवर्णनं यच्च पदे
पदे बहुलवचनं तत् सुतरामपरिशुद्धिमनुशासनस्य दर्शयति ।

These Ākṛtigaṇas come in particularly handy in the case of Ārśa-Prayogas. As Bhāskara Rāya says in his commentary on the Nityā-ṣoḍaśikāṇava (p. 269) :

* Thus though "vṛihyādi" is not regarded as an Ākṛtigaṇa in the Kāśikā, it is so regarded by Vāmana in his Kāvyaśāṣṭrasūtra : dhanvīti vṛihyādipāṭhāt vi 2. 57.

धातोर्बह्वर्थत्वाद् बहुलग्रहणात् पृषोदरादित्वा-
 दाकृतिगणपाठेन स्वेच्छानुगुणादुणादिकल्पनातः ।
 छन्दसि सर्वविधीनां वैकल्पिकतावशादमुष्य मनोः
 सिद्धैः कथितेऽर्थेऽस्मिन् वैयाकरणानामनुमतिः ॥

‘In the words of the Siddhas in this manvantara there is the approval of grammarians, because of roots expressing various senses, because of the mention of ‘bahula’ (in the rules), because of the *pr̥ṣodarādi* group, because of the mention of *ākṛtiganas*, because of our freedom to postulate *Uṇādi* suffixes as it suits our convenience and because of the optional application of all rules in regard to the Vedas.’

Murāri makes use of this technical terms of grammar in the following stanza of his *Anargha Rāghava* :

कुर्युः शास्त्रकथाममी यदि मनोर्वशे मनुष्याङ्कुराः
 स्याच्चेद् ब्रह्मगणोऽयमाकृतिगणस्तत्रेप्यते चेद्ब्रह्मान् ।
 सम्राजां समिधां च साधकतमं धत्ते छिदाकारणं
 धिङ् मौर्वीकुशकर्षणोल्बणकिणग्रन्थिर्ममायं करः ॥ ४।४४

‘If these human sprouts in the bamboo-clamp of Manu indulge in discussions on Scripture, if the category of *Brāhmaṇa* be an open one, and if you are to be included in that category, then fie on this hand of mine on which there are the prominent scars and callosities due to the drawing of the bow-string and *kuśa*-grass and which wields (the axe which is) the most potent cause of the chopping of emperors as well as of sacrificial fuel.’

The earliest use of *Gaṇa* in grammatical literature probably goes back to the solitary instance in RP. “*ādityā devā varuṇāsureti cetyādiṣu*” iv. 91, ‘the words *ādityā devā varuṇā*

asurā undergo shortening (of finals) before *yā* etc.' where "yetyadiṣu" is used for convenience, the full list being given in the first half of the next stanza (RP. iv, 93). VP. uses *gaṇa* only once in the rule "~~uttambhanādī~~ ādi-saṃśayāt" v. 38, 'the words *uttambhana* and the like are not analysed in the Pada-text because of doubts as to the initial of the second member' where "ādi" is used in the sense of 'prakāra' and "*uttambhanādīni*" merely means 'words like *uttambhana*' (cf. *lakāśya rephah pādam aṅgulim ityevamādīnām* CA. i. 66 and... *vaṣītyeva-mādīnām* ib ii, 29). These three may be regarded as very early instances of *ākṛti-gaṇa* and may be compared with Pāṇini's "*pr̥ṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*" vi. 3. 109. With the exception of the above cases no *gaṇa* is found in RP. and VP., and TP. avoids it most rigorously. A fairly large number of *gaṇas*, however, is found in CA. K. uses them sparingly, but in several cases where Pāṇini who uses *gaṇa* extensively mentions all the words, K. uses *gaṇas*. Thus for Pāṇini's "*ap-tr̥n-tr̥c-svaṣṭ-ṇaptr̥-neṣṭr̥-tvaṣṭr̥-hotr̥-kṣattr̥-potr̥-pra-śāstr̥nām*" vi. 4. 11, K. has "*svaṣṭrādīnām ca*" ii. 1 69. Of the later grammarians Bhoja mentions each particular word in his *Svarasvatīkaṇīhābharṇa* and thus tries to avoid the uses of *gaṇas*.

UTSARGA AND APAVĀDA

Utsarga (from *ut-srj*) means 'pouring out', 'setting free', thence *utsargatah* means generally, without any limitation. So in grammatical literature *utsarga* means 'a general rule', as opposed to *apavāda* 'a special rule'. *Apavad* (from *apa* 'away from' and *vad* 'to speak') means to deny, to contradict, hence

apavāda means 'a rule in super-session of another rule i.e., a special rule. In RP. Nyāya is used in the sense of Utsarga : न्यायैर्मिश्रानपवादान् प्रतीयात्* i. 53 which means the same thing as the later Paribhāṣā अपवादविषयं परिहृत्योत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते । Commentators of the later systems of grammar like the Mugdhabodha generally use "sāmānya vidhi" and viśeṣa vidhi" for *utsarga* and *apavāda* respectively. An *Apavāda* is generally defined thus : येन नाप्राप्ते यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्य बाधकः (= अपवादः भवति ।

"Prasaṅga" ('contingency, case') is a still earlier term for *Utsarga*. Cf. AŚS. i. 1. 22 : प्रसङ्गादपवादो बलायान् ।

In the introductory section of the Mahābhāṣya we find : तस्मादनभ्युपायः शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः । कथं तर्हिमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः ? किञ्चित् सामान्यविशेषबल्लक्षणं प्रवर्त्य येनाल्पेन यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दौघान् प्रतिपद्येरन् । किं पुनस्तत् ? उत्सर्गापवादौ । कथञ्जातीयकः पुनरुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः कथञ्जातीय-कोऽपवादः ? सामान्येनोत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः । तद् यथा—कर्मण्यण् [३।२।१] । तस्य विशेषेणापवादः । तद् यथा—आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः [३।२।३] ।

Under "nyāyair miśrān apavādān pratīyāt" RP. i. 53. Uvata says :

न्याया उत्सर्गा महाविषया विधयः । अपवादा अल्पविषया विधयः ।

Durgādāsa says under Mugdhabodha 21 :

तथा सामान्यकार्येभ्यो विशेषकविधिर्बली ।

बहवो विषया यस्य स सामान्यविधिर्भवेत् ॥

अल्पः स्याद् विषयो यस्य स विशेषविधिर्मतः ॥

Vāsudeva Dikṣita in his Bālamānoraṁ explains Apavāda thus :

अपोद्यते बाध्यतेऽनेनेत्यपवादः । बाहुलकः करणे घञ् । येन नाप्राप्ते यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्यापवाद इत्यपवादलक्षणम् । अप्राप्तेति भावे क्तः । येनेति कर्तरि तृतीया । द्वौ नञ्आषाडश्यकत्वं बोध्यतः । यत्कर्तृकावश्यकप्राप्तौ सत्यां यो विधिरारभ्यते स आरभ्यमाणो विधिस्तस्यावश्यकप्राप्तस्यापवादो बाधक इति तदर्थः । अयञ्च न्यायसिद्धः । अवङादयो हि ङित आदेशाः सर्वेऽनेकाल एव । तेषु चानेकालविशेषेषु विधीयमानेन ङितामन्त्यादेशत्वेन सविषयेऽवश्यं प्राप्तमनेकालसामान्येन विहितं सार्वादेशत्वं बाध्यते, विशेष-विहितत्वान् निरवकाशत्वाच्च । विशेषशास्त्रं हि विशेषेषु भट्टिति प्रवर्तते, विशेषाणां स्वशब्देनोपात्तत्वात् । सामान्यशास्त्रं तु सामान्य-मुखेन विशेषेषु प्रवर्तते इति तस्य तेषु मन्दप्रवृत्तिः । अतो विशेष-शास्त्रं प्रबलम् । उक्तञ्च भट्टवार्तिके—

अवश्यमेव सामान्यं विशेषं प्रतिगच्छति ।

गतमात्रञ्च तत्तेन विशेषे स्थाप्यते ध्रुवम् ॥ [सि, कौ, ४३]

The terms “Utsarga” and “Apavāda” are so well-known in our country that Kālidāsa, the master of figures of similitude, has no hesitation in using them as Upamānas in his Kumāra-Sambhava and Raghuvamśa :

लब्धप्रतिष्ठाः प्रथमं यूयं किं बलवत्तरैः ।

अपवादैरिवोत्सर्गाः कृतव्यावृत्तयः परैः ॥

‘Is it that, you, who attain your dignified position before all other beings, have now been displaced by more powerful force, as general ordinances are displaced by special rules? Kumar. ii. 27.

यः कश्चन रघूणां हि परमेकः परन्तपः ।

अपवाद इवोत्सर्गं व्यावर्तयितुमीश्वरः ॥

‘As a special rule can undo a general one, so any one belonging to the race of Raghu could destroy his adversary.’
Raghu. xv. 7.

Under Kumāra ii. 27 Mallinātha says :

उत्सर्गः सामान्यशास्त्राणि “मा हिंसात्” इत्येवमादीनि । अपो-
द्यन्त एभिरित्यपवादाः । गामालभेत इत्यादयः ।

Nārāyaṇa says under the same stanza :

अपवादैः विशेषविधिभिः उत्सर्गा सामान्यविधय इव । यथा
विशेषविधिभिः सामान्यविधयः स्वस्थानान्निरस्यन्ते, तथा यूयमपि
परैरिन्द्रादिस्थानान्निरस्ता एव । ... विशेषविधीनां बलोत्तरत्वं तु
“सावकाशनिरवकाशयोर्निरवकाशो विधिर्वलीयान्” इति न्यायात् ।
सर्वे ब्राह्मणा भोजयितव्या इत्यादयः सामान्यविधयः । देवदत्तस्तु
क्षीर्यवागूं पाययितव्य इत्यादयो विशेषविधयः । तत्र ब्राह्मण-
सामान्यतः प्रथमं देवदत्तेऽपि प्राप्तं भोजयितव्यत्वं पाश्चात्येन
विशेषविधिना निरस्यते । तत्र यदि विशेषविधिर्देवदत्तादपि निवर्तते
तर्हि स निरवकाश एव स्यात् । न च विधेर्निरवकाशत्वं युक्तं
कल्पयितुम् । सामान्यविधिस्तु ब्राह्मणान्तरेषु सावकाश एवेति ।
युक्तं विशेषविधीनां बलोत्तरत्वम् ।

ANTARAṅGA AND BAHIRAṅGA

Antaraṅga as a substantive means ‘any interior part of the body’, as an adjective it means ‘interior’ ‘internal’. Similarly Bahiraṅga as a substantive means ‘any exterior part of the body’,

as an adjective it means 'exterior', 'external.' In Grammar a rule is said to be Antaraṅga with reference to another which is regarded as Bahiraṅga when the former is more closely related to the interior part or base of the word than the latter. Thus the connexion of an Upasarga with a Dhātu is Antaraṅga (धातूपसर्गयोः कार्यमन्तरङ्गम्), because we find a root changing from intransitive to transitive, from the Parasmaipada to the Ātmanepada and vice versa in connexion with different Upasargas. Again in the case of a compound within a compound, the first compound is regarded as Antaraṅga in reference to the second and so on.

Daṇḍanātha explains the expressions very clearly in his commentary on Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharāṇa i. 2. 84 :

अङ्गं निमित्तम् अन्तर्यस्य तदन्तरङ्गम्, बहिर्यस्य तद् बहिरङ्गम्।
प्रकृतेः पूर्वं पूर्वमन्तरङ्गम्। परं परं बहिरङ्गम्। एकपदाश्रयम्
अन्तरङ्गम्, उभयपदाश्रयं बहिरङ्गम्। अल्पाश्रयम् अन्तरङ्गम्,
बहुाश्रयं बहिरङ्गम्।

Durgādāsa says under Mugdhabodha 21 :

बहिरङ्गविधिभ्यः स्यादन्तरङ्गविधिर्बली।
प्रत्ययाश्रित-कार्यन्तु बहिरङ्गमुदाहृतम्॥
प्रकृत्याश्रितकार्यं स्यादन्तरङ्गमिति ध्रुवम्।
प्रकृतेः पूर्वपूर्वं स्यादन्तरङ्गतरं तथा॥

Similarly we find in the Haima-laghuprakriyā :

प्रकृतेराश्रितं यत् स्याद् यद् वा पूर्वं व्यवस्थितम्।
यस्य चाल्पनिमित्तानि अन्तरङ्गं तदुच्यते।
प्रत्ययस्याश्रितं यत् स्याद् बहिर्वा यदवस्थितम्।
बहूनि वा निमित्तानि बहिरङ्गं तदुच्यते॥

Jinendra-buddhi says in his Nyāsa on i. 4. 2 :

अन्तरङ्ग-बहिरङ्गयोरन्तरङ्गं बलवदिति । लोकत एव दृष्टत्वात् ।
लोको हि प्रातरुत्थायान्तरङ्गाणि मुखप्रक्षालनादीति कार्याणि
करोति, पश्चाद् बहिरङ्गाणि राजगृहगमनादीनि कर्तुमारभते ।

This is based on the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 57) :

सा चाप्येषा लोकतः सिद्धा । प्रत्यङ्गवर्ती लोको लक्ष्यते । तद्
यथा पुरुषोऽयं प्रातरुत्थाय यान्यस्य प्रतिशरीरं कार्यं तानि तावत्
करोति, ततः सुहृदां ततः सम्बन्धिनाम् ।

Antaraṅga and Bahiraṅga are used exactly in the same
senses in Patañjali's Yogasūtra where we find त्वयमन्तरङ्गं
पूर्वेभ्यः and तदपि बहिरङ्गं निर्बीजस्य iii. 7-8. Similarly
Sureśvara says :

अन्तरङ्गं हि विज्ञानं प्रत्यङ्मात्रैकसंश्रयात् ।

बहिरङ्गं तु कर्म स्याद् बाह्यद्रव्याश्रयत्वतः ॥

In Śaṅkarācārya's Sarvavedāntasiddhāntasāra-saṃgraha we
find :

बहिरङ्गं श्रुतिः प्राह ब्रह्मचर्यादि मुक्तये ।

शमादिषट्कमेवैतदन्तरङ्गं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

अन्तरङ्गं हि बलवद् बहिरङ्गाद् यतस्ततः ।

शमादिषट्कं जिज्ञासोरवश्यं भाव्यमान्तरम् ॥

Poets have not been slow in making use of these terms in
their effusions :

स्तनपद्मलतां तस्या बिभेद पुलकोद्गमः ।

सत्यं यदन्तरङ्गेण बहिरङ्गो निरस्यते ॥

मन्मथाग्निपरितप्तमनस्का चन्दनेन किमु लिम्पसि गात्रम् ।

किं न वेत्सि बहिरङ्गविधानादन्तरङ्गविधिरेष बलीयान् ॥

SAMĀSA

“Samāsa” is derived from *as* ‘to throw’ preceded by *sam* ‘together’ with the suffix *ghañ*. *Sam-as* occurs in AV., ŚB. etc. in the sense of ‘to throw or put together, add, combine,’ e.g., उभाघन्तौ समस्येताम् AV. vi. 89. 3. ‘let the two ends be united’, रज्जुं सप्तधा समस्यति combines the string in seven ways’ etc. In AB. x. 3 we find प्रथमे पदे विहरति.....समस्यत्युत्तरे पदे ‘he separates the first two pādas,.....he unites the last two pādas’, न निविदः पदे समस्येत् ‘he should not unit the two sentences of the Nivid’. The participle “samasta” is used in ŚB. in the sense of ‘combined, united.’ The noun Samāsa is used for the first time in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus in AB. we find : सप्तदशो वै प्रजापतिर्द्वादश मासाः पञ्चर्तवो हेमन्तशिशिरयोः समासेन i. i. ‘Prajāpati is seventeenfold, the months are twelve, the seasons five through the union of winter and the cool season.’ In grammatical literature the sense of “samāsa” became naturally restricted to ‘the union of words’. In the Nirukta also “samāsenā” is used in the the sense in which it is used in A.B. ‘षष्टिश्च ह वै त्रीणि च शतानि संवत्स्याहोरात्रा इति च ब्राह्मणं समासेन’ iv. 27 (i. e. taking days and nights together). Samāsa is used in its grammatical sense in Nir, ii. 2 : अथ तद्धितसमासेष्वेकपर्वसु चानेकपर्वसु च पूर्वं पूर्वमपरमपरं प्रविभज्य निब्रूयात् ‘now with regard to words formed with secondary suffixes and compounds whether of one or more than one member, one should explain their component parts in their respective order,

having first divided the words into them'. *Samāsa* occurs in R.P. several times in the sense of 'compound' समासांस्तु पुनर्वचन इङ्गयेत् x. 16, 'samāsas one should separate by an avagraha in their second mention.' According to Uvaṭa, *Samāsa* is used here in the more general sense of 'separable words' (अवगृह्याणि पदानि). See also xi. 25, 31. *Samāsāṅgam* occurs in न समासाङ्गमुत्तरम् i. 94, where "uttaraṃ samāsāṅgam" means 'the second member of a compound'. It is not found in TP but VP. and the *Prātiśākhya*s of AV use it. Thus in VP. i. 27 we find "तिङ्कृतद्धितचतुष्टयसमासाः" where acc. to commentators "catuṣṭaya-samāsāḥ" means 'compounds comprising four classes' but 'catuṣṭaya' may also have been used in a technical sense. In the *Kātantra* school *catuṣṭaya* is explained thus :

शब्दानां साधनं यत्र कारकाणां च निर्णयः ।

समासस्तद्धितो यत्र स चतुष्टय उच्यते ॥

This is not applicable here, as 'taddhita' and 'samāsa' are separately mentioned.

CA. iv has :

समासाषमहविग्रहान् पदे यथोपाचच्छन्दसि शाकटायनः ।

तथा प्रवक्ष्यामि चतुष्टयं पदं नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातानाम् ॥

According to Kātre this is a portion of the text (*New Indian Antiquary*, 1. p. 391).

The opposite of *samāsa* is *vyāsa* or *vigraha*.

Samāsa in the sense of a compound occurs in the above passage as also in समासयोश्च CA. iv. 43 'separation by avagraha takes place also between two compounds' etc. In कृत्वे

समासे वा नानापददर्शनात् iv. 27 the word samāsa is used in the sense of 'combination'. In the sense of 'compound' it occurs in Apr. iii 3. 5 RT. uses both "samāsa" (99) and "māsa" (103, 125). BD. not only uses 'Samāsa' but mentions its six varieties also (ii. 105-106) :

द्विगुर्वन्द्वाऽन्ययीभावः कर्मधारय एव च ।

पञ्चमस्तु बहुव्रीहिः षष्ठस्तत्पुरुषः स्मृतः ॥

विग्रहाभिर्वचः कार्यं समासेष्वपि तद्धिते ।

प्रधिभज्यैष निब्रूयाद् दण्डार्हो दण्ड्य इत्यपि ॥

'In compounds as well as in a secondary derivation explanation should proceed from analysis : one should explain after separating (the parts) ; thus 'punishable' (daṇḍ-ya) as deserving punishment (daṇḍārha). We have seen that RT. uses 'māsa' for "samāsa." In the Gaṇapaṭha of Pāṇini 'sa' is sometimes found for 'sāmāsa', e.g., घाजासे iv. 1. 105, बष्कयासे iv. 1. 86. J. naturally pounces upon the abbreviation and Mu. follows J. Ś. follows Pāṇini and K. and uses the full form 'samāsa' as do Sam., Su., PR. and even HN. C. uses "ekārtham" abbreviated from "ekārthībhāva" for samāsa. He, however, uses the term "samāsa" in "चार्यसमासमनोक्षादिभ्यः" iv. 1. 149 and in "धोष्ठोत्थोः समासे वा" v. 1. 97, "इकोऽसस्थाने ह्रस्वश्चासमासे" v. 1. 132, "युजोरसमासे" v. 4. 26, "पत्युः समासे" vi. 2. 51, "समासेऽनुत्तरस्य" vi. 4. 39. "समासेऽङुलेः सङ्गः" vi. 4. 66. For Pāṇini's 'तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे" ii. 4. 68 Candra has "तिककितवादिभ्यश्चार्यकार्ये" iii. 4. 115. Again for Pāṇini's "शिशुकन्दयमसमद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः" iv. 3. 88 Candra has "शिशुकन्दादीनिधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे छः" and

“चार्थानदेवासुरादीन्” 3. 3. 56-57. Here Vṛtti says : चार्थ-
समासेभ्यः ।

Pāṇini does not define Samāsa but “समर्थ पदविधिः” ii. 1. 1 is generally taken to be the definition of the term. Saṃkṣiptasāra also does not define Samāsa. In the Vṛtti we find “समासोऽनेकपदस्यैकपदवत्ता” ।

पाणिनिः । प्राक् कङारात् समासः । २।१।३

कातत्रम् । नाम्नां समासो युक्तार्थः । २।१।५९

चन्द्रः । सुप् सुपैकार्थम् । २।२।१

जैनेन्द्रः । सः । सुप् सुपा । १।३।२-३

शाकटायनः । सुप् सुपा समासो बहुलम् । २।१।१

सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम् । सुप् सुपा सहैकार्थीभावे समासः ।

३।२।१

हेमचन्द्रः । नाम नाम्नैकार्थ्ये समासो बहुलम् । ३।१।१८

संक्षिप्तसारः । तत्पुरुषो वा नञः समासः । ७।१

मुग्धबोधम् । द्वैक्यं सोऽन्वये । ३।१८

सारस्वतम् । समासश्चान्वयो नाम्नाम् । ९।१

सुपञ्चम् । समर्थानां समासः । २।४।३१

प्रयोगरत्नमाला । समासश्चानेकपदस्यैकलिङ्गत्वमुच्यते । ऐक-
स्वर्यं च फलम् । तदिहाहुः—नरसिंहवदखण्डः समास इति । ७।२१
हरिनामामृतम् । कृष्णस्य विग्रहे भाति समासेनाखिलं पदम् ।

इतीव स्मारकं वक्ष्ये समासपदविग्रहम् ॥

सबहुव्रीहिद्विगुतामात्रे लुब्धोऽस्मि सद्बन्धः

तत् पुरुष कर्म धारय भक्तैर्येनाव्ययीभाषः ॥

समासा बहुलं । अन्तर्भिन्नपदत्वेऽप्येकनामत्वेन योजनं समासः ।

.....समासधाक्यं विग्रहः । ६।१३५

Coming now to the different varieties of compounds we find Pāṇini begins with Avyayībhāva (ii. 1. 5) and passes successively on to Tatpuruṣa (ii. 1. 22), Karmadhāraya (ii. 1. 49), Dvigu (ii. 1. 52), Bahuvrīhi (ii. 2. 23) and Dvandva (ii. 2. 29). Of these Avyayībhāva is self-explanatory, since in this class of compounds the resulting word becomes an indeclinable (Avyaya). This suffix *cvī* shows “abhūta-tadbhāva”—that which was not an Avyaya now becomes an Avyaya. The name is so apt that most systems of grammar (including Śāk.) have accepted it. Candra, true to his promise, cannot use it. He uses “असंख्यार्थ” instead. It may be mentioned in this connexion that C. uses Asamkhyā for Pāṇini’s Avyaya. Thus for Pāṇini’s अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः v. 4. 107, Chandra has शरदादिभ्योऽसंख्यार्थे iv. 4. 90. (For अव्ययीभावे चाकाले vi 3. 81, Candra has अकाले स्वार्थे v. 2. 100).

J. uses “ha” for “avyayī-bhā”, probably because “ha” is the last letter of the alphabet and “avyaya” marks the last stage. Mu. selects the “v” and final “a” of “avyaya” and uses “va” for “avyayī-bhāva”. HN. sees no reason to reject the generally accepted name.

पा० । अव्ययीभावः । २।१।५ स० ३।१।८

का० । पूर्व वाच्यं भवेत् यस्य सोऽव्ययीभव इष्यते । २।२७२

जै० । हः । १।३।४

शा० । अव्ययम् । एकार्थं च । २।१।४-५, मिथो ग्रहणे प्रहरणे च सरूपं युद्धेऽव्ययीभावः । २।१।६

हे० । तत्रादाय मिथस्तेन ग्रहत्येति सरूपेण युद्धेऽव्ययीभावः । ३।१।२६

सं० । समृद्धादावव्ययस्याव्ययीभावः । ७।५७

मु० । वः क सामीप्यसादृश्यसाकल्यानुक्रमद्विषु ।
वीप्सापर्यन्तयोग्यत्वपश्चादर्थानतिक्रमे ।
शब्दप्रादुर्भावाभावयौग्यपद्ये ध्वनेकधा ।

सा० । पूर्वोऽव्ययीभावः । ९।१३

सु० । अव्ययीभावः । ४।३।३

प्र० । सोऽव्ययीभावो यत्र नानाविभक्तिष्वेकरूपता । १।८८६

ह० । अव्ययीभावः । ६।१५१

Tatpuruṣa is taken as the type of the class of compounds known by that name. It is itself a ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa, the analysis being “tasya puruṣaḥ”. The Prakriyā-sarvasva says :

स्यात् तस्यपुरुषस्तत्पुरुषः षष्ठीसमासतः ।

तेन तज्ज्ञातिजाः सर्वे कृद्वत् तत्पुरुषा मताः ॥

‘तस्य पुरुषः’ becomes तत्पुरुषः by षष्ठीसमासः, so all words of this type are regarded as Tatpuruṣa, even as all suffixes of the type of Kṛt are regarded as Kṛt.

J. calls it ‘sa’ after the final syllable (i. 3. 20), Mu. follows J. HN. calls it Kṛṣṇa-Puruṣa—hardly a happy designation. C. generally expresses Tatpuruṣa by Ananyāsaṁkhyā i.e., except in Bahuvrīhi and Avyayībhāva. Cf. “asaṁkhyāccāṅguler-ananyāsaṁkhyārthe” iv. 4. 74 for Pāṇini’s “tatpuruṣa-syāṅguleh saṁkhyāvyādeh” v. 4. 86.

The word “Tatpuruṣa” occurs first in T.A. x. 1.5 ‘तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे महादेवाय धीमहि in the sense of ‘the Supreme Being’ and is a Karmadhāraya. As a Tatpuruṣa it occurs for the first time in Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra vii. i. 8 : चतुरो वाद्यांस्त-

पुरुषा इतरे यथावेदम् 'or the first four, the others are their retainers according to the respective Vedas'.

पा० । तत्पुरुषः । २।१।५

का० । तत्पुरुषाबुभौ । [उभौ द्विगुकर्मधारयौ]

विभक्तयो द्वितीयाद्या नाम्ना परपदेन तु ।

समस्यन्ते समासो हि ज्ञेयस्तत्पुरुषः स च ॥ २६५-२६६ ।

जै० । षम् । २।१।२ षमिति प्राग् वसादधिकारो ज्ञेयः । वृत्तिः ।

शा० । तितुस्स्वत्याङ्कन्यस्तत्पुरुषः । २।१।२०

तिसंज्ञानि (ति = गति) दुस् सु अति आङ् कु इत्येतानि चाव्ययानि सुबन्तानि सुपा नित्यं समस्यन्ते स च समासोऽन्यो बहुव्रीह्यादिलक्षणरहितस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति । यक्षवर्मवृत्तिः ।

स० । तत्पुरुषः । ३।२।३३

स० । तत्पुरुषो वा नञः समासः । ७।१

हे० । गतिकन्यस्तत्पुरुषः । ३।१।४२

मु० । षः कृष्णमाश्रितः कृष्णाश्रितः ।

सा० । अमादौ तत्पुरुषः ९।६

प्र० । मयूरव्यंसकादित्वात् केचित् तत्पुरुषाः स्मृताः । १।७।७३

ह० । पीताम्बरात् प्राक् समासः कृष्णपुरुषः ६।८

Next comes Karmadhāraya. The word must have been self-explanatory at one time, but the exact sense is now shrouded in obscurity. The Prakriyā-sarvasva explains :

द्वयोर्हि पदयोरेकवृत्त्याखिलं पदम् ।

क्रियासम्बन्धि तत्र स्यात् स शान्तः कर्मधारयः ॥

'Where the entire word becomes connected with the verb by means of the same action of both the words, the Samāsa

is Karmadhāraya.' Abhirāma Vidyālaṁkāra says in his *Samkṣiptasāra-ṭippanī* : Karma kriyānvayam dhārayatīti Karmadhārayah. Wackernagel mentions two views in his *Alt-Indische Grammatik* : Karmadhāraya means the subject-holder, as opposed to Bahuvrīhi in which the second member pertains to another subject, or it may mean (ii) owing an object i.e. having no object to show forth or exhibit.

It is just possible that in ancient systems of grammar, Karmadhāraya was distinguished not from Tatpuruṣa, but from Bahuvrīhi. Thus instead of the rule तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः there might have been such a rule as बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदप्रधानः कर्मधारयः. In that case Karmadhāraya would mean that which holds i.e. is connected with the action, as distinguished from Bah. where the action does not affect the members of the compound but something else. Indian commentators generally explain Karmadhāraya in this way.

Another view may be suggested here. Karma is a masc. substantive ending in *an*, accented on the final syllable, meaning 'doer' and 'dhāraya' is another substantive formed with *śa* meaning 'holder'. The word Karmadhāraya is a Karmadhāraya compound of 'karman' *masc.* and 'dhāraya' : karmā cāsau dhārayaśceti 'maker and maintainer'.

Or karman may mean 'sense'. In the *Nirukta* we find पञ्चमीकर्मन् having the function of the ablative, शब्दकर्माणो धातवः 'roots denoting to make sound'. यस्य पदद्वयस्य समासः, तत्पदोपस्थाप्यार्थो यदि समासवाच्यः स्यात्, तदैवायं समासः । कविराजः ।

In the system of Pāṇini it is possible to take "karman"

in the sense of "sāmānādhikarāṇya" 'agreement or apposition of the members'.

समानमभिन्नम् एकम् अधिकरणं वाच्यं येषां पदानां तानि समानाधिकरणानि पदानि । तानि आश्रयभूतानि यस्य तत्पुरुषस्य स समानाधिकरणपदस्तत्पुरुषः । एतेन तत्पुरुषार्थानां पदानां समानाधिकरणत्वादुपचारेण तत्पुरुषो वृत्तिसूत्रे समानाधिकरणा-
शब्देनोक्त इति दर्शयति । कथं पुनर्बाह्यान्त्यपदापेक्षया तत्पुरुषस्य मुख्ये समानाधिकरण्ये सम्भवति सत्यौपचारिकस्य ग्रहणमुपपद्यते ? कर्मधारय इति महत्याः संज्ञायाः करणात्

इह हि लाघवार्थत्वात् संज्ञाकरणस्य लघीयस्यां संज्ञायां कर्तव्यायां कर्मधारय इति महतीं संज्ञां कुर्वताऽन्त्योऽप्यत्र कश्चिद् धिपर्ययः संज्ञायामित्याश्रितः । तेन गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये कार्यसम्प्रत्यय इति मुख्यस्य समानाधिकरणस्य ग्रहणे प्राप्ते तद्विपरीतस्य ग्रहणं विज्ञायते । न्यासः ।

कर्म क्रियां धारयति स्वपदार्थे व्यवस्थापयतीति कर्मधारयः । साहिशातिधारिपारीत्यनेन शः । प्रयोगरत्नमाला ६।७६५ कर्मपदेन क्रियोच्यते, धारयतीत्यस्यार्थः स्वेति । स्वं समस्यमानपदं तस्यार्थे समस्यमानपदानतिरिक्तपदार्थे धारयति व्यवस्थापयति । प्रभा-
प्रकाशिका ।

J. and Mu. call it *ya* from the last syllable. H.N. calls it *Śyāma-Rāma*.

पा० । तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः । १।२।४२

का० । पदे तुल्याधिकरणे विज्ञेयः कर्मधारयः । २।२६३

जै० । पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलं यश्चैकाश्रये १।३।४२

शा० । विशेषणं व्यभिचार्येकार्थं कर्मधारयश्च । २।१।५८

भेदकं विशेषणम् । भेद्यं विशेष्यम् । तत्र चान्यत्र च सम्भवद्व्यभिचारि तद्विशेषणवाचि एकार्थं समानाधिकरणं सुवन्तं विशेषवाचिना सुवन्तेन सह वा समस्यते, स च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः कर्मधारयसंज्ञश्च भवति । यक्षवर्मवृत्तिः ।

हे० । विशेषणं विशेष्येनैकार्थं कर्मधारयश्च ३।१।९६

स० । विशेषणस्य विशेष्यैः कर्मधारयः । ७।८६

मु० । भिन्नान्यैकार्थद्वयादिसंख्याव्यादीनां च-ह-य-प-ग-वाः ।

सा० । कर्मधारयस्तुल्यार्थे । ९।१०

सु० । विशेषणमेकार्थेन कर्मधारयो बहुलम् । ४।३।५८

प्र० । स्वार्थे तुल्याधिकरणसमासः कर्मधारयः । २।७४७

ह० । विशेषणं तुल्याधिकरणेन । पीताम्बरात् प्राक्-ससासाः

कृष्णपुरुषसंज्ञाः । तेष्वयं श्यामरामसंज्ञः । ६।७-९

Now we come to Dvigu which means 'bought for two cows' etc. and is itself an example of "taddhitārtha dvigu". It is taken as the type of all the three varieties of Dvigu compounds and is a generic term for those Karmadhārayas in which the first member is a numeral. The Prakriyāsarvasva explains the term thus: द्वयोर्गवोर्भवादिर्हि द्विगु यत्रैव स द्विगुः । J. fixes on the 'ra' of 'samāhāra' and calls Dvigu "ra". Mu. probably thinks it rather far-fetched and names it "ga" after the final syllable. HN. substitute a samāhāra dvigu for a taddhitārtha dvigu and uses "trirāmī" (Rāma, Paraśurāma, Balarāma) for all dvigu compounds.

पा० । [तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः । २।१।५१]
संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः । २।१।५२

का० । [पदे तुल्याधिकरणे विज्ञेयः कर्मधारयः ।] संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुरिति ज्ञेयः । २।२६४

जै० । [दिगधिकं खुहृदौ १।२।४३ [स्थिः समाहारे रश्चाखौ ।
२।३।४४

स्थिः संख्यावाची सुबन्तेनोत्तरपदेन सह षः सः [तत्पुरुष-
समासः] भवति, यश्च [कर्मधारयश्च] समाहारे कार्ये खुहृदौ च
[खु = संज्ञा, हृत् = तद्धित, यु = उत्तरपद] रसंज्ञश्चाखौ ।

शा० । संख्या समाहारे च द्विगुश्चानामन्ययम् । २।१।६१

स० । तद्धितार्थे समाहारे द्विगुः संख्यायाः । उत्तरपदे च ।

६।११९-१२०

हे० । संख्या समाहारे च द्विगुश्चानामन्ययम् । ३।१।९३

मु० । तस्याथ विषये वाच्ये अपत्यार्थणिकादिकम् ।

प्रोज्झाजादेः समाहारे गन्विधोत्तरदे परे ॥

सा० । समाहारे अत ईप् द्विगुः । ९।२

सु० । द्विगुः संख्यातद्धितार्थसमाहारयोः । उत्तरपदे च । ४।३।

७।१-७६

प्र० । संख्यापूर्वः स द्विगुः स्यात् । १।७६६

ह० । संख्यापूर्वोऽसौ त्रिरामीसंज्ञः । ६।४७

Bahuvrīhi means literally 'having much rice' and is itself an instance of a Bahuvrīhi compound. The Prakriyā-Sarvasva says : बहवो व्रीहयोऽस्येति यत्र स्यात् सतथोच्यते । J. calls it "ba" after the first syll, and Mu. "ha" after the last. Candra uses "anyārtha" for "bahuvrīhi". HN. substitutes Pītāmbarah, an epithet of Kṛṣṇa, for Bahuvrīhi. Pītāmbara is chosen because it is itself an instance of a Bahuvrīhi compound.

पा० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे । २।२।९४

का० । स्यातां यदि पदे द्वे तु यदि वा स्युर्बह्वन्यपि ।

तान्यन्यस्य पदस्यार्थे बहुव्रीहिः । २।२६७

जै० । अवान्यार्थेऽनेकं वम् । १।३।८९ वान्तवर्जितस्य [प्रथमान्त-
वर्जितस्य] अन्यस्य पदस्यार्थेऽभिधेयेऽनेकं सुबन्तं वसंज्ञः सः
[समासः] भवति ।

स० । शेषो बहुव्रीहिः । ३।३।१, अन्यपदार्थे ३।३।६, अनेकं
मतुपोर्थे । ३।३।१६

हे० । सुज् वार्थे संख्या संख्येये संख्यया बहुव्रीहिः । ३।१।१९

स० । अन्यपदार्थो बहुव्रीहिः । द्वितीयाद्यन्यपदार्थ इत्याचार्याः ।
७।१२२-१२३

मु० । भिन्नान्यैकार्थद्वारादिसंख्याव्यादीनां चहयपगवाः ३।१९

सु० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे बहुव्रीहिः । ४।३।७६

सा० । बहुव्रीहिरन्यार्थे । ९।९

प्र० । समानार्थानेकपदं बहिरर्थे समस्यते ।

नित्यं यत् स बहुव्रीहिः १।८।९

ह० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे पीताम्बरः । ६।१०२

Dvandva is the reduplication of dva (द्वम् द्वम्) and means two by two, two and two, hence pair. It was naturally chosen as the name of those compounds in which the majority of instances denoted pairs. The word Dvandva occurs first in the Samhitās of the Yajus school. Thus we find in TS. i. 6. 9. 3 द्वादश मासाः संवत्सरो द्वन्द्वदि दर्शपूर्णमासयोः 'The year has twelve months, there are twelve pairs of new and fullmoon sacrifices.' Of the works belonging to the R.V. it occurs first in AB. ix. 3 : प्राणा वै द्विदेवत्या एकपात्रा गृह्यन्ते तस्मात् प्राणा एकनामानो द्विपात्रा ह्वयन्ते, तस्मात् प्राणा द्वन्द्वम् । "(The cups) for two deities are the breaths; they are drawn in one vessel; therefore the breaths have one name. They

are offered in two vessels, therefore the breaths are in pairs." Keith. Even J. and Śāk. have retained the name Dvandva, but Mu. is not inclined to sacrifice consistency and so gives the monosyllabic name "ca" to this class of compounds in pursuance of Pāṇini's definition 'cārthe dvandvah'. HN. names it Ramakṛṣṇa and frames the rule : इतरेतरसमाहारयो रामकृष्णः vi. 117. The singular in Rāma-Kṛṣṇa is jarring to the ear and as Rama-Kṛṣṇa is neither an instance of *itaretara dvandva* (being singular) nor one of *samāhāra dvandva* (being masculine), it is not quite apt here.

Dvandva as the name of a variety of compounds occurs in VP. देवताद्वन्द्वादि चानामन्त्रितानि ii. 48, द्वन्द्वं चेन्द्रसोमपूर्वं पूषाग्निवायुषु ii. 55, पूर्वो द्वन्द्वेष्ववायुषु iii. 127, द्वन्द्वानि द्विवचनान्तानि स्वरान्तपूर्वपदानि v. 28 and CA. देवताद्वन्द्वे च । iv. 49.

पा० । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । (Cl. ८।१।१५)

का० । द्वन्द्वः समुच्चयो नास्त्रोर्बहुनां वापि यो भवेत् । २।१६९

जैः० । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । १।३।९६

शा० । द्वन्द्वः सहोक्तौ । २।१।८०

स० । चार्थे युगपदधिकरणवचनतायां द्वन्द्वः । ३।१।१९

हे० । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः सहोक्तौ । ३।१।११७

सं० । द्वन्द्वोऽन्योन्यसंयोगे ७।१२१

सा० । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । ९।८

मु० । इतरेतरयोगे च समाहारे च चो द्विधा । ३२०

प्र० । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । १।८३४

इ० । इतरेतरसमाहारयो रामकृष्णः । ६।११७

The order of the different compounds in the different systems of grammar is as follows :

P. Avyayībhāva, Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Bahuvrīhi, Dvandva.

BD. Dvigu, Dvandva, Avyayībhāva, Karmadhāraya, Bahuvrīhi, Tatpuruṣa.

K. Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Tatpuruṣa, Bahuvrīhi, Dvandva, Avyayībhāva.

C. Avyayībhāva (2), Tatpuruṣa (11), Karmadhāraya (18), Bahuvrīhi (46), Dvandva (48). Candra does not make any provision for Dvigu. See Vṛtti on ii 2. 18.

Jai. Avyayībhāva, Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Bahuvrīhi, Dvandva.

Śāk. Bahuvrīhi, Avyayībhāva, Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Dvandva.

S. K. Avyayībhāva, Tatpuruṣa, Bahuvrīhi, Dvandva. S. K. has no special name for Karmadhāraya and Dvigu, the generic name Tatpuruṣa being used for these also.

HC. Bahuvrīhi, Avyayībhāva, Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Dvandva.

Sār. Dvigu, Avyayībhāva, Tatpuruṣa, Dvandva, Bahuvrīhi, Karmadhāraya.

Sam. Tatpuruṣa, Avyayībhāva, Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Dvandva, Bahuvrīhi.

Mu. Dvandva, Bahuvrīhi, Karmadhāraya, Tatpuruṣa, Dvigu, Avyayībhāva.

Su. Avyayībhāva, Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Bahuvrīhi, Dvandva.

PR. Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Tatpuruṣa, Bahuvrīhi, Dvandva, Avyayībhāva.

Karmadhāraya ādyaḥ syād Dviguṣ Tatpuruṣo' parah.

Bahuvrīhiratha Dvandvo' vyayībhāvaḥ ṣaḍīritāḥ 1. 725.

HN. Karmadhāraya, Dvigu, Tatpuruṣa Bahuvrīhi, Dvandva, Avyayībhāva.

Yāska (ii, 3) distinguishes between "eka-parvan" and "anekaparvan" compounds. By "eka-parvan" he means 'compounds of two members' and by "aneka-parvan" compounds of more than two members' (Cf. CA. iv. 77). The examples given by him are rāja-puruṣaḥ, viścakadrākarṣaḥ* and kalyāṇa-varṇa-rūpaḥ†. On "rājapuruṣa" was founded the name Tatpuruṣa by the saving of a syllable, but rājapuruṣaḥ has remained the stock example of Tatpuruṣa compounds from Yāska's time down to the present day.

Acc. to some scholars Pāṇini deliberately used Tatpuruṣa with a view to including Karmadhārayas also : महत्याः पूर्वाचार्यसंज्ञाया अङ्गीकरणं पूजार्थं तस्य पुरुषः स चासौ पुरुषश्चेति संज्ञयैवोदाहरणप्रदर्शनं च भवति । हृदयहारिणी ३।२।३३

It will be noticed that Pāṇini starts with Avyayībhāva in which the sense of the first member is prominent, then passes on to Tatpuruṣa in which the sense of the last member is prominent, then treats of Karmadhāraya which is a subclass of Tatpuruṣa and Dvigu which is a subclass of Karmadhāraya. Then he takes up Bahuvrīhi in which the sense

* 'Attraction of a dog'. "Viścakadra" appears to be the earlier form of "viśvakadru".

† One whose complexion and form are auspicious.

of none of the members is prominent and concludes with Dvandva in which the sense of each of the members is prominent. Bahuvrīhi is closely connected with Karmadhāraya and Dvigu in that in each of these classes of compounds, the members are in apposition with each other, hence it is placed immediately after Dvigu.

Padmanābha, Candra (who does not make provision for Dvigu) and Bhojarāja (who ignores both Karmadhāraya and Dvigu) follow Pāṇini.

Since in the vast majority of compounds the sense of the final member is prominent, the Kātantra starts with Karmadhāraya where the members are in apposition and proceeds to Dvigu which is merely a special case of Karmadhāraya. Then it passes on to Tatpuruṣa where the members are not in apposition with each other. The mention of Karmadhāraya naturally leads to Bahuvrīhi in which also generally the two members are in apposition with each other. Of the remaining two, Dvanda and Avyayībhāva, Dvandva being a savyaya (declinable) is placed before Avyayībhāva which being an indeclinable is dealt with last of all.

K. is followed by PR. and HN.

Śāk. and Hc. start with the anyapadārtha-pradhāna compounds and proceeds on to pūrvapadārtha-pradhāna, uttarapadārtha-pradhāna and ubhayapadārtha-pradhāna compounds.

Mu. follows the Bhagavad-gīta where the Lord says : **द्वन्द्वः सामासिकस्य च** 'of the compounds, I am Dvandva' and accords the place of honour to Dvandva and gives the name of the two deities generally worshipped as an example : Hariharau.

‘नाम्नां समासो युक्तार्थः’ सुसहस्रकृतो हरेः ।

हन्त्यघं यत् खला विष्णो [निखिलं जन्तो ?] ‘स्तस्या लोप्या
विभक्तयः’ ॥ सुभाषितावलिः ।

This a samasyāpūraṇa stanza on Kātantra's definition of Samāsa but the reading is corrupt and the sense obscure.

‘The collection of the well-known thousand names of Hāri along with (a knowledge of) their meanings destroys all sins of created beings. The distinctions between these different names must be obliterated.’

द्वन्द्वो द्विगुरपि चाहं मदुगेहे नित्यमव्ययीभावः ।

तत्पुरुष कर्म धारय येनाहं स्यां बहुव्रीहिः ॥

“We are a couple and I have two cows. In my home there is perpetual absence of expenditure. Act in such a way, sir, that I become possessed of a good deal of rice.”

This is the form in which this stanza is current in Bengal. The Subhāṣitāvali reads the first line thus : द्विगुरपि सद्द्वन्द्वोऽहं गृहे च मे सततमव्ययीभावः । Peterson translates : Though I have but two cows I have a wife to support, and in my house the outgoing of money is unknown (because there is none to go out) : therefore, O man take some steps to make me rich in rice.

कृष्णस्य विग्रहे भाति समासेनाखिलं पदम् ।

इतीव स्मारकं वक्ष्ये समासपदविग्रहम् ॥

सबहुव्रीहिविग्रहात्मात्रे लुब्धोऽस्मि सद्द्वन्द्वः ।

तत्पुरुष कर्मधारय भक्त्येनाव्ययीभावः ॥

I shall speak of compound words and their dissolution,

to remind (the reader) as it were (of the fact) that all things shine in epitome in the body of Kṛiṣṇa.'

'I have got a mate and I am greedy merely of two cows along with a vast quantity of grain. O lord, act in such a way that my devotion may not be fruitless.'

षष्ठीतत्पुरुषं रामो बहुव्रीहिं महेश्वरः ।

रामेश्वरपदे ब्रह्मा कर्मधारयमब्रवीत् ॥

After the image of Rāmeśvara had been set up at Setu-bandha, Nārada asked Rāma, Śiva and Brahmā about the name of the compound. Rāma said : Ṣaṣṭhī-Tatpuruṣa (i.e. lord of Rāma), Śiva said : Bahuvrīhi (he whose lord is Rāma), Brahmā said : Karmadhāraya (Rāma and at the same time Śiva).

अहं च त्वं च राजेन्द्र लोकनाथावुभावपि ।

बहुव्रीहिरहं राजन् षष्ठीतत्पुरुषो भवान् ॥

शाङ्गधरपद्धतिः ।

'Both I and you, O great king, are lokanāthas. I am a Bahuvrīhi (he who has the world for his master), while you are a Ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa (he who is master of the world).

भाषन्ते वनिताः कलौ प्रतिघचोऽप्रीतिप्रदं स्वामिन-

स्तासां यत् पतिदेघतेति वचनं षष्ठीसमासाश्रितम् ।

लज्जाधर्मभयं न तासु कतिचित् कार्यं यथेच्छं रता

नासाबद्धगवोपमान् निजपतीन् कुर्वन्ति धन्यः कलिः ॥

उद्भट्टसागरः २।१५१

'Women return unpleasant replies to their husbands in the Kali age. The epithet *pati-devatā* when applied to them is to

be dissolved as a **षष्ठीसमास** (the deities of their husbands). In them there is neither shame nor virtue nor fear. Acting according to their own sweet will they turn their husbands into (domesticated) bulls led by the nose. Blessed is Kali !

संशयाय दधतोः सरूपतां

दूरभिन्नफलयोः क्रियां प्रति ।

शब्दशासनविदः समासयो-

विग्रहं व्यवससुः स्वरेण ते ॥ शिशुपालवधः १४।२४

‘The officiating priests conversant with the rules of grammar ascertained by means of accents the correct dissolution of compounds which though far different in their fruits had assumed the same form.’

परार्थव्यासङ्गादुपजहदथ स्वार्थपरता-

मभेदैकत्वं यो वहति गुणभूतेषु सततम् ।

स्वभावाद् यस्यान्तः स्फुरति ललितोदात्तमहिमा

समर्थो यो नित्यं स जयतितरां कोऽपि पुरुषः ॥

Pāṇḍitarāja Jagannātha himself says :

अत्र समर्थसूत्रगतमहाभाष्यार्थस्य । तत्र हि “अथ ये वृत्तिं वर्तयन्ति किं त आहुः” इत्यादिना जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिरजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिरिति पक्षद्वयं निरूपितम् । तत्रैवोपसर्जनार्थेऽभेदैकत्वसंख्यापि ध्वनिता । प्रकटीकृता च हरिणा—

यथौषधिरसाः सर्वे मधुन्याहितशक्तयः ।

अविभागेन वर्तन्ते तां संख्यां तादृशीं घटुः ॥

इति । सामर्थ्यमप्येकार्थोभावबोधकतारूपं तत्रैवोक्तम् ।

‘Glory supreme to the Indescribable Being—He who shedding all selfishness out of his solicitude for the interest of others bears identity without distinction of number to those who are subordinate, in whose heart greatness noble and charming shines forth spontaneously and who is ever able.’ The dependent clauses support Samāsa also. Acc. to one view compounds are *jahat-svārtha* i.e. they give up the meaning of their constituent members and take on a new meaning. In compounds the sense of the members is subordinate to the sense of the whole which is one and not different from the sense of the members. And, as a rule, the final syllables of compounds are accented, i.e., have the acute (*udātta*) accent. And a compound¹ is always formed of words which are capable of being compounded (*samartha*).

गुणवृद्धिर्वर्णलोपद्वन्द्वनिपातोपसर्गसङ्कीर्णा ।

दुर्घटपदवाक्यार्था व्याकरणप्रक्रियेवासौ ॥

सुभाषितावलि: ३८३

‘She is overtaken by loss of qualities and of growth and of complexion and by the advent of antitheses like joy and sorrow and by misfortune. She finds it difficult to walk, to utter words and speak coherently. She is thus like the operations of grammar where we find the phenomena of Guṇa and Vṛddhi, elision of letters, Dvandva compounds, Nipātas and Upasargas and where difficult words and sentences and senses are dealt with.’

असमस्तपदवृत्तिमिवाद्वन्द्वाम् । कादम्बरी, १३३

‘Without a mate like words in their uncompounded state.’

KĀRAKA

The word "Kāraka" occurs for the first time in Pāṇini. It is not found in the Nirukta nor in the Prātiśākhya. It is formed from the root *kr* 'to do' with the agent suffix *ṇvul* and means literally 'doer' or 'agent', but as the good old word 'kartā' was used in this sense, the sense of 'Kāraka' was generalized and it was used for 'case'.

Pāṇini used Kārake as an adbhikāra rule (i. 4. 23) without defining it. The author of the Vārttikas discusses the meaning of Kāraka under 'Kārake' i. 1. 23 and shows that other cases also may be used as the agent, consequently the etymology "karotīti kārakam" applies to them also. Thus in the sentence "Devadattaḥ pacati", Devadatta is the agent, since he places the pot on the oven, pours water into it, puts rice into it and so on. When we say "sthālī pacati" 'the pot cooks', the pot which should normally be in the Locative is the agent and the sense is—the pot cooks a *droṇa* of rice or an *āḍhaka* of rice. When we say 'the fuel will cook' "edhāḥ pakṣyanti" the fuel which is normally the instrument is used as the agent in the sense that it will burn till the rice is cooked (softened) and so on.

Later grammarians generally use the word "kāraka". J. uses the initial syllable "ka" for "kāraka" just as it uses "sa" for "Samāsa" and Vopadeva follows J.

स० । क्रियानिमित्तं कारकम् । १।१।३२

क्रियानिष्पत्तिकारणं कर्त्रादि कारकसङ्गं भवति । वृत्तिः ।
गोयीचन्द्रः ।

हे० । क्रियासम्बन्धविशेषि कारकम् । ४।१०

हे० । क्रियाहेतुः कारकम् । २।२।१

मु० । संज्ञाः कम् । ३।१।७ ढ ध घ भ ज डाः कसंज्ञाः स्युः ।

In his *pratyāhāra* or rather *samāhara sūtra* Vopadeva has *jha dha dha gha bha ja da da ga va*. He begins with the fourth letter of the *varga* because *Kāraka* occupies the fourth chapter in his grammar and goes on till the sixth letter is reached. He does not like *jha* which is omitted.

Coming now to the various cases, their names are practically the same in all the systems of grammar except *Candra* and *Mu*. The nominative is *Kartā* which means exactly the same thing as *Kāraka* but is the older word going back to the *R̥gveda*. In its technical sense it appears to occur first in *Pāṇini*.

Mu. wants to denote the cases by means of the sonant aspirates. Since *Mu*. treats of the *kāra*kas acc. to their case-endings and since acc. to Sanskrit grammarians the Nominative and the Instrumental take the third case-ending while the Accusative takes the second case-ending, *Mu*. places the Acc. before the Nom. *Sār*, follows *Mu*. And since of the Nom. and the Inst. the latter has already been mentioned in connection with the object of the root *div* in a previous rule the Inst. precedes the Nom. The *Samāhāra* rule reads : (*jha*) *ḍha dha gha*, hence *ḍha* stands for “*Karman*”, “*dha*” for “*Karāṇa*” and “*gha*” for “*Kārtr̥*.”

Acc. to commentators “*tantra*” is used in the sense of the agent (कर्ता) in the *Uṇādi* rule सर्वनिघृष्वरिष्वलिष्वशिष्यपट्प्रह्वेष्व

अतन्त्रे 1. 159. Here 'tantra' is evidently an abbreviation of 'svatantra' used in Pāṇini's rule स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता Or स्वतन्त्र is कर्ता because he is स्वप्रधान, अतन्त्र is अकर्ता, because he is अप्रधान.

पा० । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च । १।४।५५-५६
काः । यः करोति स कर्ता । कारयति यः स हेतुश्च ।
२।४।१४-१५

[च० । कर्तरि तृतीया । २।१।६२]

जै० । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । तद्व्ययोजको हेतुः । १।२।१५४-१५५

स० । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । तस्य प्रयोजकोऽनुकूलो वा हेतुश्च ।
समानधातौ कर्मणा तुल्योऽकर्मकक्रियो हेतुर्कर्ता । १।१।३३-३५

हे० । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । २।२।२

मु० । ० कर्ता घञो । २८९

सं० । क्रियामुख्यप्रयोजकौ कर्ता । ५।१

सु० । स्वतन्त्रतत्प्रयोजकौ कर्ता । २।१।१

प्र० । क्रियासिद्धौ यः स्वतन्त्रः स कर्ता । कर्तृप्रयोजको हेतुः
कर्ता चेत्युपदिश्यते । १।६।३२-६३३

ह० । स्वतन्त्रं तत्प्रयोजकश्च कर्तृ । ४।१३

The next case is Karman, the Accusative, which in its original sense of 'act' 'action', goes back to RV. It is used in the Nirukta as also in some rules of Pāṇini in its earlier sense. From meaning action Karman came to mean the object towards which the action is directed and in this sense it appears first in Pāṇini. The Kātantra also uses Karman. J. uses the same technical term defining it as "kartrāpyam karma" i. 2. 145. The word āpya in the definition appears to have caught the fancy of Candra who uses āpya or vyāpya

for karman, sāpya for sakarmaka (i. 4. 106) and anāpya (i. 2. 97, i. 4. 91 etc.) for akarmaka. Śak. also uses "sāpya" and "anāpya" for "sakarmaka" and "akarmaka" respectively. For Pāṇini's bhāvakarmaṇoh* (1. 3. 13), Candra generally uses bhāvāpyayoh (i. 1. 78, v. 3. 73). In the later portion of the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa, however, "bhāva-karmaṇoh" makes its appearance only once in the rule "abhāva-karmaṇorano ye" v. 3. 168 corresponding to Pāṇini's "ye cābhāva-karmaṇoh" vi. 4. 168. Just as Kātyāyana and Patañjali sometimes use Samprasāraṇa and sometimes Prasāraṇa, so Cāndra sometimes uses "āpya" and sometimes "vyāpya". Thus in two consecutive rules in Chapter I we find "veh śabdāpyat" i. 4. 80 and "avyāpyāt" i. 4. 81 and in the next rule but one we find "āpyāt" once more : kartṛsthāmūrtāpyāt i. 4. 83, follows the principle paryāya-śabdānām lāghava-gaurava-carcā nādriyate. Hc. uses "āpya", "vyāpya" and "karman". His rule is "kartur vyāpyam karma" ii. 2. 3 which he thus explains in his Bṛhad-vṛtti : kartrā kriyayā yad vyāptum iṣyate tad vyāpyam, tat kārakam karma-samjñam bhavati. Prasiddhasyānuvādenā'-prasiddhasya vidhānam laksanārthaḥ, tena yat kartrā kriyate tad vyāpya-samjñam bhavatītyapi sūtrārthaḥ. For Pāṇini's

* Some grammatical operations take place exclusively in the भाव and कर्मचयः, so later grammarians bent on securing brevity at any cost looked for a convenient technical term for these two taken together. The Jainendra system hits upon छि (भावकर्म छिः i. 1. 31) which was probably suggested by the छ of तच्छ used in the Pāṇinian system for Ātmanepada. Similarly Jainendra uses छि for चकर्मक root. This is merely a variation of धु which is used for roots.

karmaṇyadhikaraṇe ca" iii. 3. 93. Hc. has "vyāpyād ādhāre" v. 2. 88. For "samāna-karmaka" Hc. uses "ekāpya" v. 4. 74 and for "akarmaka" he uses "avyāpya".

Vopadeva for some reason does not like the aspirate *jh* even as Englishmen do not like *gh* and so passes on to *ḍha* which is the name of karman in the Mu. For "sakarmaka" and "akarmaka" he uses "sa-ḍha" and "a-ḍha" respectively.

Sārasvata uses kārya for "karman". Thus for Pāṇini's "kartṛkarmaṇoh kṛti" Sārasvata has "kartṛkāryayoraktāḍau kṛti ṣaṣṭhi" viii. 7. Cf. also : śeṣāḥ kārye kartṛsāadhanayor dānapātre viśeṣādvadhau sambandhādhārādheyabhāvayoh viii. 5, smṛtau ca kārye viii. 8.

पा० । कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म । तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम् ।
१।४।४९-५०

का० । यत् क्रियते तत् कर्म । २।४।१३

[च० । क्रियाप्ये द्वितीया । २।१।४३]

जै० । कर्त्ताप्यम् । १।२।४५ । कर्त्ता यदाप्यं तत् कारकं
कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ।

[शा० । क्रियते इति कर्म । १।३।१०५ यक्षवर्म-वृत्तिः]

हे० । कर्तुर्व्याप्यं कर्म । २।२।३

स० । तत्समुद्दिष्टं कर्म । ५।२ । तेन कर्त्ता सम्यक् क्रिया-
भागितया, गतादौ तत्फलभागितया चोद्दिष्टं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ।
वृत्तिः ।

सु० । क्रियाव्याप्यं कर्म । २।१।३

प्र० । यत् कर्तुः क्रियया व्याप्यं तत् कर्म परिकीर्तितम् । १।६२०

ह० । क्रिया यत्साधिका तत् कर्म । ४।१७

Karaṇa, the name for the next case viz. Instrumental, is used in the sense of 'act' 'deed' in RV. In the Prātiśā-khyas it is used in the sense of 'instrument of production of any action'. The word is used in every system of gram-mar except Mu. which uses the monosyllable "dha" for it. In "bhūtakarāṇa" (found in CA.) the word karaṇa has practi-cally the sense of instrument. The European name Instrumental exactly agrees in sense.

पा० । साधकतमं करणम् । १।३।४२

का० । येन क्रियते तत् करणम् । २।३।२२

[च० । करणे । २।१।६३

जै० । साधकतमं करणः । १।२।१०८

वाक्यप० । क्रियायाः परिनिष्पत्तिर्यद्वापारदनन्तरम् ।

विवक्ष्यते यदा तत्र करणत्वं तदा स्मृतम् ॥

वस्तुतस्तदनिर्देश्यं न हि वस्तु व्यवस्थितम् ।

स्थाल्या पच्यत इत्येषा विवक्षा दृश्यते यतः ॥

स० । साधकतमं करणम् । १।१।५५

हे० । साधकतमं करणम् । २।२।२४

मु० । साधनहेतुविशेषणभेदकं ध्रुम् । २८९

सा० । क्रियातिसाधनं करणम् । ५।१६

सु० । साधकतमं करणम् । २।१।९

प्र० । करणं साधकतमम् । १।६०७ (अमरकोषः)

ह० । कर्तु रधीनं प्रकृष्टं सहायं करणम् । ३।९९

The next case Sampradāna (Dative) also occurs for the first time in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a technical term. In VP. it is used in the sense of 'handing down by tradition' and in the

Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad it means 'gift'; in the next stage it meant the person to whom the gift is made and is the name of the Dative in all systems of grammar except Mu. where it is replaced by the monosyllable "bha".

पा० । कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् । १।४।३२

भाष्यम् । क्रियाग्रहणमपि कर्तव्यम् ।

का० । यस्मै दित्सा रोचते धारयते वा तत् सम्प्रदानम् ।

२।४।१०

[च० । सम्प्रदाने चतुर्थी । २।१।७३]

शा० । कर्मणोपेयः सम्प्रदानन् । १।२।१२६

स० । कर्मणा क्रियया वा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् । १।१।५६

ह० । कर्माभिप्रेयः सम्प्रदानम् । २।२।२५

स० । प्रदानलप् सम्प्रदानम् । १५।१७

प्रदानमात्यन्तिकं दानं कर्त्रा क्रियमाणं यो लभते स सम्प्रदानसंज्ञो भवति ।

सु० । प्रदानाभिसम्बध्यमानं सम्प्रदानम् । २।१।१२

प्र० । सम्यग् दानं यमुद्दिश्य रुच्यर्थे प्रीतिमांस्तु यः ।

धारेऋणप्रदाता यो यश्चेच्छाविषयस्पृहेः ॥

क्रियायोगे यन्निमित्तं सम्प्रदानं तदिष्यते ॥ १।६०८

ह० । प्रदेयाभिसम्बध्यमानं सम्प्रदानम् । ४।८७

The next case is Apādāna, a word which is derived from *apa-ā-dū*, 'to take off or away' and which appears to have been coined by grammarians for the purpose of their science and is used rarely, if at all, in literature. It is found for the first time in Pāṇini. It occurs in all the other systems of grammar except Mu. which uses "ja", resorting to the

unaspirate sonants after the aspirates have been exhausted. As the first unaspirate sonant in the Samāhāra-sūtra coming immediately after *bha* is *ja*, it is used here.

- पा० । ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । १।४।२४
 का० । यतोऽपैति भयमादत्ते वा तदपादानम् । १।२।४८
 [च० । अवधेः पञ्चमी । २।१।८१]
 जै० । ध्यपाये ध्रुवमपादानम् । १।२।१२४
 स० । ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । १।१।६५
 हे० । अपायेऽवधिरपादानम् । २।२।२९
 सं० । चलत्प्राग्भूरपादानम् । ५।२६
 चलतः प्राक् सम्बन्धिस्थानम् अपादानसंज्ञं भवति । वृत्तिः ।
 सु० । अवधिरपायादिष्वपादानम् । २।१।२०
 प्र० । यतोऽपायादानरक्षावारणान्तर्धिजन्मभिः ।
 यश्चासह्यः पराजः स्यात् तदपादानकारकम् ॥ १।६०५
 ह० । अपायादिष्ववधिरपादानम् । ४।७४

Adhikarāṇa from adhi-kṛ means literally 'the act of placing at the head, then *receptacle*, thing, sense. In its technical sense it occurs for the first time in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Because ādhāra consists of a lesser number of syllables some systems sometimes use ādhāra for adhikarāṇa. Vopa-deva uses ḍa which comes immediately after ja to denote this case.

- पा० । आधारोऽधिकरणम् । १।४।४१
 का० । य आधारस्तदधिकरणम् । २।४।११
 [च० । सप्तम्याधारे । २।१।८८
 जै० । आधारोऽधिकरणः । १।२।१४०

वाक्यप० । कर्तृकर्मव्ययहितामसाक्षाद्वारयत् क्रियाम् ।

उपकुर्वत् क्रियासिद्धौ शास्त्रेऽधिकरणं स्मृतम् ॥

स० । कर्तृकर्मन्तरितक्रियाधारोऽधिकरणम् । १।१।७४

हे० । क्रियाश्रयस्याधारोऽधिकरणम् । २।२।३०

सं० । वैषयिकाद्यधिकरणम् । ५।३।५ वैषयिकम् औपश्लेषिकम् ।

अभिव्यापकम् अधिकरणसंज्ञं भवति । वृत्तिः ।

मु० । कालभावाधारं डम् । ३१०

सु० । आधारोऽधिकरणम् । २।१।२१

प्र० । स्यादाधारोऽधिकरणम् । १।६।१६

ह० । कर्तृकर्मणोराधारोऽधिकरणम् । ४।६८

Now a word as to the order of the cases. In the Kārakā sections of Pāṇini, Kātantra and most other grammars that distinguish between Kāraka and Vibhakti the order of the cases is as follows : Ablative, Dative, Instrumental, Locative, Accusative and Nominative. This order is fixed according to Pāṇini's paribhāṣā : vipratishedhe param karyam i. 1. 42, i.e., in case of conflict between two rules the later is to prevail over the earlier. Thus the order of the cases in Pāṇini shows the relative importance of the cases according to the viewpoint of Indian grammarians. The Kātantra also says : teṣāṃ param ubhayaprāptau ii. 4. 16.* The Ablative probably comes first because it is the local case *par excellence*. Then comes the Dative and then the Instrumental because of similarity of forms. The Locative is intimately connected

* अपादान-सम्प्रदान-करणाधार-कर्मणाम् ।

कर्तृशान्दीन्यसन्देहपरमेकं प्रवर्तते ॥ संक्षिप्तसार-वृत्तिः ६.२६

with the Kartā (Nominative) and the Karman (Accusative), so it comes just before them and since the subject is more important and of more frequent occurrence than the object, the Kartā comes last of all. As Kāraka is the relationship of the substantive with the verb, the Genitive which is generally concerned with the relationship between substantives is not reckoned among the cases.

Sanskrit grammarians do not regard the Vocative as a separate case for the same reason. And as in the dual and the plural and in some cases in the singular also the Vocative is identical in form with the Nominative it is not regarded as a separate Vibhakti even. Śaunaka appears to stand alone in regarding the Vocative as a Vibhakti in the well-known line in BD : aṣṭau yatra prayujyante nānārtheṣu vibhaktayaḥ.

The name for Kāraka is 'case' in Latin. It comes from *casus* meaning 'a falling'. The Nominative case was regarded as the original case and the other cases as a falling away from this original form. Thus if the Nominative be represented by an upright straight line, the other cases will be represented by sloping lines according to the degree of falling off, and are therefore called oblique cases. In Latin grammars the order is as follows : Nominative, Vocative, Accusative Genitive, Dative, Ablative.

The nominative case was called *onoma* (Skt. *nāman*, name) by Aristotle and *orthē* : *ptōsis* (Lat. *casus rectus*, straight or direct case) or *eutheia* (fem. of *euthus* direct, *pto:sis* case). The Latin name *nominativus* (sc. *casus*) means 'of or belonging to a name'. The oblique cases were called by the Stoics

pto:seis plagiai (pl. of *pto:sis plagia*, Lat. *casus obliqui*). The genitive was called *genike* : lit. belonging to or connected with the *genos* (Skt. *janas*) class or kind. The Latin word *genitivus* means belonging to birth, (case) expressing origin*. The name of the Dative was *dotike* : (fem. of *dotikos* inclined to give). The Latin name *dativus* means 'pertaining to the act of giving'. The Accusative was called by the Stoics *aitiatike* : (fem. of *aitiatikos* lit. the thing caused by i.e., the effect of the action ; *to aitiaiton* means the effect). It should have been rendered into Latin by *effectivus* or *causativus*, but Latin grammarians thought that the word *aitiatike* : was derived from *aitiaomai* accuse (*aitia* guilt, blame) and translated it by *accusativus* (*casus*, the case that denotes the object of an accusation).

The *apādāna* is not preserved in Greek. It is found in Latin and was first called *sextus* the sixth case (the other five being Nom. Voc. Acc. Gen. Dat.) or *Latinus casus* and then *ablativus* (formed from *ablatus*—*ab* away from and *latus* carried, taken) that which takes away and thus corresponds exactly in meaning to *apādāna*. The name *ablativus* was coined by Julius Caesar. *Locative* for *adhikaraṇa* and

* "Aristotle laid the foundation of the division of words into 'parts of speech' and introduced the notion of case (*pto:sis*). His work in this connexion was continued by the Stoics, many of whose grammatical distinctions and terms are still in use, the latter in their Latin dress, which embodies some curious mistakes, as when *genike* : "the case of kind or species", was rendered *genitivus*, as if it meant the case of origin, or worse still, when *aitiatike* : "the case of object", was rendered *accusativus*, as if from *aitiaomi* 'I accuse'." JESPERSEN, *Language*, p. 20.

instrumental for *karāṇa* are of recent origin. *Locative* is from *locat-(um)* the past participle of *locare* 'to place' and means pertaining to a place where. It was formed after the analogy of 'vocative' etc. *Localis*, however, would be a better name for the case, meaning as it does, belonging to a place. The Sambodhana was called *kle:tike*: fem. of *kle:tikos* invocatory, vocative.

कारकं निमित्तं हेतुरिति पर्यायः । कारकशब्दश्चायं लोके प्रसिद्धोऽव्युत्पन्नो निमित्तपर्यायः । यदि णकप्रत्ययान्तः स्यात्, तदा कर्तृशब्देन समानार्थः स्यात् । एवं च सति क्रियामुख्यस्यैव कारकपदेनाभिधानं भवेदिति जयादित्यादीनां मतम् । भाष्यकारस्तु करोतीति कारकमित्याह । आ विक्लित्तेर्ज्वलनक्रियां कुर्वत् काष्ठमपि, अधिश्रयणक्रियां कुर्वती स्थाल्यपि, स्वावयवविक्रित्तिं कुर्वदन्नमपि, वृक्षात् पत्रं पततीत्यत्र पत्रस्य विभागं प्रत्यात्मनो निमित्ततां कुर्वाणो वृक्षोऽपि, विप्राय गां ददातीत्यत्र गोः स्वीकारं कुर्वन् विप्रोऽपि कारकं भवत्येव । अत एव सर्वाण्येव कारकाण्यभिधीयन्ते । तेषान्तु सर्वेषामायोजनं कुर्वन् देवदत्तो हि मुख्यः कर्ता भवति । यदि पुनः स्वक्रियां कुर्वतां काष्ठादीनामपि मुख्यत्वं विवक्ष्यते तदा काष्ठं पचति स्थाली पचति ओदनः पचतीत्याद्यपि भवति । तेषां मध्ये यदा यस्य क्रियाव्याप्यत्वसाधकतमत्वादिव्यापारभेदापेक्षा विधीयते, तदा कर्मत्वकरणत्वादिकमिति । तथाचोक्तम्—

निष्पत्तिमात्रं कर्तृत्वं सर्वत्रैवास्ति कारके ।

व्यापारभेदापेक्षायां करणत्वादिसम्भवः ॥ इति । गोयीचन्द्रः ।

महाभाष्यम् । कारक इति महती संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघ्वीयः । कुत एतत् । लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र

महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत् प्रयोजनम्—अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत । करोतीति कारकमिति ।

अन्वर्थमिति चेदकर्तरि कर्तृशब्दानुपपत्तिः ।*

अन्वर्थमिति चेदकर्तरि कर्तृशब्दो नोपपद्यते । करणं कारकम् । अधिकरणं कारकमिति ।

सिद्धं तु प्रतिकारकं क्रियाभेदात् पचादीनां करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृभावः ।*

सिद्धः करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृभावः । कुतः ? प्रतिकारकं क्रियाभेदात् पचादीनाम् ? पचादीनां हि प्रतिकारकं क्रिया भिद्यते । किमिदं प्रतिकारकमिति । कारकं कारकं प्रति प्रतिकारकम् । कोऽसौ प्रतिकारकं क्रियाभेदः पचादीनाम् ?

अग्निश्चयणोदकासेचनतण्डुलाघपनैधोऽपकर्षणक्रियाः प्रधानस्य कर्तुः पाकः ।*

अग्निश्चयणोदकासेचनतण्डुलाघपनैधोऽपकर्षणादिक्रियाः कुर्वन्नेव देवदत्तः पचतीत्युच्यते । तत्र तदा पचिर्वर्तते । एष प्रधानकर्तुः पाकः । एतत् प्रधानकर्तुः कर्तृत्वम् ।

द्रोणं पचत्याढकं पचतीति सम्भवनक्रिया धारणक्रिया चाधिकरणस्य पाकः ।*

द्रोणं पचत्याढकं पचतीति सम्भवनक्रियां धारणक्रियां च कुर्वती स्थाली पचतीत्युच्यते । तत्र तदा पचिर्वर्तते । एषोऽधिकरणस्य पाकः । एतदधिकरणस्य कर्तृत्वम् ।

एधाः पक्ष्यन्त्या विक्लिप्तेर्ज्वलिष्यन्तीति ज्वलनक्रिया करणस्य पाकः ।*

एधाः पक्ष्यन्त्या विक्लिप्तेर्ज्वलिष्यन्तीति ज्वलनक्रियां कुर्वन्ति

काष्ठानि पचन्तीत्युच्यन्ते । तत्र तदा पचिर्वर्तते । एष करणस्य पाकः, एतत् करणस्य कर्तृत्वम् ।

उद्यमननिपातनानि कर्तुं श्लिष्टिक्रिया ।*

उद्यमननिपातनानि कुर्वन् देवदत्तश्लिष्टिनत्तीत्युच्यते । तत्र तदा श्लिष्टिर्वर्तते । एष प्रधानकर्तुं श्लेदः । एतत् प्रधानकर्तुः कर्तृत्वम् ।

यत्तन्न तृणेन तत् परशोश्लेदनम् ।*

यत्तत् समान उद्यमने निपातने च शरशूना छिद्यते न तृणेन, तत् परशोश्लेदनम् । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् ।

इतरथा ह्यसितृणयोश्लेदनेऽविशेषः स्यात् ।*

यो हि मन्यत उद्यमननिपातनादेवैतद् भवति—छिनत्तीति, असितृणयोश्लेदने न तस्य विशेषः स्यात् । यदसिना छिद्यते तृणेनापि तच्छिद्यते ।

अपादानादीनां त्वप्रसिद्धिः ।*

अपादानादीनां कर्तृत्वस्याप्रसिद्धिः । यथा हि भवता करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृत्वं निदर्शितम्, न तथापादानादीनां कर्तृत्वं निदर्श्यते ॥

न वा स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वात् तयोः पर्यायेण वचनं वचनाश्रया च संज्ञा ।*

न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम् ? स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वात् । सर्वत्रैषात्र स्वातन्त्र्यं पारतन्त्र्यं च विवक्षितम् । तयोः पर्यायेण वचनम् । तयोः स्वातन्त्र्यपारतन्त्र्ययोः पर्यायेण वचनं भविष्यति । वचनाश्रया च संज्ञा भविष्यति । तद् यथा । बलाहकाद् विद्योतते । बलाहके विद्योतते । बलाहको विद्योतत इति ॥ किं तर्ह्युच्यते—अपादानादीनां त्वप्रसिद्धिरिति । एवं तर्हि न ब्रूमः—अपादानानीनां कर्तृत्वस्याप्रसिद्धिरिति । पर्याप्तं करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृत्वं निदर्शित-

मपादानादीनां कर्तृत्वनिदर्शनाय । पर्याप्तो ह्येकः पुलाकः स्थाल्या
निदर्शनाय । किं तर्हि ? संज्ञाया अप्रसिद्धिः । यावता सर्वत्रैवात्र
स्वातन्त्र्यं विद्यते पारतन्त्र्यं च, तत्र परत्वात् कर्तृसंज्ञैव प्राप्नोति ।
अत्रापि न वा स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वात् तयोः पर्यायेण वचनं वचनाश्रया
च संज्ञेत्येव ।

यथा पुनरिदं भवता स्थाल्याः स्वातन्त्र्यं निदर्शितं सम्भवनक्रियां
धारणक्रियां च कुर्वतो स्थाली स्वतन्त्रेति क्तेदानीं परतन्त्रा स्यात् ।
यत् तत् प्रक्षालनं परिवर्तनं वा । न वा एवमर्थं स्थाल्युपादीयते
प्रक्षालनं परिवर्तनं च करिष्यामीति । किं तर्हि ? सम्भवनक्रियां
धारणक्रियां च करिष्यतीति । तत्र चासौ स्वतन्त्रा । क्तेदानीं
परतन्त्रा ॥ एवं तर्हि स्थालीस्थे यत्ने कथ्यमाने स्थाली स्वतन्त्रा
कर्तृस्थे यत्ने कथ्यमाने परतन्त्रा ॥ ननु च भोः कर्तृस्थेऽपि वै यत्ने
कथ्यमाने स्थाली सम्भवनक्रियां धारणक्रियां च करोति । तत्रासौ
स्वतन्त्रा । क्तेदानीं परतन्त्रा ॥ एवं तर्हि प्रधानेन समवाये स्थाली
परतन्त्रा व्यव्राये स्वतन्त्रा । तद् यथा । अमात्यादीनां राज्ञा सह
समवाये पारतन्त्र्यम्, व्यव्राये स्वातन्त्र्यम् । किं पुनः प्रधानम् ?
कर्ता । कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते कर्ता प्रधानमिति । यत् सर्वेषु साधनेषु
सन्निहितेषु कर्ता प्रवर्तयिता भवति ॥ ननु च भोः प्रधानेनापि वै
समवाये स्थाल्या अनेनार्योऽधिकरणं कारकमिति । न हि कारक-
मित्यनेनाधिकरणत्वमुक्तम्, अधिकरणमिति वा कारकत्वम् । उभौ
चान्यान्यविशेषकौ भवतः । कथम् ? एकद्रव्यसमवायित्वात् । तद्
यथा । गार्ग्यो देवदत्त इति । न हि गार्ग्य इत्यनेन देवदत्तत्व-
मुक्तं देवदत्त इत्यनेन वा गार्ग्यत्वम् । उभौ चान्यान्यविशेषकौ भवतः,
एकद्रव्यसमवायित्वात् ॥ एवं तर्हि सामान्यभूता क्रिया वर्तते तस्या
निर्वर्तकं कारकम् ॥ अथवा यावद् ब्रूयात् क्रियायामिति तावत्

कारक इति । एवं च कृत्वा निर्देश उपपन्नो भवति । इतरथा हि कारकेष्विति ब्रूयात् ॥ १।४।२३

यः कर्ता कर्म करणं सम्प्रदानमशेषतः ।

अपादानाधिकरणे तत्सम्बन्धो भवेदिह ॥

हरिनामामृतव्याकरणम् ।

‘He who is the doer, the deed, the instrument, the object of gifts, the object from which something is separated and the receptacle of all things, may He be associated with everything here.’ In the case of grammar, ‘that which is the nominative, the accusative, the instrumental, the dative, the ablative and the locative—that is to be fully dealt with here.’

सरसोः परिशीलितुं मया गमिकर्मोक्तनैकनिवृत्ता ।

अतिथित्वमनायि सा दृशोः सदसत्संशयगोचरोदरी ॥

नै० २४०

‘The lovely girl about the existence of whose waist one feels grave doubts was brought within the range of my vision, as I had made more than one city the object (lit. objective case) of my wanderings, with a view to contact pools of water.’

सम्प्रत्यसाम्प्रतं वक्तुमुक्ते मुसलपाणिना ।

निर्धारितेऽर्थे लेखेन खलूक्त्वा खलु वाचिकम् ॥

तथापि यन्मय्यपि ते गुरुरित्यस्ति गौरवम् ।

तत्प्रयोजककर्तृत्वमुपैति मम जल्पतः ॥

शिशुपालवधः २।७१

‘It is not proper for me to speak now, after (my elder brother) Balarāma has spoken. When a thing has been fixed up by means of a letter, what is the use of a verbal message?’ Still the fact that you entertain feelings of respect for me also as your *guru* becomes the operating agent of the act of speaking on my part i.e., prompts me to speak.’

स्थापितामुपरि स्वस्य तां हृदा स मुदा बहन् ।

तदुद्वहनकर्तृ त्वमाचष्ट स्पष्टमात्मनः ॥

नैषधीयचरितम् २०।१४४

‘Bearing joyfully on his breast her who had been placed on himself, he plainly indicated the fact of his being the agent of holding her up, i.e., of marrying her.’

केवलं दधति कर्तृवाचिनः

प्रत्ययानिह न जातु कर्मणि ।

धातवः सृजति-संह-शास्तयः

स्तौतिरत्र विपरीतकारकः ॥ शिशु० १४।३३

‘In the matter of the Lord the roots *srj* (to create), *sam-hr* (to destroy) and *śās* (to govern) take on suffixes denoting the agent only and never those denoting the object. The root *stu* (to praise), here, takes (the suffixes denoting) the opposite case.’ In other words, God creates and destroys and governs, but, is not created or destroyed or governed; on the other hand, He is praised, but He does not praise.

विराट्सैन्येषु मिषत्सु युद्धे त्रिगर्तनेतुर्दृढबन्धनाय ।

कोदण्डयुक्तो गुण एव तत्र कर्ता च जज्ञे करणं जज्ञे ॥

चम्पूभारतम् ६।१०४

'While the soldiers of Virāṭa, unable to bind the king of the Trigartas safely were (helplessly) looking on, it was *guṇa* (string, Bhīma) united with the bow that became both the agent and the instrument in the matter, i.e., Bhīma bound him with the string of his bow.'

यदिन्दोरन्वेति व्यसनमुदयं वा निधिरपा-
मुपाधिस्तत्रायं जयति जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिता ।
अयं कः सम्बन्धो यदनुहरते तस्य कुमुदं
विशुद्धाः शुद्धानां ध्रुवमनभिसन्धिप्रणयिनः ॥

'That the sea follows the fall and rise of the moon—the reason thereof is not far to seek. All powerful is the source of the subject of the act of being born. i. e., because they are sprung from the same source (cf. जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः P. i. 4. 30). What relationship is there that the waterlily follows its example? Surely the pure are the spontaneous friends of the pure.'

व्याकरणमिव प्रथममध्यमोत्तमपुरुषविभक्तिस्थितानेकादेशकार-
काख्यातसम्प्रदानक्रियाव्ययप्रपञ्चसुस्थितम् । कादम्बरी ८१

Amo, amas, I love a lass,
As a cedar, tall and slender,
Sweet cowslip's grace
Is her nom'native case,
And she's of the feminine gender.

Rorum, corum, sunt Divorum !

Harum, scarum, Divo !

Tag, rag, merry derry, periwig and hatband !

Hic hoc horum Genitivo !

VIBHAKTI

The word Vibhakti* is derived from *vi-bhaj* 'to divide, distribute' and means 'separation, partition, division, modification'. विभक्तिशब्दः सुपां वाचकः । विभागवचनो वा । कारक-शक्तिविभागः । विभज्यते प्रातिपदिकार्थोऽनयेति कृत्वा । Nyāsa i. 2.44. In TS. i. 5.22, discriminations from the usual form in the Ādhāna are termed Vibhakti. In the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa i.4 also Vibhakti is used in the sense of discrimination according to Keith. Eggeling and Hillebrandt, however, hold that Vibhakti is used here in the sense of case. Whatever be the true meaning of Vibhakti in this passage, the fact remains that it is concerned with the different cases of the word Agni. अग्न आयाहि वीतये RV. vi. 16.10 'Agni, come for refreshment.'

* Acc. to Kāśika on Pāṇini ii.3.32 the names of the seven case-endings, prathamā to saptamī, have been taken over from Purvācāryas, and indeed we find them with the same meaning and in the same order in Yāska. The origin of the name for case-ending itself, viz. vibhakti, goes still farther back to an ancient custom in connexion with the Punarādheya or Punarādhāna, the repeated employment of the three sacrificial fires, if the first employment did not show the required result. In it a cake has to be offered to Agni alone and for the six stanzas to be employed *mutatis mutandis* for this, such stanzas must be chosen in which the name of the deity always appears in a different form because repetitions weaken the ceremony—अजामित्तये । जामि ह कुर्याद यद हि चित् स ह स्याताम् । अतपथन्नाग्नयम् । We do not learn about this custom from AB. which does not treat of Agnyādheya but from TS. and other Brāhmaṇas. LIEBICH, *Zur Einfuehrung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, 11.15.

- अग्निं दूतं वृणीमहे i.12.1. We choose Agni as our messenger.'
 अग्निनाग्निः समिध्यते i.12.6 'Agni is kindled with Agni.'
 अग्निर्वृत्राणि जह्वनत् vi. 16.34. 'May Agni smite the foes.'
 अग्नेः स्तोमं मनामहे v. 13.2 'We meditate the praise of Agni.'
 अग्ना यो मर्त्यो दुवः vi. 14.1 'To Agni that mortal who doth service.'

The first word in each of the above verses is known as Vibhakti. From this it was an easy transition to normal endings (the Nirukta speaks of Nāmavibhakti) and from thence to verbal endings also.

In the Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa we find :

अग्ने इति प्रथमस्याहो रूपमग्निविभक्तेः, अग्निमिति द्वितीय-
 स्याग्निनेति तृतीयस्य, अग्निरिति चतुर्थस्य । १०।७।१

[अग्निविभक्तेः अग्निशब्दस्य या विभक्तयस्तासां मध्ये अग्ने इति सम्बुद्धान्तं प्रथमस्याहो रूपम् । अग्ने आयाहि वीतये इति हि तस्मिन्नहनि दृश्यते । अग्निमिति द्वितीया विभक्तिर्द्वितीयस्याहो रूपम् । अग्निं दूतं वृणीमहे इति तत्र मन्त्रवर्णः । अग्निनेति तृतीया तृतीयस्याहो रूपम् । अत एव तत्रापि अग्निनाग्निः समिध्यते इति दृश्यते । अग्निरिति प्रथमैव चतुर्थस्याहो रूपम् । जनस्य गोपा अजनिष्ठ जागृधिरग्निः सुदक्ष इति तत्र दर्शनात् । सायणः ।]

यस्मादेषा समाना सत्यग्निविभक्तिर्नानारूपा तस्माद् यथर्त्वा-
 दित्यस्तपति । ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १०।७।१

[एषा उक्ताग्निविभक्तिः समाना अग्निविभक्तिर्वेन सरूपा सती यस्मात् नानारूपा सम्बुद्धादिविभक्तिभेदेन परस्परं विलक्षणाकारा तस्माद्धतोर्यथर्तु ऋतावृतौ वसन्तादिके आदित्यो नानारूपः सन् तपति सर्वं जगद् भासयति । सायणः]

इन्द्रेति प्रथमस्याहो रूपमिन्द्रविभक्तेः । इन्द्रमिति द्वितीयस्य ।
इन्द्रेणेति तृतीयस्य । इन्द्र इति चतुर्थस्य । इन्द्रादिति पञ्चमस्य ।
इन्द्रेति षष्ठस्य । येनैव रूपेण प्रयन्ति तदभ्युद्यन्ति । यस्मादेषा
समाना सतीन्द्रविभक्तिर्नानारूपा तस्माद् यथत्वोषधयः पच्यन्ते ।
ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १०।८।४

The Nāṭyaśāstra (xv. 30) explains the significance of Vibhakti thus :

एकस्य बहूनां वा धातोर्लिङ्गस्य पदानां वा ।

विभजन्त्यर्थं यस्माद् विभक्तयस्तेन ताः प्रोक्ताः ॥

‘Since they discriminate the meaning of one or many words, of dhātu and prātipadika, they are known as “vibhaktis”.’

The Nirukta exemplifies the Nāma-vibhaktis thus :

इन्द्रो दिव इन्द्र ईशे पृथिव्याः । ऋ० सं० १०।८९।१०

Indra over Heaven rules, Indra over the earth.

इन्द्रमिद् गाथिनो बृहत् । ऋ० सं० १।७।१

Indra alone the chanters praise highly.

इन्द्रेणैते तृत्सवो वेविषाणाः । ऋ० सं० ७।१८।१५

With Indra the Tṛtsus being active.

इन्द्राय साम गायत । ऋ० सं० ८।९८।१

To Indra chant the Sāman.

नेन्द्रादृते पषते धाम किञ्चन । ऋ० सं० ९।१९।६

Without Indra no place whatsoever is pure.

इन्द्रस्य नु वीर्याणि प्र वोचम् । ऋ० सं० १।३२।१

Of Indra, now will I proclaim the heroic deeds.

इन्द्र कामा अयंसत ।

On Indra our desires rest.

It will be seen that Yāska does not regard the Vocative as a Vibhakti, Pāṇini and other grammarians agree with Yāska on this point. Śaunaka, in his Bṛhad-devatā, however, distinctly speaks of eight Vibhaktis अष्टौ यत् प्रयुज्यन्ते नानार्थेषु विभक्तयः (i. 43) and is perfectly justified in doing so. No doubt the dual and plural of the Vocative are identical with those of the Nominative, still the singulars differ in the case of the *a*-declension and several other declensions. The dual and plural of the Ablative are identical with those of the Dative, still the Dative and the Ablative are reckoned as separate Vibhaktis.

It is clear from the following passage of the Mahābhāṣya (ii. 2. 24) that in ancient works on grammar the Vocative was placed after the Locative.

चित्रा यस्य गावश्चित्रगुस्तिष्ठति । चित्रा यस्य गावश्चित्रगुं पश्य । चित्रा यस्य गावश्चित्रगुणा कृतम् । चित्रा यस्य गावश्चित्-गवे देहि । चित्रा यस्य गावश्चित्गोराणय । चित्रा यस्य गावश्चित्गोः स्वम् । चित्रा यस्य गावश्चित्गौ निधेहि । चित्रा यस्य गावः हे चित्गो इति ।...राज्ञो या कुमारी राजकुमारी तिष्ठति । राज्ञो या कुमारी राजकुमारी पश्य । राज्ञो या कुमारी राजकुमार्या कृतम् । राजो या कुमारी राजकुमार्यै देहि । राज्ञो या कुमारी राजकुमार्या आणय । राज्ञो या कुमारी राजकुमार्याः स्वम् । राज्ञो या कुमारी राजकुमार्या निधेहि । राज्ञो या कुमारी हे राजकुमारि इति ।

One cannot help thinking that originally the Vocative terminations, were *Si*, *au*, *jas* and these were placed immediately after the Nom. terminations, which were *su*, *au*, *jas*.

Grammarians regarded the Vocative singular as a special form of the Nominative for the sake of *lāghava* or brevity but the *si* is preserved as the ending for the Nominative singular in Kātantra, J., Śak., Hc., Mu. etc.

The seven Vibhaktis are generally known as *prathamā*, *dvitīyā*, *trītiyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcamī*, *ṣaṣṭhī* *saptamī*. The Nominative naturally comes first as being the Kāraka *par excellence* (*svatantraḥ kartā* i. 4. 64) and as being of most frequent occurrence, since we can have a sentence without the other cases, but a sentence without a Nominative, expressed or understood, is hardly possible. The Accusative comes second, because in the neuter the Nominative and Accusative are identical in all cases and also because in the case of those declensions which distinguish between strong and weak stems the Nominative shares the strong character with the singular and dual of the Accusative. In other words, it is necessary to place the Accusative immediately after the Nominative for the purpose of the *Sarvanāmasthāna-samjñā*. In order of frequency also the Accusative comes after the Nominative, because it is primarily affected by the action of the agent. The Accusative plural is weakest, the Instrumental singular is also weakest, so the Instrumental comes immediately after the Accusative. The Instrumental dual is identical in form with the Dative dual, so the Dative placed after the Instrumental. The Ablative comes after the Dative as its dual and plural are identical with those of the Dative. The Genitive singular is identical with the Ablative singular except in the *a*-declension and so it comes after the Genitive. This is

how the names Prathamā, Dvītīyā etc. came to be given to the different case-endings.

It is just possible that the lakāras (moods and tenses) were at one time called Prathamā, Dvītīya etc., two of which names Pañcamī (Imperative) and Saptamī (Potential) are still preserved in the works of the Kātantra and its followers, Hemacandra and others.

In "ñe prathamayor am" P. vii. 1. 28 Prathamā in the dual stands for prathamā and dvītīyā. The practice of the Prātiśākhya is to use the second word in the dual.

The word vibhakti occurs in CA. न विभक्तिरूपरात्रिरथन्तरेषु CA. ii. 51, विभक्त्यागमप्रातिपदिकान्तस्य CA. iii. 78.

J. takes the dual vibhakti as standing for nominal and verbal endings and resolving the word into its constituent letters *v, i, bh, a, k, t, ī* adds *ā* to the consonants, because prathamā ends in *ā* and *p* to the vowels because sup, the generic term for the case-endings, ends in *p*. Thus the seven Vibhaktis, according to J., are : *vā, ip, bhā, ap, kā, tū, and ip*. Mu. appears to have improved upon the terminology of J. by adding *ī* to the initial consonant or consonants of the oldest names. In the case of the Locative, however, since *śī* sounds very much like *ṣī*, *ī* is added to the consonants of the second syllable. The reason why *ī* is added and not *ā* is that out of the seven names of Vibhaktis four end in *ī*. The names according to Mu. are ; *pī, dvī, trī, cī, pī, ṣī* and *ptī*.

Śāk. defines vibhakti in 1. 3. 181 and prathamā etc. in 1. 3. 182 ff., so in the previous rules he has to use *svaujas* etc.

for "prathamā," as in धन्ययात् स्वौजस् 1. 3. 99, हाधिक...
अमौद् शस् 1. 3. 100 etc.

Sam. uses the pratyāhāra sup and the Vṛtti says under
"सुपोऽन्ययात्" vi. 2 : "प्रथमादिसप्तविभक्तीनां सुप् प्रत्याहारः"
and in the text the word vibhakti is used in भवदादियुक्तेभ्यः
सर्वविभक्तेस्त्रहातश्च vi. 32. etc.

Pāṇini and Kātantra used the term Vibhakti also to denote
the Taddhita suffixes tas, tra, ha, dhā, rhi, adhunā, dānim,
thā, tham, astāt, atas, etc., which practically serve the purpose
of Vibhaktis.

Every system of grammar uses the word Vibhakti with the
exception of Mu. which uses the last syllable "kti" and HN.
which uses the name of Viṣṇu and converts Vibhakti into
Viṣṇubhakti.

पा० । तिङ्स्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः । तान्येकवचन-
द्विवचनबहुवचनान्येकशः । सुपः । १।४।१०१-३ । प्राग् दिशो-
विभक्तिः । ५।३।१

का० । तस्मात् परा विभक्तयः । २।१।२
अर्थस्य विभञ्जनाद् विभक्तयः । वृत्तिः । संख्याकर्मादयो ह्यर्था
आभिर्विभज्यन्ते इति विभक्तयः । पञ्जी ३।१।१

विभक्तिसंज्ञा विज्ञेया वक्ष्यन्तेऽतः परं तु ये ।

अद्वयादेः सर्वनाम्नस्ते बहोश्चैव पराः स्मृताः ॥ २।२।३

च० । तान्येतानि सप्त त्रयाणि सप्त विभक्तयो भवन्ति ।

विभागो विभक्तिरिति कृत्वा । २।१।१ वृत्तिः ।

जै० । आप्परा विभक्ती हलचः । १।२।१८५

शा० । त्रयी त्रयी विभक्तिः । प्रथमादिः । १।३।१८१-१८२

स० । तिङ्सुपो विभक्तिः । तेषां त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्य-
मोत्तमाः । सुपां प्रथमाद्वितीयाद्वितीयाचतुर्थोपञ्चमीषष्ठोसप्तम्यः ।
१।१।१९-२१

हे० । स्वौजसमौट्...त्रयी त्रयी प्रथमादिः । स्त्यादिर्विभक्तिः ।
१।१।१८-१९

विभज्यन्ते विभागशः प्रकाश्यन्ते कर्तृकर्मादयोऽर्था अनया ।
विभजनं वा । लघुन्यासः ।

म० । सित्यादिः क्तिः । १२, त्रिशः प्रौढीत्रीचीपीषोपत्यः । ७९

सु० । सुप्तिनां त्रिकमेकद्विबहुष्वेकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनमेकशो
विभक्तिश्च । २।१।३५

संख्या अर्थो विभज्यतेऽनया इति विभक्तिः । मकरन्दः ।

प्र० । विभक्ती सुप्तिङौ स्मृतौ । १।१७१, प्रथमाद्यभिधानास्ता
वचनैः स्युस्त्रिभिस्त्रिभिः । १।१७४ ङिवत् तसादौ १।१४०४ ।

ह० । स्वादितिवाद्या विष्णुभक्तयः । १।१४९

क्रियते चेत् साधुविभक्तिचिन्ता

व्यक्तिस्तदा सा प्रथमाभिधेया ।

या स्वौजसां साधयितुं विलासै-

स्तावत् क्षमा नामपदं बहु स्यात् ॥ नै० चरितम् ३।२३

'If one thinks of distinguishing good men, that individual has to be mentioned first who by the display of his prowess is able to bring to subjection many refractory states, (when one thinks of a good Vibhakti, then the first case-ending has to be taken into consideration, which by the manifestation of *su*, *au*, *jas* is able to convert a large number of stems into inflected words.'

उभयी प्रकृतिः कामे सज्जेदिति मुनेर्मतम् ।

अपवर्गे तृतीयेति भणतः पाणिनेरपि ॥

नैषध्रीयचरितम् १७।७०

“Both the sexes should tread the primrose path of dalliance” is the view of Pāṇini who says : Salvation is for the third sex (eunch). Of course the real meaning of the rule is that the third case-endings is to be used with words denoting time and place to denote the completion of the action.

षष्ठी and सप्तमी are used in peculiar senses in the second of the following two stanzas :

पतत्यविरतं वारि नृत्यन्ति शिखिनो मुदा ।

अथ कान्तः कृतान्तो वा दुःखस्यान्तं करिष्यति ॥

सन्तप्ता दशमध्वजाद्यगतिना संमूर्च्छिता निर्जने

तुर्यद्वादशवद्वितीयमतिमन्नेकादशभस्तनी ।

सा षष्ठी नृपपञ्चमस्य नवमभ्रूः सप्तमीवर्जिता

प्राप्नोत्यष्टमवेदनां प्रथम हे तूर्णं तृतीयो भव ॥

It is said that the daughter-in-law of King Vallāla Sen, pining from the pangs of separation from her husband wrote on the wall of her boudoir :

It is raining incessantly. Peacocks are dancing in joy. Either my beloved or Yama will put an end to my sufferings to-day.

This stanza happened to catch the eye of the king who forthwith wrote to his son :

This peerless (सप्तमीवर्जिता=तुलारहिता) daughter (षष्ठी=कन्या) of the lion of kings (नृपपञ्चमस्य=नरपतिसिंहस्य) with

(heaving) breasts like the temples of elephants (एकादशाम-
स्तनो=ऋरिकुम्भप्रतिस्पर्धिपयोधरा) and (arched) eye-brows like
bows (नवमभ्रूः=धनुराकारभ्रूः) tormented by the first flush of
youth (दशमध्वजाद्यगतिना=मकरध्वजस्य प्रथमप्रवेशो यत् तादृशस्याभि-
नवयौवनस्याभिर्भावेण) and having fainted like a crab or a fish
(तुर्यद्वाशवत्) on a place devoid of water is suffering the
stings of the scorpion (अष्टमवेदनाम्=वृश्चिकदंशनयातनाम्),
O thou with the intellect of a bull (द्वितीयमतिमनः=वृषमन्मूढमते),
O ram (हे प्रथम=मेघ), join her quickly (तूर्णं तृतीयः भव=सत्वरं
मिथुनीभव)।

Āmantrita and Sambuddhi

The vocative is termed Āmantrita by Pāṇini and as the
singular has often special forms differing from the Nom.
sing., the Voc. sing. is designated Sambuddhi. *Ā-mantra*
occurs in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa in the sense of 'to address'.
Āmantraṇa occurs in the sense of 'address' in the Śatapatha
Brāhmaṇa : अम्वेति वै योषाया आमन्त्रणम् vi.6.2.5. "Āmantrita"
is the past passive participle of *āmantra* and denotes the person
addressed. With the suffix *-kta* in the bhāva-vācya (नपुंसके
भावे क्तः iii. 3.114), it means the same thing as āmantraṇa or
sambodhana. Āmantrita in the sense of the voc. occurs
first in the Prātiśākhya and in Pāṇini. ओकार आमन्त्रितजः
प्रगृह्यः RP. i.68, पदपूर्वमामन्त्रितमनानार्थोऽपादादौ VP ii. 17;
आमन्त्रितं च ii. 24 न सप्तम्यामन्त्रितयोः iii. 139 अनुदात्तमाख्यात-
मामन्त्रितवत् vi. 1, आमन्त्रितं चेतावनार्थे CA. i. 81. It has
एकामन्त्रिते for the voc. sing. : एकामन्त्रिते रौद्विवचनान्तस्य ii.
47. Apr. uses "āmantrita" several times : अर्थपादादिषूदात्त-

माख्यातामन्विततं पदम् । i. 18. आमन्त्रितादादुदात्तादाख्यातं न निहन्यते 1.27.

आमन्त्रितादादुदात्तात् परमामन्वितं पदम् ।

आदुदात्तं तदप्याहुः समानाधिकरणं तु वा ॥ i. 286

Sarvavarman does not define or explain "āmantrita" but takes it for granted. Sambodhana and Sambuddhi mean the same thing, Sambuddhi is made use of by Pāṇini in a special sense and in this instance he is followed by Sarvavarman, though in the vast majority of cases Sarvavarman's technical terms are self-explanatory. Candrar uses Sambodhane su for Sambuddhi in vi. 2. 44. He uses āmantrita in vi.3.24 and Sambuddhi in vi. 3. 49. Jainendra shortens Sambodhana into Bodha and for Sambuddhi it has "ki" with the first consonant of the alphabet and the *i* of sambuddhi. Jainendra's use of the first consonant would lead one to suppose that acc. to this grammar, the Voc. preceded the Nominative. Śākāṭyāna uses the trisyllabic "āmantrya" (lit. one who has to be addressed) for the polysyllabic "Sambodhana" and for "Sambuddhi" he uses "ekāmantraṇa". वीशनोशनन्नघोभगोभोस्सम-
श्चैकामन्त्रणे i.2.121. Bhoja follows Pāṇini. Hemacandra uses āmantrya for Sambodhana and adds "si" to denote the sing.: मातुर्मातः पुत्रेऽहं सिनामन्त्र्ये i.4.40 Kramadīśvara uses both Sambodhana and Sambuddhi for āmantrita and adds 'si' to denote the sing.: न बहुव्रीहावक्त्र्ये सम्बोधने i. 163, ह्रस्वैर्भ्यां स्तोः सम्बुद्धौ vi.5. In the Subanta section there is a rule एकवचन-सम्बुद्धन्ताच्च 379 where एकवचनसम्बुद्धि appears to have been used for Pāṇini's Sambuddhi. Commentators, however, are

of opinion that सम्बुद्धान्ताच्च is correct reading here. Thus Goyicandra says : एकवचनसम्बुद्धान्तादिति लक्षणं बहुषु पुस्तकेषु दृश्यते, किन्तु तत् पूर्ववृत्तिदर्शनोद्भूतसंस्कारव्याकुलबुद्धिभिरनभिज्ञैः कृतमिति लक्ष्यते । यत् एकवचनसम्बुद्धान्तादेव त्वामादयो न भवन्तीति पाणिनिसर्ववर्मचन्द्रविरचितेषु कुत्रापि न दृष्टम् । Vamśīvadana remarks in his Tippanī : सम्बुद्धान्ताच्च इत्येव लक्षणं सर्वसम्मतमित्यभिप्रायः ।

Curiously enough Vopadeva who uses monosyllabic technical terms throughout contents himself with changing the polysyllabic Sambodhana into the trisyllabic Sambuddhi. For the voc. sing. he uses “dhi” which is a vast improvement on Devanandin’s “ki” being the last syllable of “sambuddhi”. Sār. follows Mu. The Supadma, like the Saṁkṣiptasāra uses Sambuddhi for Sambodhana and “su” for sing. The Prayogaratanmālā follows Pāṇini. The Harināmāmṛta uses the popular word Sambodhana for “āmantrita” and Buddha, the name of the avatāra which is nearest in sound to Sambuddhi, for that term.

Kaccāyana (Pali Grammar, ii. i.4), has “alapana” for “āmantrita” and “ga” for Sambuddhi.

पा० । सामन्वितम् । [सा = सम्बोधने प्रथमा ।] एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः । २।३।४८-४९

का० । आमन्त्रिते सिः सम्बुद्धिः । २।१।५

जै० । सम्बोधने बोध्यम् । सुः किः । १।४।६६-६७

स० । सम्बोधनप्रथमान्तमामन्वितम् । तदेकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः । १।१।७५-७६

मु० । सम्बुद्धौ सिद्धिः । ८१

सम्बोधने विहितः सिद्धिसंज्ञः स्यात् । वृत्तिः ।

सा० । आमन्त्रणे सिद्धिः । ८१३

सु० । सम्बोधनैकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः । २।२।६, नामन्वितात्
त्वामादयः २।४।५१

प्र० । आमन्त्रिते सिः सम्बुद्धिः । अनवहितस्य स्वविषय-
ज्ञानोत्पादनमामन्त्रणम् । १।१८०

ह० । सम्बोधने सुबुद्धसंज्ञः । सम्बुद्धिश्च । १।१७२

संज्ञाकान्तसुते कृतान्तभगिनि श्रीकृष्णनित्यप्रिये
पापोन्मूलिनि पुण्यधात्रि यमुने कालिन्दि तुभ्यं नमः ।

एवं ज्ञानविधौ पठन्ति खलु ये नित्यं गृहीतव्रता-

स्तानामन्वितसंख्यजन्मजनितं पापं क्षणादुज्झति ॥

पण्डितराजजगन्नाथविरचिता यमुनालहरी ।

‘O daughter of the dear husband of Samjñā, O sister of Yama, O constant beloved of Srikrṣṇa, O annihilator of sins, O receptacle of virtue, O Yamunā, O Kālindī, salutation to thee. Those who having taken a vow read these names while performing ablutions, sins of as many lives as there are vocatives in this stanza forthwith leave them.’

ताराविष्णूरणत्विद्विखगहृदयमास्कन्दसम्बुद्धयः क

क स्याद् धातुत्रयं लुग्विकरणपठितं कुत्र तत्त्वावबोधः ।

चत्वारस्तद्धिताः स्युः क च खलु विगतैकैकवचनस्वरूपाः

किं सूत्रं पाणिनीयं विकसति न सहस्रोक्तिभिर्भास्वरेऽपि ॥

शाङ्गधरपद्धतिः ।

Where are the combined vocative singulars of the star (भ), Viṣṇu (व), the sheep (अवे), lustre (भाः), bird (वे)

and of her who is pleasing to the mind (भावे) ? where are three roots belonging to the ad-class (भा दीप्तौ, वा गतिगन्धनयोः इण् गतौ) ? Where is the knowledge of the essence of things ? Where are four words formed with primany suffixes) with the successive elision of one letter भाविः=भवस्य अपत्यम्, आविः=अवस्य अपत्यम्, विः=वस्य अपत्यम्, इः=अस्य अपत्यम्,) ? What is the rule of Pāṇini (भावे iii.3.18) which does not shine even in the resplendent sunlight even when uttered a thousand times (which shines even in *bhāsvare* without its *s*, *v* and *r*) ?

क्रियाकारकसंज्ञाध्वा विना वाक्येन दुर्घटः ।

विभक्तिद्वययोगेन यत्तद्वदीमदुर्घटम् ॥

पदसूर्यप्रक्रिया

स्वौजसां पूरितः सिन्धुः शब्दसिन्धुरिह स्थितः ।

पठितव्यो विवेकाढ्यैर्मन्दैरपि पुनः पुनः ॥

समस्यार्णवः

UPASARGA

Upasarga from *upa* 'near' and *srj* 'to discharge' means literally 'discharged near', then 'addition', then 'addition to the verb' i. e. preposition. It occurs first in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (xvi. 4) : Mahānāmnīnām upasargān upasrjati, he adds the additions to the Mahānāmnīs, Mahānāmnīnām pañcākṣarān upasargān upasrjatyekādaśākṣareṣu pādeṣu, he adds five-syllable additions of the Mahānāmnī to Pādas of eleven

syllables. In these passages "upasarga" is used in the sense of 'addition'. Curiously enough four of the five stanzas to be added contain prepositions with their verbs. आख्यातमुप-
गृह्यार्थविशेषमिमे तस्यैव सृजन्तीत्युपसर्गाः । Durga under Nirukta
i.3. उपेत्य नामाख्यातयोरर्थस्य विशेषं सृजन्त्युत्पादयन्तीत्युप-
सर्गाः । Skanda. In medical literature upasarga means 'a disease
superinduced upon another : क्षीणं हन्युश्चोपसर्गाः प्रभूताः ।
Suśruta. In the Yogasūtras "upasarga" means obstacle. ते
समाधायुपसर्गा व्युत्थाने सिद्धयः iii. 39.

The Nirukta (i.3-5) mentions the conflicting views of Śākaṭāyana and Gārgya regarding upasargas : na nirbaddhā upasargā arthān nirāhur iti Śākaṭāyanah. nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṁyogadyotakā bhavanti. uccāvacāh padārthā bhavanīti Gārgyah. tad ya eṣu padārthāh prāhur ime taṁ nāmākhyātayor artha -vikaraṇam. 'The upasargas', says Śākaṭāyana, 'dissociated (from nouns and verbs) cannot fully express any sense ; they, however, indicate the modified sense of the noun and the verb.' 'They have diverse senses', says Gārgya. 'So whatever meaning is in them they express that meaning in the modification of the sense of the noun and the verb.'

Thus according to Śākaṭāyana Upasargas modify the senses of nouns and verbs, but are themselves practically without any meaning. Śākaṭāyana found that the upasargas were always connected either with nouns (e.g. prapitāmaha) or with verbs (e.g. pratiṣṭhate) and in each case there was a certain modification of sense. So he regarded them as empty words. Gārgya did not deny that the upasargas modified the senses of nouns and verbs. He merely went a step farther than

Śākaṭāyana and said that the upasargas have a sense of their own also by means of which they cause modification in the senses of nouns and verbs.

Yāska accepts the view of Gārgya and mentions the twenty upasargas with their meanings in the following order : (1) *ā* 'hitherward,' (2) *pra* and (3) *parā* opposite of hitherward, (4) *abhi* 'towards', (5) *prati* 'opposite of towards', (6) *ati* and (7) *su* 'honoured', *nir* and (9) *dur* 'opposite of honoured', (10) *ni* and (11) *ava* 'downwards' (12) *ud* 'opposite of downwards', (13) *sam* 'together', (14) *vi* and (15) *apa* 'opposite of together', (16) *anu* 'similarity' and 'succession', (17) *api* 'commingling', (18) *upa* 'accession', (19) *pari* 'around', (20) *adhi* 'above, supremacy'.

Here Yāska had evidently to depart from the accepted order of the upasargas to show the contrast in sense between many of them.

RP. gives the prepositions in the following order : *pra*, *abhi*, *ā* *parā*, *nir*, *dur*, *anu*, *vi*, *upa*, *apa*, *sam*, *pari*, *prati*, *ni*, *ati*, *adhi*, *su*, *ud*, *ava*, *api*.

Here the metre must have interfered with the accepted order of the upasargas.

TP. stands alone in mentioning only ten or eleven upasargas in its rule आ प्राचापोपाभ्यधि प्रति परि विनीत्युपसर्गाः i. 15. Some read आप्राचोपा etc. Acc. to them the number is ten. The Vaidikābharāṇa says : संज्ञायाः प्रयोजनम् 'इमं विख्यामीत्यनु-
पवत्वमित्यादि । निर्वचनं तु गतितया कर्मप्रवचनीयतया वा
पदान्तरैरुपसृज्यन्त इत्युपसर्गाः । व्याकरणे तु क्रियायोगमात्र-

निमित्तेयं संज्ञोक्ता । तथेहाभ्युपगमे विच्छन्दाः [तै० सं० ५।८।२१]
इत्यत्र पूर्वागमो न स्यात् । तथा तत्र प्रादयो द्वाविंशतिरुक्ताः ।
इह तु न तथोच्यते । तदनु छन्दांस्यपाक्रामन् [तै० सं० ३।३।७]
इत्यादौ पूर्वागमो मा भूदिति ।

In VP. vi. 24 the order is as follows : parā, upa, apa, ava, prati, pari, anu, api, ati, adhi, ān, pra, sam, nir, dur, ud, ni, vi, su and adhi.

It will be noticed that the disyllabic upasargas have been placed first and then the monosyllabic ones; *abhi* comes last because it alone is accented on the last syllable. And the disyllabic and monosyllabic upasargas have been arranged in such a way as to make the maximum of sandhi possible.

In the Gaṇapāṭha on "prādayah" i. 4. 58 the list is as follows : pra, parā, apa, sam, anu, ava, nis, dus, vi, ān, ni, adhi, api, ati, su, ud, abhi, prati, pari, and upa.

According to Śākāṭyāna, accha, śrat and antar are also upasargas because they are connected with verbs. Thus the Bṛhaddevatā says :

उपसर्गास्तु विज्ञेयाः क्रियायोगेन विंशतिः ।
धिवेचयन्ति ते ह्यर्थं नामाख्यातधिभक्तिषु ॥
अच्छ श्रद्धन्तरित्येतानाचार्यः शाकटायनः ।
उपसर्गान् क्रियायोगान्मेने ते तु त्रयोऽधिकाः ॥

'The upasargas are to be recognised as twenty because of their connexion with verbs. They introduce modifications in the senses of endings of nouns and verbs. Ācārya Śākāṭyāna

rearded accha, śrat and antar as upasargas—by reason of their connexion with verbs. These three are additional upasargas.’

BD. appears to accept the view of Śākaṭāyana and regard upasargas as having no meaning of their own.

RP. says :“उपसर्गो विशेषकृत्” xii. 25, i.e., the upasarga is the specializer. Again it says उपसर्गा विंशतिरर्थवाचकाः सहेतराभ्याम् xii 22, the twenty upasargas are expressive of meaning in combination with nouns and verbs. Thus RP. also appears to follow Śākaṭāyana.

When RP. says “उपसर्गो विशेषकृत्” xii. 25 it evidently means ‘of the noun and the verb.’ But since the upasarga is primarily connected with the verb Kātyāyana says in his Vārttika. क्रियाविशेषक उपसर्गः i.3.1.7. Under ii.1.1 Patañjali says : उपसर्गश्च पुनरेवमात्मका यत् कश्चित् क्रियावाची शब्दः प्रयुज्यते तत् क्रियाविशेषमाहुः । Such is the nature of upasargas that where a word denoting action (i.e. verb) is used, they express the special character of the action. Under क्रियाविशेषक उपसर्गः i.3.1.7, Patañjali appears to accept the view of Śākaṭāyana and holds that upasargas merely make explicit what was implicit in the root itself.

पचतीति क्रिया गम्यते तां प्रो विशिनष्टि ॥ यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छ्रूयते वक्तुं यत्र धातुरुपसर्गं व्यभिचरति, यत्र न खलु तं व्यभिचरति तत्र कथम्—अध्येति अधीत इति ? यद्यप्यत्र धातुरुपसर्गं न व्यभिचरति, उपसर्गस्तु धातुं व्यभिचरति । ते मन्यामहे य एवास्याधेरन्यत्रार्थः स इहापीति । कः पुनरन्यत्राधेरर्थः ? अधिरुपरिभावे वर्तते ॥ इह तर्हि व्यक्तमर्थान्तरं गम्यते—तिष्ठति प्रतिष्ठत

इति । तिष्ठतीति व्रजिक्रियाया निवृत्तिः, प्रतिष्ठत इति व्रजिक्रिया गम्यते । ते मन्यामहे उपसर्गकृतमेतद् येनात्र व्रजिक्रिया गम्यत इति । प्रोऽयं दृष्टापचार आदिकर्मणि वर्तते । न चेदं नास्ति बह्वर्था अपि धातवो भवन्तीति । तद्यथा वपिः प्रकिरणे दृष्टश्छेदने चापि वर्तते । केशश्मश्रु वपतीति । ईडिः स्तुतिचोदनायाच्चासु दृष्टः प्रेरणे चापि वर्तते । अग्निर्वा इतो वृष्टिमीदृ मरुतोऽमुत-
श्रूयावयन्तीति । करोतिरभूतप्रादुर्भावे दृष्टो निर्मलीकरणे चापि वर्तते । पृष्ठं कुरु । पादौ कुरु । उन्मृदानेति गम्यते । निक्षेपणे चापि वर्तते । कटे कुरु । घटे कुरु । अश्मानमितः कुरु । स्थापयेति गम्यते । एवमिहापि तिष्ठतिरेव व्रजिक्रियामाह, तिष्ठतिरेव व्रजिक्रियाया निवृत्तिम् ।

Māgha makes use of this doctrine in the well-known stanza (x. 15) :

सन्तमेव चिरमप्रकृतत्वादप्रकाशितमदिद्युतदङ्गे ।
विभ्रमं मधुमदः प्रमदानां धातुलीनमुपसर्ग इवार्थम् ॥

'The intoxication due to drinking brought out in a beautiful manner the amorous gestures of the young women—gestures that had been lying dormant for a long time—because there had been no occasion for their manifestation, even as the upasarga brings out the sense latent in the root.'

Nārāyaṇa makes this quite clear under तां पार्वतीत्याभिजनेन नाम्ना बन्धुप्रियां बन्धुजनो जुहाव Kumāra i. 25. धातूनामुपसर्गेण येषां प्रतीयन्ते ते सर्वेऽपि तेषां स्वार्था एव । उपसर्गाणां पुनरभिव्यञ्जकत्वम् । यदाह माघः—धातुलीनमुपसर्ग इवार्थम् इति ।

The Nāṭyaśāstra (xv. 26 ed. Chowkhamba) defines upasarga thus :

प्रातिपदिकार्थयुक्तं धात्वर्थमुपसृजन्ति ये स्वार्थैः ।

उपसर्गा उपदिष्टास्तस्मात् संस्कारशास्त्रेऽस्मिन् ॥

‘Those which colour with their own meanings the senses of roots combined with the sense of the Prātipadika are, for that reason, called upasarga in this science of the purity of speech.’

Kauṭilya follows Kātyāyana and defines upasarga thus in his Arthaśāstra : क्रियाविशेषिताः (=विशेषितक्रियाः i.e. क्रिया-विशेषकाः acc. to बाहिताग्न्यादिषु ii.2.37) प्रादय उपसर्गः । ii.10

In the Hemacandranyāsa upasarga is explained thus : उपसृज्य धातुमर्थविशेषं सृजतीत्युपसर्गः ।

Sāyaṇa says under RV. i. 164. 45 : प्रागुपसृज्यत आख्यात-पदस्येत्युपसर्गः ।

The name upasarga has been retained in every system of grammar except J. Candra, Mu. and HN.

J. wanted to have a monosyllabic term and so fixed upon g in the last syllable of upasarga and added a euphonic i, because as many as nine upasargas have it. Vopadeva followed J. Candra uses prādi for upasarga. HN. must have a name of Viṣṇu and so changed upasarga into Upendra.

Sam. generally has prādi (i.125, vii, 213,33 etc). उपसर्ग is used in ii. 596,607, vii. 87.

When the upasargas govern nouns or pronouns they are known as karmapravacanīya. When they are neither

connected with a verb nor govern cases of nouns and pronouns they are merely nipātas acc. to later grammarians. Thus in pranāyaka, pra is connected not with nāyaka but with the participle gata in pragata, so with reference to nāyaka pra is not an upasarga but a mere nipāta, consequently the न of nayaka is not changed into ण acc. to उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि णोपदेशस्य viii. 4. 14.

The Vṛttitrayavārttika contains a fine stanza regarding upasargas. It runs thus :

कचिदर्थे प्रादियोगे ह्यकर्माणोऽपि धातवः ।

सकर्माणः प्रजायन्ते सतां सङ्गाज्जना इव ॥

‘In certain senses even intransitive roots become transitive in connexion with upasargas, just as idle men become full of work through the companionship of good men.’

The modifications of meaning caused by upasargas are specified thus at the end of the Śākaṭāyaniya Dhātupāṭha :

धात्वर्थे बाधते कश्चित् कश्चित्तमनुवर्तते ।

तमेष विशिनष्ट्यन्य उपसर्गगतिस्त्रिधा ॥

प्रपूरणं दुहेरर्थः पूरणाभाव एव सः ।

प्रस्थानप्रसृतिपदे विरुद्धार्थस्य दर्शनात् ॥

उपसर्गवशाद्वातुरनेकार्थप्रकाशकृत् ।

प्रहाराहारसंहारविहारपरिहारवत् ॥

Some run counter to the sense of the root, as आ-दत्ते, आ-गच्छति, आ-मुञ्चते, प्रति-मुञ्चते, प्र-पूरयति, प्र-स्मरति । Some follow the sense of the root, as अधि-गच्छति, आ-नमति, प्र-लम्बते । Some modify the sense of the root. as प्र-भवति, उद्-भवति ।

Vardhamāna in his Kātantra-vistara speaks of *four* ways in which upasargas modify the sense of verbs :

तत्रोपसर्गाश्चतुर्धा भवन्ति ।

धात्वर्थं बाधते कश्चित् कश्चित्तमनुवर्तते ॥

तमेव विशिनष्ट्यन्योऽनर्थकोऽन्यः प्रयुज्यते ॥

कश्चित् धात्वर्थं बाधते । यथा प्रवसति प्रस्मरति । कश्चित् तमनुवर्तते । यथा अधीत आचष्टे । तमेव विशिनष्ट्यन्यः । यथा प्राणिनि निरीक्षते । अनर्थको यथा, पुलम्बते निमीलति ।

Vardhamāna in his Kātantra-vistara speaks of *four* ways in which sargas used with a single verb is generally five :

आ पञ्चभ्यः प्रयुज्यन्ते प्रायेणैते प्रयोक्तृभिः ।

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे तत्रोदाहृतयो यथा ॥

आहरति । व्याहरति । अभिव्याहरति । समभिव्याहरति ।

प्रसमभिव्याहरति ।

पाणिनिः । उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ।* १।४।५९

कात्यायनः । क्रियाविशेषक उपसर्गः । १।३।१७

जैनेन्द्रः । क्रियायोगे गिः । १।२।५

* A poetaster has framed the following samasyā-pūraṇa stanza with this rule :

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे पाणिनेरपि सन्मतम् ।

निष्क्रियोऽपि तवारातिः सोपसर्गः सदा कथम् ॥

The great Pāṇini thinks that upasarga is united to action : how then is your enemy, though (rendered) inactive, is still united to upasarga ?

There is a pun here on the word "upasarga" which means both "preposition" and "calamity".

शाकटायनः । प्रादिर्भाप्रत्यये । तस्यागतार्थाधिपर्यर्चास्वत्यति-
क्रमात्युपसर्गः प्राक् च । १।१।२४-२५

वृत्तिः । प्रादिः स्वस्वद्यन्तर्गणः । स न धातुर्धातोरेवयवो न
भवति । तं व्युदस्य ततः पर एव धातुसंज्ञो भवति । अत्यये न
चेत् ततः परः प्रत्ययो भवति । अप्रत्यय इति किम् ? औत्सुकायत ॥
तस्य धातोः सम्बन्धी तदर्थद्योती प्रादिरुपसर्गसंज्ञो भवति । यौ
गतार्थावधिपरी इति, यौ चार्चार्थी स्वती इति, यश्चातिक्रमविषये
अतिरिति तानेतान् घर्जयित्वा ।

सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम् । उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे । १।१।२८

हैमशब्दानुशासनम् । धातोः पूजार्थस्वतिगतार्थाधिपर्यति-
क्रमार्थातिघर्जः प्रादिरुपसर्गः प्राक् । ३।१।१

संक्षिप्तसारम् । प्रपराङ्पनिप्रतिनिर्व्यतिसंदुरवाभ्यनुसूदप-
पर्यधयः ।

विंशतिकाः क्रिययानुगताः कचिदर्थमिदोऽप्युपसर्गतया ॥
२।६०७ अपि

वृत्तिः । उपसृज्यन्ते समीपे सम्बध्यन्ते इत्युपसर्गाः । सम्बन्धश्च
केनापि सह भवति । स च धात्वधिकाराद् धातुना सहेति ।
धातुना सह सम्बन्धः साक्षात् भवतीति धात्वर्थेनेति गम्यते,
धातोश्चार्थः क्रिया । अत आह—क्रियया अनुगता इति । टीका ।

मुग्धबोधम् । प्रपरापसंन्यधानुनिदुर्व्यधिसूतृपरिप्रत्यभ्यत्य-
प्युपाङ्ग निः । १० ।

सुपञ्चम । प्रादुपसर्गाः प्राग् धातोः । १।१।२७

हरिनामामृतम् । प्रादय उपेन्द्रसंज्ञा धातुयोगे । ते च
प्राक् । ३।४२

शब्दकौस्तुभः । तत्र निस् दुस् इमौ सान्तौ । “निसस्तपता-
चनासेवने” इत्यादिनिर्देशादित्युपसर्गस्यायताविति सूत्रे वृत्तिः ।
“निरः कुपः” “सुदुरोरधिकरणे” इत्याद्यनुरोधाद्रेफान्तावपीति
“तत्रैव सूत्रे हरदत्तः ।

उपसर्गाः

न निर्वद्धा उपसर्गा अर्थान्निराहुरिति शाकटायनः ।

दुर्गवृत्तिः । प्रतिज्ञाप्राप्तमेवाधुनोपसर्गलक्षणमुच्यते । आह—
वक्षति भवानुपसर्गलक्षणम्, इदमेव तावदुच्यताम्—किमिमे उपसर्गा
नामाख्यातवत् पदचतुष्टान्निष्कृष्य बद्धाः सन्तोऽर्थानाहुः । नेत्यु-
च्यते—न निर्वद्धा उपसर्गा अर्थान्निराहुरिति शाकटायनः । नेति
प्रतिषेधे । निर्वद्धाः निष्कृष्य नामाख्यातमध्यात् पदवाक्यरूपेण
विरचिताः सन्तः । के पुनस्ते ? उपसर्गाः । आख्यातमुपगृह्यार्थ-
विशेषमिमे तस्यैव सृजन्तीत्युपसर्गाः । अर्थान्निराहुरिति शाकटायनः ।
निश्चयेन सतोऽर्थानाहुः । साक्षान्न तेषामर्थाभिधानशक्तिरस्ति,
पृथग्विरचितानामित्यभिप्रायः । यथा वर्णानां पदादपगताना-
मभिधानशक्तिर्नास्ति, एवमेतेषामपि नामाख्यातवियोगेऽर्थाभिधान-
शक्तिर्नास्ति । क एवमाह ? शाकटायनः । शाकटस्यापत्यम् ।
नडादिपाठान् फक् [४।१।९९] । शाकटायनः ।

स्कन्दवृत्तिः । एवं नामाख्यातलक्षणं सप्रपञ्चमभिधायवसर-
प्राप्तानुपसर्गानर्थतः स्वरूपतश्च लक्षयितुमाह—न निर्वद्धा
इत्यादिना । निराहुरित्येतेन सम्बन्धः, निः पृथगर्थं, वन्निः
प्रयोगार्थं । उपेत्य नामाख्यातयोरर्थस्य विशेषं सृजन्त्युत्पादयन्ती-

त्युपसर्गाः । पृथक् प्रयुक्ता उपसर्गा अर्थान् निश्चयेन नाहुः । एवं शाकटायनो वैयाकरणविशेषो मन्यत इति वाक्यशेषः ।

Sākātāyana was by far the greatest grammarian before Pāṇini. The authorship of the Uṇādi sūtras is attributed to him. He was the first great grammarian to postulate that all names are derived from roots. (नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च लोकम् । महाभाष्यम् ।) It is said that one day he was sitting by the roadside intent on grammatical speculations, when a train of waggons rattled by. He sat there blissfully unconscious of any noise. अथवा भवति वै कश्चिज्ज्ञामदपि वर्तमानकालं नोपलभते । तद् यथा वैयाकरणानां शाकटायनो रथमार्गं आसीनः शकटसार्थं यान्तं नोपलेभे ।

नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्ति ।

दुर्गः । आह—कथं तैगामर्थवत्तेति ? उच्यते—नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्ति । तुशब्दोऽवधारणार्थः । नामाख्यातयोरेव योऽर्थः कर्म तत्रैव विशेषं कश्चिदुपसंयोज्य द्योतयन्ति । स एव नामाख्यातयोरेवार्थविशेष उपसर्गसंयोगे सति व्यज्यते । यथा प्रदीपसंसर्गे द्रव्यस्य गुणविशेषोऽभिव्यज्यमानो द्रव्याश्रय एष भवति न प्रदीपाश्रयः ।

स्कन्दः । किं तर्हि कुर्वन्ति ? नामाख्यातयोरित्यादि । तुरवधारणे । नामाख्यातयोरेव कर्मणः अर्थस्य । उपसंयुज्यत इत्युपसंयोगः विशेषः प्रकर्षादिः, तस्य शब्दगडुमात्रेण सन्निधानाद् द्योतका भवन्तीति । कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतकाः । कर्मोपपदादण् । स्वार्थिकः कः । द्योत्यत इति वा द्योतः । कर्मोपसंयोगो द्योतः द्योत्यः एषामिति बहुव्रीहिः । ततः कप् । अथवा । कर्मोपसंयोगश्चासौ द्योतकश्चेति समानाधिकरणः । द्योतं कायतीति । आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः [३।२।३]

इति कः । व्युत्पत्तिमात्रञ्चैतत्, अर्थस्तूक्त एव । न वाचकाः । किं तर्हि ? शब्दोपजनमात्रेण पदान्तरोपात्तस्य विशिष्टस्य द्योतका इति । किमतो यद्येवमुच्यते ? इह नामाख्यातयोर्वाचकत्वे सति पृथक्-प्रयोगत्वे च पदत्वं दृष्टम् । तद्वैलक्षण्याद् उपसर्गाणाम् अपृथक्-प्रयोगाद्वाचकत्वाच्चानर्थक्ये सत्यर्थविभागाश्रयस्य पदजातस्यानुप-पत्तिरिति वैयाकरणदर्शनेन पृथक्पदत्वाक्षेपः । तथा च तेषामपि पदत्वान्वाख्यानद्वारेण निपातोपसर्गाणामपृथगर्थत्वात् सुबन्तपदमेव प्रतिजानते । ततश्चोक्तपदचतुष्टानुपपत्तिरिति पूर्वपक्षः ।

संयोग means connexion. उपसंयोग—subordinate connexion, secondary connexion modification.

उच्चावचाः पदार्था भवन्तीति गार्ग्यः ।

दुर्गः । आह—कोऽन्यथा ब्रवीति येनैवमुच्यते—शाकटायन एवमाहेति ? शृणु—उच्चावचाः पदार्था भवन्तीति गार्ग्यः । उच्चा-श्चावचाश्च उच्चावचा बहुप्रकारा इत्यर्थः । एषामुपसर्गपदानामर्थाः पदार्था भवन्ति, विद्युक्तानामपि नामाख्याताभ्यामिति गार्ग्य आचार्यो मन्यते इति वाक्यशेषः । एकैकोऽप्येषां प्रादीनां नामाख्यात-वियोगेऽप्यनेकार्थ इत्यभिप्रायः । तद्यथा 'प्र' इत्यादिकर्मणि भृशार्थे इत्यभिधाने शक्तिरस्त्येवेत्येवमादुःपलक्षयितव्यं लक्षणशास्त्रे । यत् पुनरेतदुक्तं—वर्णवदिति, अनभ्युपगमादयुक्तम्—न ह्यभ्युपगतमस्मा-भिरेतद्—अनर्थका वर्णा इति । सामान्या हि वर्णेष्वभिधानशक्ति-रस्त्येव । यथा मृदवयवेषु सर्वमृन्मयभाण्डारम्भशक्तिः । सा तु पदत्वेन समुदितानामार्थविशेषेऽवतिष्ठते । यथा मृदोऽवयवानां घटे घटारम्भशक्तिरभिव्यज्यते, एवम् । तत्र यदुक्तं वर्णवदनर्थका उपसर्गा नामाख्यातवियोगात् इति, एतदयुक्तम् । अपि च—वर्णैरनर्थकैरभ्यमाणां पदमप्यनर्थकमेव स्यात् । न ह्यशुक्लैस्तनुभि-

रारभ्यमाणः पटः शुक्लो भवति । ततश्च पदैरनर्थकैरारभ्यमाणं वाक्यमनर्थकमेव स्यात् । वाक्यैश्चानर्थकैरारब्धं शास्त्रमनर्थकमेव स्यात् । ततश्चाभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसार्थो योऽयमभ्युद्यमः स्वप्रत्ययेन विदुषामयमनर्थक एव स्यात् । अनिष्टं चैतत् । तस्मादर्थवन्तो घर्णा इत्युपपन्नम् । यत् पुनरेतदुक्तं—प्रदीपवदनर्थका उपसर्गा इति । तन्नोच्यते प्रदीपोऽपि स्वनार्थेन प्रकाशाख्यानार्थवानेव, सत्यपि चार्थवत्त्वे प्रकाश्यमर्थमाधारभूतं प्रत्यायन् स्वं प्रकाशनशक्तिमभिव्यनक्ति । एवमुपसर्गा अर्थवन्तोऽपि सन्तः स्वार्थाभिधानशक्तिमनेकप्रकारां विद्यमानामपि स्वार्थाभिधानशक्त्याधारभूते नामाख्याते प्रत्याय्याभिव्यञ्जयेयुः । तत्र यदुक्तं प्रदीपवदनर्थका उपसर्गा इति, एतदयुक्तम्, नामाख्यातयोरेवासावर्थ उपसर्गसंयोगे सत्युपजायते इति । तत्र ब्रूमः—न हि लोके यो यत्र समर्थो भवति, स तत्रान्यमपेक्षते । नामाख्याते चार्थविशेषं प्रत्युपसर्गसंयोगमपेक्षते । तस्मादुपपन्नमुपसर्गस्य क्रियाविशेषोऽर्थः, क्रियासामान्यमात्रमाख्यातस्येति ।

The word 'uccāvaca' is a mere juxtaposition of *ud ca ava ca*. Cf.

समानमेतदुदकमुच्चैत्यव्य चाहमिः ।

भूमिं पर्जन्या जित्वा जित्वा दिवं जित्वा जित्वा ॥

[ऋ० सं० १।१६४।५१]

"Uniform, with the passing days, this water mounts and falls again.

The tempest-clouds give life to earth, and fires re-animate the heaven." Griffith.

[The oblations offered in sacrificial fires delight and strengthen the Gods. Griffith.]

Gārgya is the reputed author of the Padapāṭha of the Sāma-veda. He is also well-known for his definition of upamā. यदतत् तत्सदृशमिति गार्ग्यः । Nir. iii. 13.

स्कन्दः । उच्चावचा बहुप्रकाराः पदस्योपसर्गाख्यार्था अभि-
धेयाः प्रकर्षादयः सन्ति । अथवा नामाख्यातानां पदानामर्था
उपसर्गानुवर्तित्वे सत्युच्चावचा गम्यन्ते । एवं गार्ग्यो नाम नैरुक्त-
विशेष आह इति वाक्यशेषः । किं शब्दाधिक्यात् ? नेत्याह—
तद्भावाभावित्वेनान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां प्रकृत्यादिवदर्थविशेषस्य प्रतीतेः,
शब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्याच्च, नामाख्यातानुवर्तित्वेनैव प्रयुक्तानां प्रकर्षार्थ-
विशेषप्रबोधसामर्थ्यमुद्भवति न केवलप्रयोगे । अतः प्रकृत्यादिवदेव
केवलानामप्रयोगः, न त्वेतावतानर्थक्यमेवाध्यवसातुं युक्तम् । अपि
च यत्र केवलादप्यर्थप्रतीतिर्दृश्यते, तत्र केवलस्यापि प्रयोगः ।
यदुद्धतो निवतो यासि [ऋ० सं० १०।१४२।४], निष्कौशाश्विरिति ।
आनर्थक्ये हि सति तद्वितसमासौ न स्याताम् । अभ्युपगम्यैतत्
सामर्थ्यं पदकार आह [महाभाष्यम् ५।२।२८], उपसर्गाश्च पुनरेष-
मात्मका यत्र क्रियावाची शब्दः प्रयुज्यते तत्र क्रियाविशेषमाहुः, यत्र
तु न प्रयुज्यते तत्र ससाधनां क्रियामाहुः इति । अतो वैयाकरणा
अपि पार्थगर्थ्यं नैव निह्वंते । सुबन्तपदत्वन्तु यत्सामान्येन तत्
स्वप्रक्रियाप्रसिद्धवर्थम् । अत एव पृथगर्थत्वं बुद्ध्वाह । तदा एषु
पदार्थ इत्यादि । तस्माद् य एषु पदेषूपसर्गेषु नामाख्यातेषु वा
प्रयुज्यमानेषु प्रकर्षादिरर्थः प्रतीयते प्राहुरिमे उपसर्गास्तमीदृशं
नामाख्यातयोरर्थस्य विकरणम् । कृत्यस्युटो बहुलम् [३।३।११३]
इति कर्तरि ल्युट्, करणे वा । विकारकमित्यर्थः । स च क्रियायाः
क्वचिद्विशिष्टाया विशेषकः, पचति प्रपचतीतिवत् । क्वचिन्निवृत्ति-
धर्मविशिष्टायाः प्रवृत्तिधर्मकत्वम्—तिष्ठति प्रतिष्ठत इति । क्वचिदनु-

षादित्वम्—लम्बते प्रलम्बत इति । अन्ये तु न निर्वद्धा इत्यादिना द्रोतकत्ववाचकत्वविषयामाचार्यधिप्रतिपत्तिं समर्थयन्ते ।

आ इत्यर्वागर्थे ।

दुर्गः । उच्चतां तर्हि क पृषां कस्मिन्नर्थविशेषे घटन्ते । उच्यते । अयं तावत् । आ इत्यर्वागर्थे । तद् यथा, आ पर्वतात् इति । अर्वागिति गम्यते । अनेकार्थत्वेऽपि सत्युपसर्गाणामेकैकोऽर्थ उदाहरणत्वेनोच्यतेऽर्थतत्त्वप्रकाशनार्थम् ।

स्कन्दः । प्राहुरित्युक्तं सामान्येन, विशेषेण वर्णयितुमुपक्रमते— आ इत्यादि । अर्वागर्थः सन्निकृष्टः । अनुषक्ता हि कर्मत्वेन सर्वत्र द्वितीया । प्रदर्शनं चेदम् । कर्मप्रवचनीयत्वे हि सति—आ समुद्रादपरात् [ऋ० सं० ७।६।७] इत्यादौ मर्यादादिष्वपि दर्शनात्, निपातत्वे च समुच्चयादिष्वपि । अर्वागर्थ उदाहरणम् [ऋ० सं० ३।५।५]—

परा याहि मघघन्ना च याहीन्द्र भ्रातरुभयत्रा ते अर्थम् ।

यत्रा रथस्य बृहतो निधानं विमोचनं वाजिनो रासभस्य ॥

["Depart, O Maghavan, again come hither : both there and here thy goal is, Indra, Brother,

Where thy tall chariot hath a place to rest in, and where thou loosest thy loud-neighing Courser."]

विश्वामित्र इन्द्रमाह—अस्मिन् यज्ञे सोमस्य तृप्तः सन् परा पराचीनं रन्तुं स्वगृहमेव याहि । हे मघवन् पुनश्च श्वो यागकाले सोमं पातुमर्वाक् सन्निकृष्टमस्मद्यज्ञम् उत्तरवेदिदेशं याहि । कस्मात्-पुनरेवमुच्यते—आ च परा च याहीति । उच्यते—यस्मात् हे इन्द्र भ्रातः सोमपयश्चरुपुरोडाशादिना भर्तव्यः । उभयत्र स्वगृहेऽस्मदीये यज्ञे च । ते तव । अर्थं व्यत्ययेन प्रथमार्थे द्वितीया । [घस्तुतस्तु

ऋग्वेदे अर्थाशब्दो नपुंसकलिङ्गोऽप्युपलभ्यते ।] अर्थः प्रयोजनमित्यर्थः ।
 एकत्र सोमोऽन्यत्र शच्यादिपरिभोगः । कीदृशं स्वगृहम् ? यत्र
 रथस्य बृहतो महतो निधानं स्थानं यजनशालाखं विमोचनं
 विमोचनस्थानं च मन्दुराखं वाजिनोऽश्वस्य । कीदृशस्य ?
 रासभस्य । जात्यन्तरत्वाद्विशेषणं यथाश्रुतं न सम्भवतीति सकार-
 भकारयोर्व्यत्ययेन रभसशब्दाद् वेगवचनात् सर्वे विधयच्छन्दसि
 विकल्पन्ते इति मत्वर्थोऽपि द्रष्टव्यः । रासभस्य वेगवत इत्यर्थः ।

आ means 'hither-ward.' आ पर्वतात् originally meant 'from the mountain', then it came to signify 'up to the mountain'.
 आ-दान means giving to oneself, i.e., 'taking. आ-गमन means going to oneself, i.e., coming, मुञ्चति means to let go, put aside.
 आ-मुञ्चति means to let go towards oneself, to put aside on oneself i.e. to put on.

“आ वात वाहि भेषजं वि वात वाहि यद्रपः ।”

[ऋ० सं० १०।१३७।३]

“Higher, O Wind, blow healing balm,
 blow all disease away, thou Wind.”

आ मूलाद्रत्नसानोर्मलयवलयितादा च कूलात्पयोधे-
 र्यावन्तः सन्ति काव्यपूणयनपटवस्ते विशङ्कं वदन्तु ।
 मृद्वीकामध्यनिर्यन्मसृणरसभरीमाधुरीभाग्यभाजां
 वात्रामाचार्यतायाः पदमनुभवितुं काऽस्ति धन्यो मदन्यः ॥

भामिनीविलासः ।

Av. ā, Lat. ā 'from'; Lat *a pueris* from boyhood. Greek ē in ēdē.

प्रपरेत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यम् ।

दुर्गः । प्रपरा इत्येतावुपसर्गावेतस्यैवाङ्कोऽर्थस्य प्रातिलोभ्य-
माहतुः । प्रगतः परागतः ।

स्कन्दः । एतस्यैव सन्निकर्षलक्षणस्यार्वागर्थस्य प्रातिलोभ्यं
विप्रकर्षमाहतुः । प्रशब्दस्योदाहरणम्—अरण्यान्यरण्यानीति चतुर्दशे
(नवमे) व्याख्यास्यते । पराशब्दस्य परा याहीति पुरस्ताद्
व्याख्यताम् ।

[“अरण्यान्यरण्यान्यसौ या प्रेव नश्यसि ।

कथा ग्रामं न पृच्छसि न त्वा भीरिव विन्दतोऽ॥

ऋ० सं० १०।१४६।१

(‘Spirit of the forest, Spirit of the forest! Thou yonder
that seemest to have lost thy way! How is it that thou
dost not ask about the village? Has fear perchance now
entered thee?’)

देवमुनेरार्षम् । हे अरण्यानि अरण्याधिदेवते अरण्यानि
कान्ताराणि वनानि अटवोरित्वर्थः । द्वितीयाश्रुतेः प्रतीति शेषः ।
असौ या त्वं प्रेव नश्यसि । अस्थानेऽयमिषः पठितः । प्रणश्यसीव ।
यच्छ्रुतेस्तदध्याहारः । सा कथा कथं ग्रामं न पृच्छसि । नूनं न
त्वा भीर्भयं विन्दति । इवस्तु संप्रत्यर्थे परिभयार्थे वा ।]

Skt. *pra*, Av. *fra*, *frā* forth, fore, forward. Gk. *pro*, before in
place or time, Lat. *pro*, later *prō* before, in front of, तिष्ठति
stands, प्रतिष्ठते stands forward i.e. sets out. स्मरति remembers.
प्रस्मरति forgets. पूरयति fills, प्रपूरयति empties.

Skt. *parā*, Av. *para*, *parā* away from, Gk. *para*, Lat. *per* in
perire, Eng. *for* in *forbear*, Germ. *ver* in *vergehen*.

आ त्वेता निषीवतेन्द्रममि प्र गायत RV. 1. 5. 1.

“O come ye hither, sit ye down ; to Indra sing ye forth your song.”

आ च परा च पथिभिश्चरन्तम् RV. 1. 164. 31.

आ च परा च चरति प्रजानन् RV. 10. 17. 6.

Wandering about hither and thither, knowing the way.

प्र केतुना बृहता यात्यग्निरा रोदसी वृषभो रोरघीति

RV. 10. 8. 1.

‘Again goes forth with his lofty banner ; the bull is bellowing to the earth and heaven.’

Pra, prati, parā and *pari* are all derived from *piparti* ‘pass’.

अभीत्याभिमुख्यम् ।

दुर्गाः । अभीत्याभिमुख्यमाह—अभिगतः ।

स्कन्दः । अभिमुखता प्रह्वता । उदाहरणं प्रचुरम् । तथापि किञ्चित् प्रदर्श्यते ।

अभि त्वा देव सवितरीशानं धार्याणाम् ।

सदावन्भागमीमहे ॥ [ऋ० सं० १।२४।३]

[‘To thee, O Savitar, Lord of choice things, who helpest us continually, we come for our share.’]

शुनःशेपो यूपेऽवनद्धः सवितारमायुः प्रार्थयते । अभीत्युपसर्गोऽन्त्येनावप्रतेन सम्बध्यते । त्वा त्वां हे देव सवितः । ईशानम् ईशितारम् आयुरादीनां धार्याणां धरणीयानां सर्वार्थानाम् । हे सदा अवन् मरणादिभ्यः सर्वप्राणिनां सर्वदा रक्षितः भागमंशमाभिमुख्येन ईमहे याचामहे । कस्य भागम् ? सामर्थ्यादायुषः । आयुष्मतः एव वा । भजनीयत्वाद् भागशब्दः । आयुर्याचामह इत्यर्थः ।

Skt. *abhi*, Av. *aiwi*, Gath *aibi*, to, unto, upon, against. Gk.

amphi (cf. *amphibious*), Lat, *ambi* (cf. *ambidexterous*), Germ. *um*. Cf. Pāṇini's rule : लक्षणेनाभिप्रती अभिमुखे ii. 1. 14.

अभि त्वा पूर्वपीतये सृजामि सोम्यं मधु । ऋ० सं० १।१९।९

To thee, for thy first draught, I pour the Soma-mingled mead.

विधाय वैरं सामर्षे नरोऽरौ य उदासते ।

प्रक्षिप्योदचिषं कक्षे शेरते तेऽभिमारुतम् । शिशुपालवध २।६४
प्रतीत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यम् ।

दुर्गः । प्रतीत्येतस्यैवाभेः प्रातिलोम्यमाह— प्रतिगत इति ।

स्कन्दः । प्रतीत्येतस्याभिमुखास्य वैपरीत्यम् । उदाहरणम्

[ऋ० सं० १०।८७।४]—

यज्ञैरिषूः सन्नममानो अग्ने वाचा शल्यां अशनिभिर्दिहान ।

ताभिर्विध्य हृदये यातुधानान् प्रतीची बाहून् प्रति भङ्ग्येषाम् ॥

['Bending thy shafts through sacrifices, Agni, whetting their points with song, as if with whet-stones.

Pierce through the heart therewith the Yātudhānas and break their arms uplifted to attack thee."']

पायोरोर्षम् । अग्निरुच्यते । यज्ञैरिति हेतौ तृतीया । प्रयो-
जनस्य च हेतुत्वेन विवक्षा । यज्ञैर्हेतुभूतैः । यज्ञार्थम् अविघ्नेन
यज्ञसिद्धयर्थमित्यर्थः । इषूः इषुस्थानीयाः... पुनस्ता आत्मीया ज्वालाः
सन्नममानः सन्नमयन् यातुधानान् प्रति प्रह्वीकुर्वन् । हे अग्ने वाचा
वाक्शब्दो लक्षणया शल्यान् हृदयशल्यकल्पान् तानेव यातुधानान् ।
अशनिभिः । इषुविशेषणमेतत् । अशू व्याप्तौ । व्याप्तीभिः पृथु-
दीर्घाभिरित्यर्थः । दिहानः दहेरिदं रूपम् । दहन्त्येभिरित्यंभूताभि-

ज्वालाभिः । विध्य । व्यध ताडने । ताडय हृदये यातुधानान्
राक्षसान् विद्धा च प्रतीचः प्रतीचीनान् विपरीतगतीन् पराङ्मुखा-
नित्यर्थः । बाहून् प्रतिभङ्गिष्ठि प्रतिमोचय एषां यातुधानानाम् ।

Skt. *prati* (in reverse direction), to, Av. *paiti*, *paiti*, towards.
against, back. Gk. *proti*, in the direction of, towards. Lat.
por in *por.rigere* to reach out to.

prati is *pro* with *ti*-extension.

प्रतिचक्ष्य RV. 1. 113. 11 प्रतिजन्य RV. 4. 50. 7, प्रतिदिवन्
RV. 10. 24. 6, etc.

अति सु इत्यभिपूजितार्थे ॥१॥

दुर्गः । अति सु इत्येतावभिपूजितार्थे वर्तते—अतिधनः
सुब्राह्मण इति ।

स्कन्दः । अनिसू अभिपूजितार्थमाह तुः । अतिब्राह्मणः सुराजिति
लोके । वेदे च अति त्वा सोम रोचना रोहन्न भ्राजसे दिवम् ।

इष्णन्त्सूर्यं न चोदयः ॥ [ऋ० स० १.१.११]

["Soma, thou shinest mounting heaven as 'twere above
light's triple realm,

And like the driver the Sun, thou supurrest on (thy steeds)"]

इति । कश्यपपुत्रस्यासितदेवलापरनाम्न आर्धम् । सोम उच्यते ।
अत्युपसर्गो भ्राजस इत्यनेन सम्बध्यते । त्रीणि कानि ? सोम-
धातूनि । संस्तुतिसामर्थ्यात् सवनानि । अपिशब्दलोपश्चात् द्रष्टव्यः ।
त्रीण्यपि सवनानि । हे सोम रोचना रोचनानि स्वया दीप्त्या
दीप्तानीत्यर्थः । रोहन् यागसाधनभावेनारोहन् त्रिष्वपि सधनेषु
यागसाधनभावं प्रतिपद्यमान इत्यर्थः । नशब्दः संप्रत्यर्थे । अति-
भ्राजसे सम्यक् संस्कारलक्षणया दीप्त्या सुष्ठु शोभणं दीप्यस

इत्यर्थः । प्रत्यक्षकृतोऽयं मन्त्रः । इष्णन्निति चानामन्वितम् । अत एकवाक्यतायै यत्तदावध्याहार्यौ । यस्त्वमतिभ्राजसे स इष्णन् । इष आभीक्ष्ण्ये । आभीक्ष्ण्यं च पौनःपुन्यम् । तेन सायथ्याद् व्याप्ति-
लक्ष्यते । उक्तेन प्रकारेण व्याप्नुवन् । किम् ? कृत्स्नं यज्ञमिति शेषः । यज्ञनिर्वृत्तिद्वारेण सूर्यं न सूर्यमिव । यथा सूर्यं चोदयः चोदितवानसि तद्वद् दिवं दुर्लोकं सामथ्याद् यजमानं चोदय प्रेरय गमयेत्यर्थः । सर्वस्यैव ह्युत्कर्षस्य धर्मायत्तत्वात् धर्मस्य च ज्योतिष्टो-
मादिसाधनत्वात्, ज्योतिष्टोमादेश्च सोमसाधनत्वात्, सोमस्य सूर्य-
मिव कर्तारं दिवं गमयेत्येवं स्तुतिरुपपद्यते । सुशब्दः सुदेवो असि इत्यत्र [५।२७] व्याख्यास्यते ।

[सुदेवो असि वरुण यस्य ते सप्त सिन्धवः ।

अनुक्षरन्ति काकुदं सूर्यं सुषिरामिव ॥ [ऋ० सं० ८।६९।१२]

[Thou art a good God, O Varuna, in whose throat (i.e. the ocean) the seven streams flow as in a reed full of holes'.]

प्रियमेधत्य । शोभनस्त्वं देवोऽसि हे वरुण समुद्राधिपते यस्य ते तव सप्त सिन्धवः नद्यो गङ्गाद्या अन्तरिक्षनद्यो वा । अम्बा अलोलेत्येवमाद्या अन्तरिक्षनद्यः । अथवा । वरुण उत्तमस्थान आदित्यः सिन्धवोऽपि रश्मयः । ते अनुक्षरन्ति अनुगच्छन्ति आपूरयन्ति वा । किम् ? काकुदं तालु । आदित्यपक्षे भानु-
स्थानीयं तालुमण्डलमभिप्रेतम् । कथमिवानुक्षरन्ति ? उच्यते । सूर्यं सुषिरामिव । शोभनामूर्तिम् । छान्दसत्वाद् यणादेशः । सूर्मि काष्ठानां सङ्घातम् । सुषिरामिव । मत्वर्थीयकल्पनया सुषिरवतीं यथा । अग्निरिति शेषः । अनुगच्छेदापूरयेद्वा तद्वदित्यर्थः ।

Cf. the Vārttika स्वतिभ्यामेव under न पूजनात् P. v. 4. 69.

Skt. *ati*, Av. *aiti* past, over, beyond, Gk. *eti* further, besides, Lat. *et* besides, and.

Skt. *su*, Av. *hu*, Gk. *eu* well. Gk. *eumenēs*, Skt. *sumanāh*, Gk. *dusmenēs*, Skt. *durmanāh*.

निर्दुरित्येतयोः प्रातिलोभ्यम् ॥१२॥

दुर्गः । निर्दुरित्यतावतिस्त्रोः प्रातिलोभ्यं कुत्सामाहतुः । उदाहरणम् । लोके निराकृतिः दुराकृतिरिति । वेदे [१०।३४।५]

यदादिध्ये न द्विषाण्येभिः परायद्भ्योऽव हीये सखीभ्यः ।

न्युप्ताश्च वभ्रवो वाचमकृतं एमीदेषां निष्कृतं जारिणीव ॥

इति । निरित्येतत् समित्येतस्य स्थान इत्यत्र [१२।७] व्याख्यास्यते ।

['When I resolve : I will not play or go with them, I am left behind my friends as they go away. And when the brown ones thrown down have spoken, I go forthwith to their place of assignation, like a woman who has a paramour.']

[कवषस्य वाक्षस्य वर्षम् । यदाक्षैर्जितो हारितसर्वस्वः कुत्स्यमानश्च स्वैरहमादीध्ये ध्यायामि संकल्पयामीत्यर्थः । कथम् ? न द्विषाणि न पुनर्द्विष्याम्यैभिरिति । संकल्प्य च परायद्भ्यः आस्फारदेशं प्रतिगच्छद्भ्यः अव हीये अधोहीये अपसर्पामीत्यर्थः । सखीभ्यः सखिभूतेभ्यः । यच्छ्रुतेस्तदध्याहारः । तदा न्युप्ताश्च । चशब्दो यदेत्येतस्यार्थः । यदा न्युप्ताः सन्तो वभ्रवः वभ्रुवर्णा अक्षा वाचमकृतं शब्दं कुर्वन्तीति तदा तं श्रुत्वाक्षव्यसनेन परिभूयमानः परित्यज्य संकल्पम् एमि । इदेषार्थः । गच्छाम्येव । एषामक्षाणां सम्बन्धिना निष्कृतं संस्कृतं प्रदेशमास्फाराख्यं जारिणीव । यथा जारिणी स्त्री चारित्ररक्षासंकल्पं परित्यज्य संकेतस्थानं प्रति यातीति ।

Skt. *nir*, Av. *niś*, *niz'*, out, forth, away. Skt. *duś*, Av. *duś*, *duz'*, Gk. *duś*.

न्यवेति विनिग्रहार्थीयौ ॥१३॥

दुर्गः । न्यवेति विनिग्रहार्थीयौ—निगृह्णाति अवगृह्णाति इति ।

[विनिग्रहो नाम विभागेनावस्थितयोर्यज्ञदत्तदेवदत्तयोर्येकस्मिन् यज्ञदत्तेऽभिमतगोपायनस्य नियमेन ग्रहणम् । तयोरर्थो विनिग्रहार्थः । विनिग्रहार्थ एव विनिग्रहार्थीयः । निरुक्तम् १।४ दुर्गभाष्यम् ।]

स्कन्दः । निग्रहो नियमनम् । लोके निगृहीतोऽवरुद्ध इति । वेदे [ऋ० सं० ४।४।४]—

उदग्ने तिष्ठ प्रत्या तनुष्व न्यमित्वा ओषतात्तिग्महेते ।

यो नो अरातिं समिधान चक्रे नीचा तं धक्ष्यतसं न शुष्कम् ॥

[“Rise up, O Agni, spread thee out before us : burn down our foes, thou who hast sharpened arrows.

Him, blazing Agni ! who hath worked us mischief, consume thou like dried-up stubble.”]

वामदेवस्यार्षम् । परा च । उत्तिष्ठ हे अग्ने उत्थायामित्त्वान् प्रत्यातनुष्व विस्तारय । किम् ? सामर्थ्याज्ज्योतिः । निशब्द ओषतादित्येतेन सम्बध्यते । विस्तार्य च तेनामित्त्वान् अस्मच्छत्रून् न्योषतात् । उष दाहे इत्यस्य लोणमध्यमैकवचनै तातडि रूपम् । न्योषतात् नियम्य दह । तिग्महेते इति । तिग्मा तीक्ष्णज्वाला हेतिरायुधं यस्य स एवं सम्बोध्यते—हे तिग्महेते । यश्च नः अस्माकं समिधान समिध्यमान, सन्दीप्यमान । अरातिं मित्रमपि द्युत्थाप्य शत्रुं चक्रे करोति । महादुर्जनं नीचा नीचैः कृत्वा—निगृह्येत्यर्थः । तं धक्षि दह । किमिव ? अतसं न । अतसशब्देन काष्ठमुच्यते । काष्ठमिव शुष्कमप्रतिबन्धेनैत्यभिप्रायः ।

अवेत्येतस्योदाहरणम् [४।१।४]—

त्वं नो अग्ने वरुणस्य विद्मन्देवस्य हेलोऽव यासिसीष्टाः ।

यजिष्ठो वहितमः शोशुचानो विश्वा द्वेपांसि प्र मुमुग्ध्यस्वत् ॥

["Do thou who knowest Varuṇa, O Agni, put far away from us the God's displeasure.

Best sacrificer, brightest, one, refulgent, remove thou far from us all those who hate us."]

इति । त्वं नोऽस्माकं हे अग्ने विद्वान् ज्ञानन् । किम् ? सामर्थ्याद् युक्तताम् । वरुणस्य देवस्य दानादिगुणयुक्तस्य ॥ हेलः क्रोधनामेदम् । अस्माकमुपरि यो रोषः तम् अवयासिसीष्टाः । यातेर्लिङि व्यत्ययेनात्मनेपदम् । अघगृह्यापनीयाः । अन्तर्नीतण्यर्थो वा यातिः । अवयापय अपगमयेत्यर्थः । यश्च त्वं यजिष्ठः अतिशयेन यष्टा वहितमो वोदृतमश्च हविषाम् । शोशुचानः अत्यर्थं दीप्यमानः । विश्वा सर्वाणि । द्वेपांसि द्वेष्ट्याणि द्वेष्टृणि वा रक्षआदीनि । प्रमुमुग्धि प्रकर्षेण मुञ्च । अस्मत् अस्मत्तोऽपनयेत्यर्थः ।

विनिग्रहार्थौ—Express the sense of antithesis, i.e., are used in one of two antithetical clauses or expressions.

Skt. *nī*, Av. *nī* down, in into, Gk. *enī* in, Eng. *ne-ther*, *be-neath*.

Skt. *ava*, Av. *ava*.

स उद्धतो निवतो याति वेविषत् RV. 3. 2. 10

‘Busied with sacred rites, he mounts and he descends.’

उदुत्तमं मुमुग्धि नो वि पाशं मध्यमं चृत ।

अवाधमानि जीवसे RV. 1. 25. 21.

Take away our upper bond, cut off the bond between, and loosen the bonds below, so that we may live.

उदित्येतयोः प्रातिलोम्यम् ॥१४॥

दुर्गः । उदिति अयमेक एव एतयोः प्रतिलोम्यमाह ।
उद्गृह्णातीति ।

स्कन्दः । उदित्येतयोः प्रातिलोम्यम् अनवरोधः, उपसर्ग-
स्तमाह । उदाहरणम् उच्छ्रित उद्गतः लांके । वेदे [ऋ० सं० ३।८।२]—

उच्छ्रयस्व वनस्पते वर्ष्मन् पृथिव्या अधि ।

सुमिती मीयमानो वर्चो धा यज्ञवाहसे ॥

[‘Raise theyself up, O Lord of the forest, on the lofty spot of the earth. Give splendour, fixed and measured well, to him who brings the sacrifice:’]

इति । विश्वामित्रस्यार्षम् । ऊर्ध्वं श्रयस्व ऊर्ध्वो भव । हे वनस्पते
वनस्पतिविकार यूप । वर्ष्मन् वर्ष्मशब्दात् परिणाहवचनादन्तर्णीत-
मत्वर्थात् सप्तम्या लुग् द्रष्टव्यः । वर्ष्मवति परिणाहवति । कस्मिन् ?
सामर्थ्याद् यूपवदे । पृथिव्या वेदिलक्षणाया अधि उपरि । सुमिती ।
तृतीयायाः पूर्वसवर्णः । सुमित्या शोभनेन मानेन त्र्यरत्नस्यालोकन-
रूपेण चतुररत्निपशुना रूपेणेत्यादिना (?) मीयमानः । वर्चोधाः वर्चः
ब्राह्मं तेजः धाः धेहि । कस्मै ? यज्ञवाहसे यज्ञं वहत्यन्तं नयति
समापयति देवान् प्रति प्रापयतीति यज्ञवाहा यजमानस्तस्मै ।

द्वितीयमुदाहरणम् [ऋ० सं० ३।८।२]—

समिद्धस्य श्रयमाणः पुरस्ताद् ब्रह्म वन्वानो भजरं सुवीरम् ।

आरे अस्मदमतिं बाधमान उच्छ्रयस्व महते सौभगाय ॥

[“Set up to eastward of the fire enkindled, accepting prayer that wastes not, rich in heroes,

Driving far from us poverty and famine, lift thyself up to bring us great good fortune.”]

इति । समिद्धस्य सन्दीप्तस्याहवनीयस्य योऽवटस्तं श्रयमाणः सेवमानस्तत्र प्रक्षिप्तः सन्नित्यर्थः । ब्रह्म स्तुतिलक्षणमनुवचनरूपं वन्दानः सम्भजमानः अजरं सुवीरम् जरावर्जितं नित्यं शोभना वीरा ऋत्विग्यजमानाः कर्तृत्वेन सम्बन्धिनो यस्य तम् । प्राप्तव्यैर्वा पुत्रैर्वैरैरुपेतम् । आरं दूरनामेदम् । दूरे अत्मद् अस्मत्तः । अमतिः अशोभना मतिर्यस्य सः अमतिः तं पापमतिं दुर्जनं बाधमानः अपनयन् उच्छ्रयस्व ऊर्ध्वं तिष्ठेत्यर्थः । महते सौभगाय सुभगत्वाय प्रियत्वाय सुधनत्वाय वा । सर्वलोकस्य प्रियाः सुधना वा स्यामेत्येव समर्थमित्यर्थः ।

समित्येकीभावम् ॥१५॥

दुर्गः । समित्येकीभावार्थमाह—संगृह्णातीति ।

स्कन्दः । समित्येकीभावमाह । लौके सङ्गतौ ग्रामौ । वेदे [ऋ० सं० १०।१९।१२]—

सं गच्छध्वं सं वदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ।

देवा भागं यथा पूर्वं संजानाना उपासते ॥

[“Go together, speak together, let your minds be all of one accord as the Gods of old sit down unanimous to their appointed share.”]

इति । संवननस्यार्थम् । सङ्गच्छमानानां ज्ञातानां संवननसूक्तमेतत् । अत्र च सुखप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं दृष्टान्तत्वेनापरो धर्मः प्रथमं प्रदर्श्यते । देवाः पूर्वं यज्ञाङ्गभूता भागं स्वं स्वं संजानानाः सङ्गता जानन्तो यथोपासते दीयमानं प्रतीक्षन्ते इत्यर्थः, एवं हे ज्ञातयः, संगच्छध्वम् असङ्गापणं परित्यज्य संवादं कुरुत । सं वो मनांसि जानताम् सममपि

संवादेन वः युष्माकं मनांसि ज्ञातव्यं जानतां बुध्यन्ताम् । यथा
देवास्तथैकचित्ता भवतेत्यर्थः ।

Skt. *Sam*, Av. *ham*, together, Gk. *sum* (*symposium* a drink-
ing together, सपीतिः)

Skt. *vī*, Av. *vi*, *vī*, apart, away forth.

यो विश्वाभिः विपश्यति भुवना सं च पश्यति ।

स नः पर्णदति द्विषः ॥ ऋ० १०।१८७।४

“May he who sees all living things and sees them together
at a glance, may he ferry us accross our enemies.”

सं चेदं वि च पश्येम । १०।१५८।९

व्यपेत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यम् ॥१६॥

दुर्गः । व्यपेत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यमाहतुः । विगृह्णाति, अव-
गृह्णाति ।

स्कन्दः । व्यपेत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यं विष्वग्भावमाहतुः । विगता
अपगता विष्वग्भूता इत्यर्थः । वेदेऽपि वि शत्रून् ताल्हि [ऋ० सं०
१०।१८०।२] आराच्छत्रूमप बाधस्व [ऋ० सं० १०।४२।७] इति
मन्त्रावुपरिष्ठाद् [१।२०, ५।२४] व्याख्यास्येते ।

[मृगो न भीमः कुचरो गिरिष्ठाः परावत आ जगन्था परस्याः ।

सृक् संशाय पविमिन्द्र तिग्मं वि शत्रून् ताल्हि वि मृधो नुदस्व ॥

(‘Dwelling on the mountain like a dread beast that roams
about, hast thou come from the farthest distance ! Whetting
thy bolt, thy sharp blade, cut off the head of thy foes, scatter
those who hate us.’)

मृगो न । भीम इत्यादीन्युपमानभूतस्य मृगस्य विशेषणानि । भीमो भयानको मृगः सिंहो व्याघ्रो वा कुचरः कुत्सितकर्मा प्राणी बिलमुद्दिश्य चरति । गिरिष्ठाः पर्वतस्थायी च । स यथा सर्वान् प्रतिबन्धकान् हन्ति तद्वत् । अथवा कुचरो गिरिष्ठा इतीन्द्रस्यैते विशेषणे न मृगस्य, अप्रतिहतगतित्वात् । यः सर्वत्र चरति न कञ्चिन्न विचरतीति कुचरः । गिरिष्ठाः गिरिर्मेघ तस्मिन् हन्तव्ये तिष्ठतीति गिरिष्ठाः । यस्त्वं कुचरो गिरिष्ठाश्च स यथा भीमो मृगस्तद्वत् । परावतो दूराद् आजगन्थ आगच्छः । परस्या इतीदं विशेषणम् । परस्माद् दूरादत्यन्तदूरादित्यर्थः । आगत्य च सूक्तं वज्रं संशाय निशाय । पविम् । पवतिर्गतिकर्मा । गन्तारं शत्रूणा-मुपरि हे इन्द्र ! तिगमं तीक्ष्णं तेन वि शत्रून् तालिह । ताल्हुतिर्वध-कर्मा । विविधं शत्रून् जहि ये बलवन्तः, ये त्वबलास्तान् मृधः संग्रामकारिणो विनुदस्व प्रेरयेतोऽपनयेत्यर्थः ।]

[आराच्छत्रुमप बाधस्व दूरमुग्रो यः शम्भः पुरुहूत तेन ।

अस्मे धेहि यवमद्रोमदिन्द्र कुधी धियं जरित्रे वाजरत्नाम् ॥

(‘Drive to a distance from afar the foeman with they fierce bolt, O God invoked of many. Bestow on us wealth in corn and cattle, O Indra, and make the prayer of the singer richly rewarded.’)

कृष्णस्याङ्गिरसध्याषम् । आराच्छब्दोऽयं सन्निकर्षविप्रकर्षवचनः । तस्य सर्वत्र सामर्थ्यादर्थविशेषोऽध्यवसेयः । आरादप इति तुल्य-जातीयापेक्षत्वात् प्रकर्षप्रत्ययस्य दूरतरमित्यर्थः । इह तु दूर-प्रतियोगित्वान् सन्निकृष्टे चापायभूयस्त्वाशङ्कया शत्रोर्दूरापगमः प्रार्थ्यत इति सन्निकर्षवचनो गम्यते । तेनायमर्थः । सन्निकृष्टादस्य शत्रुम् अप बाधस्व । अपगमय दूरम् । अन्ये वर्णयन्ति शत्रो-

रवस्थानं बहुदोषत्वादनष्टमिति दूरवचन एवाराच्छब्दो दूरशब्द-
श्चात्रान्तर्णीतप्रकर्षार्थः । दूरादप्यस्य शत्रुमपनय दूरम् । दूरतम-
मित्यर्थः । तेनोच्यते । उग्रोऽप्रसह्यः क्रूरो वा यः शम्बो वज्रः ।
पुरुहूत हे बहुभिराहूत । तेन किञ्च अस्मे अस्मभ्यं धेहि यवमत्
गोमत् । प्रदर्शनं चेदम् । यवादिभिर्धान्यैर्गवादिभिश्च पशुभिस्तद्वत्
संयुतमित्यर्थः । अथवा वाजरत्नां वाजवतीं रत्नवतीं चेत्यर्थः ।]

अन्विति सादृश्यापरभावम् ॥१७॥

दुर्गः । अन्विति सादृश्यापरभावमाह । अनुरूपमस्येदमिति
सादृश्यम्, अनुगच्छ इत्यपरभावः ।

स्कन्दः । अन्विति सादृश्यापरभावम् । अपरभावः पश्चाद्भावः,
तमाह । अनुरूपस्येदमिति सादृश्यम्, अनुगच्छतीत्यपरभावः ।

The samāhāra compound shows that the two meanings are
not entirely distinct, but that the one has easily passed into
the other. Cf. the boy takes *after* his father. In the case of
adhi we have अधिरुपरिभावमैश्वर्यं वा ।

Skt. *anu*, Gath. *o: anu*, Younger Avesta *anu*. Cf. Gk *an*,
from which arose *ana* after the analogy of *kata*.

अपीति संसर्गम् ॥१८॥

दुर्गः । अपीति संसर्गमाह । सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् । मधुनोऽपि
स्यात् ।

स्कन्दः । संसर्गः समुच्चयोऽभिप्रेतः । अपि सिञ्च अपि स्तुहि ।
सिञ्च स्तुहि चेत्यर्थः । वेदे ग्रीवायां बद्धो अपिकक्ष आसनि [ऋ० सं०
४।४०।४] इति । उपरिष्ठाद् [२।२८] व्याख्यास्यते ।

[उत स्य वाजी क्षिपणिं तुरण्यति ग्रीवायां बद्धो अपिकक्ष
आसनि ।

क्रतुं दधिका अनु संत्ववीत्वत्पथामङ्कांस्यन्वापनीफणत् ॥

(‘And the prize runner rushes onward before the lash of the whip, bound by the neck, by the flanks and by the mouth. Dadhikrā, having scraped up his strength according to his will, springs along the windings of the path.’)

ग्रामदेवस्यार्घम् । अपि स वाजी वेजनवान् कम्पनवान् । कम्पिता वा स्वयं कम्पयिता वा परेषामित्यर्थः । क्षिपणिं क्षेपणं प्रेरणम् । द्वितीयाश्रुतेः कर्मप्रवचनीयोऽनुशब्दोऽध्याहार्यः । प्रेरणमनु अश्वारोहणपाण्यां प्रेरितः सन्नित्यर्थः तुरण्यति त्वरते । किञ्च ग्रीवायां बद्धो रुरुचक्रेण । अपिकक्षे । अपीति संसर्गमाह । कक्षेण यः संसृष्ट प्रदेशः सोऽपिकक्षः । कक्षस्य समीपस्तस्मिंश्च कक्षया । आसनि आस्ये च खलीनेन । क्रतुं कर्म आत्मीयं शीघ्रगतिलक्षणं प्रज्ञां वाश्वारोहणस्य । अनुसन्तवीत्वत् । तनोतेः तवतेर्वा वृद्धयर्थस्येदं रूपम् । अनुसन्तनोति अनु संवर्धयति वा पथामङ्कांसि । अनुशब्दोऽत्राप्यर्थः । अकिः कौटिल्ये । पथां मध्ये ये कुटिलाः पन्थानस्तानपि । आपनीफणत् । फणतिर्गतिकर्मा । अत्यर्थं गच्छन् ।]

Skt. *api*, Av. *aipi* (ī), Gk. *epi*, Lat. *ab*

उपेत्युपजनम् ॥१६॥

दुर्गः । उपेत्युपजनम् आधिक्यम् आह । उपजायते ।

स्कन्दः । उपजनमुपचय उपधानमुपकारः । वेदे—उप बर्बहि वृषभाय [१०।१०।१०] इति । नैगमे [४।२०] व्याख्यास्यते मन्त्रः ।

[आ घा ता गच्छानुत्तरा युगानि यत्र जामयः कृणवन्नजामि ।
उप बर्बृहि वृषभाय बाहुमन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिं मत् ।

(‘There will surely come succeeding times when sisters will act in an unsisterly way. Throw your arm round another bull, seek a husband other than me, lovely girl.’)

यमीयमसंवादे यमी यमं चकमे । तां सोऽनया प्रत्याचष्टे ।
आकारो गच्छानित्यनेन सम्बध्यते । घो न सम्बध्यते, सोऽनर्थकः ।
आगच्छन् आगमिष्यन्ति । ता तानि उत्तरा उत्तराणि युगानि
कालाः । कलियुगान्ते ते काला आगमिष्यन्ति नेदानीं वर्तन्ते
इत्यर्थः । यत्र येषु सर्वशास्त्रव्यवस्थापरिलोपा जामयः भगिन्यः
कृण्वन् करिष्यन्ति अजामि । अविद्यमाना जामिः कर्तृत्वेन यस्य
तदजामि भगिन्यामयोग्यं मैथुनलक्षणं कर्म । एतज् ज्ञात्वा
उपबर्बृहि । विभर्तेर्धारणार्थस्य । वर्णव्यापस्या भकारस्य बकारः ।
उपबर्बृहि एकशयनगतस्य समीपे धारय, उपधानीकुर्वित्यर्थः ।
वृषभाय यो विरुद्धे तत्कर्म रेतो वर्षति स वृषभस्तस्यार्थाय तं
परिष्वङ्क्तमित्यर्थः । बाहुमात्मीयं च अन्यम् इच्छस्व इच्छ
कामयस्व । सुभगे पतिं मत् यत्तः । अहमयोग्यस्तव पतित्व-
स्येत्यर्थः ।

उपजन means accretion. It is used in Grammatical literature
in the sense of आगम । Cf. उपोऽधिके च i. 4. 87.

Skt. *upa*, Av. *upa* (*ā*), Gk. *hupo*, Lat. (*s*)*ub*, Goth. *uf*.

परीति सर्वतोभावम् ॥२०॥-

दुर्गः । परीति सर्वतोभावमाह—परिधावतीति ।

स्कन्दः । लोके परिषिञ्चेदिति । वेदे—

परीतो पिञ्चता सुतं सोमो य उत्तमं हविः ।

दधन्वाँ यो नर्याँ अप्सवन्तरा सुषाव सोममद्रिभिः ॥

ऋ० सं० ९।१०७।१

[‘Hence sprinkle around the pressed Soma which is the best offering, which full of manly vigour has flown into the waters. (The priest) has pressed out this Soma with stones.’]

सप्तर्षीणामार्षम् । सोमे य उत्तमं हविरित्युद्देशार्थः । यच्छब्द-
श्रवणादुद्दिष्टस्य च प्रतिनिर्देष्टव्यत्वात् । तच्छब्दमध्याहृत्य प्रथमः
पादः पश्चाद् योजयिष्यते । हविषां मध्ये यः सोम उत्तमम् अति-
शयेनोत्कृष्टं हविर्दधन्वान् श्रवणेन च दधन्वान् यो हविष्यति (?)
नर्याँ नृभ्यो मनुष्येभ्य ऋत्विग्यजमानेभ्योऽभिलषितफलसाधनत्वेन
हितः । अप्सवन्तः अपां वसतीवरीलक्षणानां मध्ये । आसुषाव ।
व्यत्ययेनात्र कर्मणि कर्तृप्रत्ययः । लिट् । सोममिति च प्रथमार्थे
द्वितीया । आसुषाव । आभिमुख्येन सुतोऽभिषुतः सोम अद्रिभिः
अभिषवग्रावभिस्तं परितः सिञ्चत । ऋत्विजामेष प्रैषः । इतो
दशापवित्रान् परिषिञ्चत सर्वतः क्षारयतेत्यर्थः । सुतमभिषुतं
सन्तम् ।

Skt. *peri*, Av. *pairi*(ī), Gk. *peri*.

अधोत्युपरिभावमैश्वर्यं वा [च ?] ॥२१॥

दुर्गः । अधोत्युपरिभावमाह ऐश्वर्यं वा । अधितिष्ठति
अधिपतिः इति ।

स्कन्दः । अधित्युपरिभावम्—अधितिष्ठति, अध्यास्ते ।

पवमाना दिवस्पर्यन्तरिक्षादसृक्षत ।

पृथिव्या अधि सानधि ॥ ऋ० सं० ९।६३।२७

[‘The purifying (juices of Soma) have been effused from heaven, from out of the grass on the summit of the earth.’]

निध्रुवेः कश्यपपुत्रस्यार्षम् । अत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते—गायत्री वै श्येनो भूत्वा दिवः सोममाहरदिति । [शतपथब्राह्मणम् ११।७।२।४] । तदेनेन मन्त्रेण सोमाहरणमुच्यते । पवमानाः । पवमानशब्दोऽत्र सोमवचनः, पवतेर्गतिकर्मणः । तत्र पवनाद् गमनात् । जात्याख्याया-
मेकस्मिन् बहुवचनम् [१।२।१८], व्यत्ययेन वा । पवमानः सोमो दिवः प्रथमं दुर्गलोकात् । परीत्युपसर्गोऽसृक्षतेत्याख्यातेन सम्बध्यते । ततः क्रमेणान्तरिक्षादसृक्षत । सृजेः कर्मणि बहुवचने लुङि रूपम् । असर्जिषत । ‘पवमानाः’ इत्येतत्सम्बन्धाच्चैतदपि बहुवचनमेक-
वचनस्यैव स्थाने । असर्जि सृष्टः । अपहृत्य श्येनरूपया गायत्र्या मुक्त इत्यर्थः । क ? उच्यते । पृथिव्या अधि उपरि सानवि । सानुः समुच्छितं भवति । समुच्छिते पर्वतवनस्थल्यादौ प्रदेशे । अथवा दिवा द्योतनाद् दशापधित्वात् । अन्तरेमे द्यावापृथिवी क्षियतीति तदेवान्तरिक्षम् । तस्मात् पृथिव्या वेदिलक्षणाया उपरि समुच्छिते हविर्धानदेशे । ‘ऐश्वर्यम्’ ‘आचष्टे’ इति शेषः । ऐश्वर्यं । अधि ब्रह्मदत्त पञ्चालाः । छन्दसि मृग्यमुदाहरणम् ।*

Skt. *adhi*, O. Pers *adiy*.

दुर्गः । आह नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्ती-
त्युक्तम् । अत्र नाम्नः कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्तीति न गृह्यते ।
उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे [१।३।५९] इति प्रसिद्धो ह्युपसर्गाणां क्रिया-

* स्कन्दे नैव नाकस्य पृष्ठे इति सूत्रं व्याचक्षणेनोक्तम्—अधिशन्दस्तु पादपूरण ऐश्वर्ये
वा [५० ५८] इति ।

पदेन योगो न नाम्ना । उपसर्गा हि क्रियाङ्गत्वेनैव नामान्या-
स्कन्दन्तीति ।†

एवमुच्चावचानर्थान् प्राहुस्त उपेक्षितव्याः ॥२२॥

दुर्गः । ० ।

स्कन्दः । ० ।

[Lalitavistara (v. 1. 52) : अचलत् । प्राचलत् । संप्राचलत् ।
अश्रुभ्यत् । प्राश्रुभ्यत् । संप्राश्रुभ्यत् । अरणत् । प्रारणत् ।
संप्रारणत् । अगर्जत् । प्रागर्जत् । संप्रागर्जत् ।]

GATI

The technical term “Gati” is the name given to certain particles and indeclinables for purposes of compounds and their accentuation. In most of the later systems detailed treatment of compounds is avoided, for they have become much more general than in the days of Pāṇini and when it is found necessary to prescribe rules for compounds the particles are merely stated by name and the generic term “Gati” is not mentioned. The Gatis occupy an intermediate position between nouns and upasargas.

The name Gati appears to be due to the close connexion of some of these indeclinables with the root *gam*. अच्छु is the most important of the Gati's. Moreover it begins with

† यास्कीन प्रादीनामुपसर्गत्वमेव स्वीकृतम्, पाणिनिमते तेषां क्रियायोग उपसर्गत्वम्, पर्यावर्तिष्वे कर्मप्रवचनीयत्वं कश्चिन् निपातत्वम् । अत्र एव यन्यकृन्ते नाम्नामपि ते कर्मोपसर्गयोगदीतकाः ।

the first vowel अ and occurs in the Vedas. And it is often connected with *gam*. Cf. अच्छ गत्यर्थवद्देशु, P. i. 4. 69.

RT. and ST. use "ti" for Gati though there is the v. 1. Gati in RT. 29.

J. also uses "ti" for Gati. Sār. also appears to use "ti" (i. 1. 26).

Hc. uses the term "Gati" in i. 1. 36 and defines it in iii. 1. 2-17.

S.K. uses the term in the rule गत्यश्च i. 1. 131.

Sam. does not use this term but mentions all the particular cases in the *kṛt*-section in rules 447-483. Similarly Mu. does not use the term, but mentions the special cases in the *tanādi*-section in rule 767 in connexion with the root *kṛ*.

Su., like Candra, mentions the special cases of *gatisamāsa* in iv. 3. 41, 45-57 but does not think it necessary to use any particular technical term in this connexion.

PR. has a sub-section entitled *prādi* in the *kṛt* section (xvi) where the *gatis* are mentioned, but no separate name is given to them..

HN. has no objection to the term "gati", since *Kṛṣṇa* is the *gati* (refuge) of those who have no *gati*.

The term is found in the *Prātiśākhya*s belonging to AV. Thus in Apr. we find :

गतिपूर्वो यदा धातुः क्वचित् स्यात्तद्धितोदयः ।

समस्यते गतिस्तन्नागमिष्ठा इति निदर्शनम् ॥ १११

It is distinguished from upasarga, since in the next kārīkā we read :

उपसर्गपूर्वमाख्यातमनुदात्तं विगृह्यते ।

उदात्तं यत् समस्यत उपसर्गो निहन्यते ॥१११२

In CA also we find :

नामानुदात्तं प्रकृतिस्वरो गतिरनुच्चो वा नाम चेत् स्यादुदात्तम् ।

क्रियायोगे गतिः पूर्वः । ४।२।३

न शुष्मदस्मदादेश अनुदात्ताः पदान् परे ।

नामोपसर्गगतिभिः समस्यन्ते कदाचन ॥ ४।२।१३

पा० । (उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे । १।४।५९) गतिश्च । ऊर्यादि-
च्चि-डाचश्च । १।४।६०-६१

शा० । डाच्छयूर्याद्यनुकरणं च ति । १।१।२६

भोजः । समासार्हा निपाता एव कतिपयेऽपि गतयः ।

है० । ऊर्याद्यनुकरणच्चिडाचश्च गतिः । ३।१।२

ह० । एते उपेन्द्रवदाख्याते धातोश्च प्राक् प्रयोज्या गतिसंज्ञाः ।

KARMAPRAVACANĪYA

Karmapravacanīya is probably the longest technical term in Sanskrit grammar. It is evidently derived from “karmapra-
vacana” with the secondary suffix cha (-īya) and means literally
“concerned with the setting forth of an action” Acc. to Indian
grammarians it means ‘that which spoke of an action’ (karma
i.e. kriyām proktavantah. bāhulakāt bhūte kartari anīyar).
This probably means that which one referred to actions but

now governs substantives. This agrees fully with the views of modern philologists.* Another sense is possible. Pāṇini mentions that the word pravacanīya is formed as a कर्तृसाधन. He also lays down that the second case-ending is, as a rule, used with Karma-pravacanīyas. So the word may mean that which is used with the accusative case-ending, Bhartṛhari says :

क्रियाया द्योतको नायं सम्बन्धस्य न वाचकः ।

नापि क्रियापदाक्षेपी सम्बन्धस्य तु भेदकः ॥

Like many other technical terms of Pāṇini "karma-pravacanīya" is found in the Prātiśākhya of the Atharva Veda.

अनर्थककर्मप्रवचनीयान्ययुक्तैर्विग्रहोऽभिवितन्वादिषु CA. iv. 3.

रुदन्ते द्रुपसर्गे यत्र पूर्वेण विग्रहः ।

अनर्थकः कर्मप्रवचनीयो व्यूढो वा विगृह्यते ॥ Apr. i. 1. 10.

* "It is well-known that at first every substantive marked the relations of dependence, of interiority, of instrument, etc. by modifying its formal syllables. But this method of expression was at once complicated and insufficient. It was complicated, because substantives, not being all constructed alike, appeared under different forms in one and the same case (gen. *domini, rosae, arboris*). It was insufficient, because the cases of the declension were too few in number to express all the relations that the mind was capable of conceiving. This was the reason why adverbs were placed by the side of these cases to define them. But the habit of placing the same adverb by the side of the same case could not fail in the long run to produce upon the mind of men an effect of which we shall presently have other examples ; between the inflection and particle of place or time they supposed

K. does not define "Karmapravacanīya", nor does it mention its special cases. It merely prescribes the accusative in connexion with Karmapravacanīyas in the rule कर्मप्रवचनीयैश्च Ca. 221.

Śāk. has no special term for the Karmapravacanīyas but mentions the particular cases in i.3. 101-104, 175 etc.

S. K. (i 159 ft.) follows Pāṇini.

Similarly Hc. mentions the special cases in ii. 2. 36 ff. but avoids the term.

In the same way Vopadeva and Padmanābha do not recognise the samjñā but frame rules for the particular cases.

PR. recognises the term though for the sake of metre it adds a pleonastic ka to it :

अन्वादयः सहार्थादौ कर्मप्रवचनीयकाः ।

एतैर्योगे द्वितीया स्याद् विषयार्थेऽधिनापि च ॥ १६४१

the existence of some special connection, some relation of cause to effect. Instead of considering the adverb as a mere determinant of the case, popular intelligence saw in it the actual cause of the case ; a well-known paralogism that philosophy designates by the formula '*cum hoc, ergo propter hoc.*' But when a paralogism is universal, it is undoubtedly not far from giving the impression of truth. In the matter of language, that which the people believe itself to feel, passes into the condition of reality. Adverbs of place and time like *apo, peri, epi, pro, meta, para*, from having been the accompaniment of the genitive, dative or accusative became the cause of these cases ; from having been adverbs they became prepositions. The minds of men endowed them with a transitive force."

HN. uses Kṛṣṇapravacanīya for Karmapravacanīya : कृष्ण-
प्रवचनीयैर्योगे द्वितीया १।१०६

The Karmapravacanīyas govern cases of substantives generally the accusative, sometimes the locative and the ablative. They retain their independent accents. And they do not cause the mutation of स into ष.

We learn from Durga's ṭikā on catuṣṭaya 228 that in the Āpiśaliya system of grammar samayā, nikaṣā and other avyayas governing the accusative were regarded as Karmapravacanīyas.

आपिशलीयव्याकरणे समयादीनां कर्मप्रवचनीयत्वं दृष्टमिति मतम् ।

भावप्रधानमाख्यातम् । असत्त्वभूतार्था उपसर्गादयः । तेषामसत्त्व-
भूतार्थाविशेषेऽपि व्यापारनियमात् प्रयोगनियमाच्च त्रैराश्योपगमः ।
तथाहि क्रियारूपातिशयप्रतिपत्तिनिबन्धनमुपसर्गाः प्रादयः । भाव-
सत्त्वयोरात्मभेदप्रत्यायननिमित्तम् अवधूतरूपार्थविशेषाः स्वरादयो
निपाताः । क्रियाविशेषोपजनितसम्बन्धावच्छेदहेतवः कर्मप्रवच-
नीयाः । तदुक्तम्—

द्विधा कैश्चित् पदं भिन्नं चतुर्धा पञ्चधापि च ।

अपोद्धृत्यैव वाक्येभ्यः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिवत् ॥

[वाक्यपदीय ३।१।१] इति ।

[असत्त्वभूतार्था इति । असत्त्वभूतत्वमसिद्धस्वभावत्वम् ।
त्रयाणामघान्तरविशेषसद्भावेऽपि सामान्यलक्षणम् । तानवान्तर-
विशेषानाह—तेषामिति । व्यापारभेदः क्रियाविशेषकत्वमुपसर्गा-
णाम् । प्रयोगनियमश्च तेषां धातोः पूर्व प्रयोगः । निपातैस्तु
चादिभिर्भावसत्त्वयोरात्मभेदः प्रत्याय्यते इति स तेषां व्यापार-

नियमः । तत्र भावगतमात्मभेदप्रत्यायनं यथा पचति पठति च, सत्त्वगतन्तु देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तश्चेति । रूपं च शब्दस्वरूपादि । अर्थः समुच्चयादिः । प्रयोगनियमश्चादीनां समुच्चेतव्यादिवाचिभ्यः पर-प्रयोगादिः । तथाहि शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षदित्यादौ निशामनादिक्रियाविशेषोपजनितो यः संहितावर्षयोः कार्यकारण-सम्बन्धास्तस्यावच्छेदः—संहिता कारणं वर्षं कार्यमित्येवंरूपः, तत्प्रत्यायनं कर्मप्रवचनीयानां व्यापारः । रुचककृतटीका]

The distinction between Upasarga, Nipāta and Karma-pravacanīya is clearly set forth in the 'Vyaktiviveka' (ed. Chowkhamba, p. 37). "In the ākhyāta", says Mahima, "the sense of bhāva or action is prominent. The upasargas, nipātas and karma-pravacanīyas are those that do not denote things, still according to the diversity of their function and use (i.e., position) in the sentence they are divided into three categories. Thus those that convey the modification (lit intensification) of the original sense of verbs are known as Upasargas. They are : pra, parā etc. Those that have their forms and senses fixed and convey the conjunction etc. of actions and things (verbs and nouns) are Nipātas. They are svar, etc. Thus in pacati ca paṭhati ca (he cooks and reads) the particle ca is a nipāta since it conveys the samuccaya (conjunction) of the actions of cooking and reading. In Devadattaśca Yajñadattaśca, the conjunction is of two persons. But the form is fixed and the position after the things conjoined is also fixed. Those that define the manner in which a particular action affects the noun or pronoun are known as Karma-pravacanīyas. Thus in Śāka-

lyasya saṁhitām anuprāvarṣat, anu defines the relationship between the verb hearing (niśamya) understood, and the noun saṁhitām as one of cause and effect. Here also it comes after the noun or the pronoun.

नामाख्यातनिपाता उपसर्गाश्चेति सम्मतं येषाम् ।

तत्रोक्ता न भवेयुस्तैः कर्मप्रवचनीयास्तु ॥

रुद्रटकाव्यालङ्कारः २।२

नमिसाधुटीका । वस्तुवाचि पदं नाम । क्रियाप्रधानं तिङन्त-
माख्यातम् । नामाख्यातयोः समुच्चयाद्यर्थप्रख्यातिनिमित्तं निपाताः ।
क्रियाविशेषप्रतिनिबन्धनमुपसर्गाः । च-शब्द एवार्थे । इति परि-
समाप्तौ । एत एव चत्वारः शब्दविधा इति येषां सम्यङ् मतं तत्र
तेषु नामादिषु मध्ये तैर्मेधाविरुद्रप्रभृतिभिः कर्मप्रवचनीया नोक्ता
भवेयुः । तुरवधारणे भिन्नक्रमः । सप्तमी सम्भावने । नैष संगृहीता
भवन्तीति सम्भावयामि । यतस्तैरुपसर्गेष्वन्तर्भावः कृतः स चायुक्तः ।
विद्यते ह्युपसर्गभ्यो नामादीनामिव कर्मप्रवचनीयानमपि पृथग्व्यापार-
भेदः । तथाहि वृक्षमभि विद्योतते विदुः इति विदुःवृक्षयो-
र्लक्ष्यलक्षणसम्बन्धोऽभिना द्योत्यते । उपसर्गेण तु क्रियाविशेषार्था-
भिव्यक्तिरेव क्रियते । तथा कार्यभेदोऽपि तेषां दृश्यते । यथा
षत्वणत्वादिकार्यस्योपसर्गा एव निमित्तम्, द्वितीयादिकस्य तु कर्म-
प्रवचनीया एवेति । तथा प्रयोगोऽप्युपसर्गाणां नियत एव प्राग्-
धातोः, न तु कर्मप्रवचनीयानामिति कथमिवोपसर्गेष्वेषामन्तर्भावः ।
नन्वव्ययानि स्वरादीनि भेदान्तरं विद्यत इति कथं षोढा न
स्यादित्युक्तम् । स्वरादीनां स्वर्गादिसत्त्वभूतार्थधाचकत्वेन नाम-
स्वेषान्तर्भावात् । यदि वा नैरुक्तानामव्ययानि निपात एवेति
निपातग्रहणेन तेषां संग्रहः । गतयोऽप्युपसर्गा एवेति पञ्चधा शब्द
इति स्थितम् ।

It may be mentioned in this connexion that only some of the upasargas govern cases of nouns and pronouns in Sanskrit, several others are used as prepositions in other languages. Thus *pra* is not used as a preposition in Sanskrit, but the corresponding word *pro* is used with the genitive in Greek and Locative in Latin. Gk. *pro thurōn* 'before the door', Lat. *pro patria* 'for one's country'.

The Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharāṇa has the rule कर्मप्रवचनीयाः 1. 1. 159 which is explained thus in the Hṛdayahārīṇī :

कर्म प्रोक्तवन्तः कर्मप्रवचनीयाः । कर्मशब्देन सा क्रियोच्यते यया साम्प्रतमनुच्यमानयापि क्रियासम्बन्धोऽवच्छिद्यते । तथाहि क्रियाविशेषोपजनितसम्बन्धावच्छेदहेतवः कर्मप्रवचनीयाः । यथा शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षदिति । अत्र शाकल्यस्य संहिता-प्रवर्षणयोर्हेतुहेतुमद्भावलक्षणः सम्बन्धो निशमयतिक्रियोपजनित इत्यनुना हेतुलक्षणविषयेण प्रकाश्यते । कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञया गत्युप-सर्गसंज्ञे बाध्यते ।

Helarāja explains the functions of a Karma-prāvacanīya thus :

सर्वः सम्बन्धः क्रियाकृतः, उपकारक्रियोचितत्वात् तस्य, क्रिया-मन्तरेणोपकाराभावात् । तत्र क्वचित् क्रियाशब्दः श्रूयते, क्वचिन्न । यत्र श्रूयते तत्र श्रौत एव सम्बन्धविशेषावसायः । तद्यथा । मातुः स्मरति, मातुः स्मृतम्, सर्पिषो जानीते इत्यादौ । क्रिया हि स्वभावादेव क्रियान्तरव्यवधानमन्तरेण द्रव्यैः संयुज्यते । यस्मान्मातापितृविषये प्रवर्ततेऽतिष्ठते वा तस्मान्मातापितृसम्बन्धीदं स्मरणम् इति क्रियाकारकभावपूर्वक एवायमपि सम्बन्ध इति वर्णयन्ति । अश्रुते तु क्रियापदे द्वयो गतिः । क्वचित्सम्बन्धस्वरूप-

महिम्नैव क्रियाक्षेपसिद्धेः प्रतिनियतक्रियाकारकभावपूर्वकत्वं शेष-
सम्बन्धस्य विनैव कर्मप्रवचनीयमगम्यते । तद्यथा 'उपगोरपत्यम्'
'वृक्षस्य शाखा' इत्यादावपत्यापत्यवत्सम्बन्धो जनिक्रियानिमित्तः,
अवयवावयविसम्बन्धश्च स्थितिक्रियानिमित्त इत्यादि । क्वचित्तु
सम्बन्धानां प्रतिनियतक्रियापूर्वकत्वावधारणे नास्ति सामर्थ्यम् ।
तद्यथा 'राज्ञः पुरुषः' इत्यत्र स्वस्वामिभावो भरणवनेकक्रियानिमित्त
इत्येवावगम्यते, क्रियाविशेषो नावधार्यते तन्निमित्तभूतः । तथाच
भाष्यम् । यदेतत् स्वं नाम तच्चतुर्भिः प्रकारैर्भवति—भरणादप-
हरणात् क्रयणाद्वा याच्ययेति* । दानादीनां त्वन्यतमाविनाभावात्
क्रियानुमोयत एव । क्वचित्त्वविनाभाविनी क्रियापि न प्रतीयते ।
तथाचैवंजातीयके विषये कर्मप्रवचनीया नियतविशिष्टक्रियाकृतत्व-
सम्बन्धस्य विशेषमवगमयति । तदुक्तम्—

जनयित्वा क्रिया काचित् सम्बन्धं विनिवर्तते ।

श्रूयमाणे क्रियाशब्दे सम्बन्धो जायते क्वचित् ॥

स चोपजातसम्बन्धो विनिवृत्ते क्रियापदे ।

कर्मप्रवचनीयेन तत्र तत्र नियम्यते ॥ [वा० प० २।१९९. २०१]

इति । नियमस्तस्य नियतक्रियाजनितत्वम् । तथाहि शाकल्यस्य
संहितामनु प्रावर्षत् इति योऽयं संहिताप्रवर्षणयोर्हेतुहेतुमद्भावलक्षणः
सम्बन्धः स निपठक्रियाजनित इत्यनुना वेद्यते । अनुनिशम्येत्यन्तानो-
र्निशाम्यतिक्रियासाहचर्योपलब्धेरिह सम्पाठरूपत्वात् संहिताया-
स्तदनुमानस्योचित्यात् तत्र क्रियावचनत्वमस्यान्यत्र दृष्टशक्तेर्न
कल्प्यम् । द्योत्यार्थनिष्ठं च द्योतकत्वमिति तदपि क्रियापदाप्रयोगादत्र
नास्ति । न च क्रियापदाक्षेपकत्वं यथा प्रादेशं विपरिलिखतीत्यत्र
वैल्लेखनसमन्वयानुपपत्तेर्निर्मातिक्रियाक्षेपकत्वम् । कारकविभक्तिर्ह्यत्र

* The printed Bhāṣya reads: क्रयणादपहरणाद्याज्ञाया विनिमयात् ।

प्रादेशमिति द्वितीयेति युक्तस्तत्समुचितक्रियाक्षेपः । इह तु संहिता-
मिति शैषिकीयं विभक्तिरिति कथं क्रियाक्षेपः ? क्रियाकारकयोरेव
परस्परमाक्षेप्याक्षेपकभावस्याविनाभावेन व्याप्यत्वात्, तद्यथा प्रविश
पिण्डीमित्यादौ । नापि सम्बन्धवाचित्वमत्नानोः, विभक्तैव तदभि-
धानादिति सम्बन्धावच्छेदस्य प्रत्यायको नान्यः सम्भवतीति
पारिशेष्यादनोरत्र सामर्थ्यमध्यवसीयते । तदुक्तम्—

क्रियाया द्योतको नायं सम्बन्धस्य न वाचकः ।

नापि क्रियापदाक्षेपी सम्बन्धस्य तु भेदकः ॥ [वा० प० २।२०६]
इति । भेदको विशेषको द्योतक इत्यर्थः । अयमत्र भावः ।
यदनन्यथासिद्धं तत्त्वानोर्व्यापारकल्पना युक्ता । यत्पुनरन्यथार्थ-
सामर्थ्यादिना सिध्यति न तत्र तस्य शक्तिः कल्पयितुं पार्यते इति
पदान्तराणामर्थान्तरनिवेशात् सम्बन्धविशेषस्य ततोऽनवगतस्य कर्म-
प्रवचनीयविषयता सिद्धा । ननु च यदत्राधिक्यं वाक्यार्थः स इति
क्रियाविशेषजनितत्वलक्षणः सम्बन्धस्यावच्छेदो वाक्यार्थः किमिति
न कथ्यते, अनोस्तु पश्चाद्भावमात्रवृत्तित्वमेवेति । अत्रोच्यते ।
इहाधिक्यं वाक्यार्थत्वेनोच्यमानं पदार्थपृष्टपातित्वेनैवानुसरणीयं ननु
पदार्थोल्लङ्घनेन । तत्तद्वाक्योपात्तस्य हि साध्यस्य वा विशेष्यस्य
वोपात्तैरेव साधनैर्विशेषणैश्च संसर्गस्तत्राधिक्यम् । तद् यथा
शुक्लामानय नीलोत्पलमिति च । अत एवोच्यते—आश्रयाश्रयिणो-
र्वाक्यान्नियमस्त्ववतिष्ठते इति । इत्थं चानुपात्तस्यैव पदार्थस्य
वाक्यार्थात् प्रतीतिर्नास्तीति न सम्बन्धावच्छेदोऽत्रापदार्थो वाक्यार्थः
शक्यते कल्पयितुमिति कर्मप्रवचनीयविषय एवायम् । यद्
वक्ष्यति—

निमित्तनियमः शब्दात् सम्बन्धस्य न गृह्यते ।

कर्मप्रवचनीयैस्तु स विशेषेऽवरुध्यते ॥ [वा० प० ३। पृः २८६]

इति । अत्र च दर्शनद्वयम् । स्वरूपेणैव सम्बन्धान्तरविलक्षणः कर्मप्रवचनीयेन सम्बन्धोऽवच्छिद्यते क्रियाविशेषजनितत्वेन वेति । तत्र स्वरूपेणावच्छेदे विशिष्टक्रियाजनितत्वप्रतीतिः सम्बन्धविशेषपर्यालोचनालभ्या । तथाहि अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चाला इति स्वस्वामिभावोऽयं सम्बन्ध इत्याधिना वेद्यते । ब्रह्मदत्तश्च स्वामीश्वरः पञ्चालाश्च जनपदः स्वमिति तयोः सम्बन्धिनोः परिपालनकरादानादिक्रियाप्रभावित एव सम्बन्धो न्याय्य इत्यवगम्यते । एवमभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रतीति प्रतिना सादृश्यलक्षणोऽयं सम्बन्ध इति द्योत्यते, स पुनः सम्बन्धस्वरूपपर्यालोचनादत्र संप्रहरणादिक्रियाकृत इत्यवगम्यते । इत्थञ्च शाकल्यसंहितामनु प्राघर्षदित्यत्रापि हेतुफलभावो नामायं सम्बन्ध इत्येतावत्येवायमनुर्विश्राम्यति । पाठविशेषरूपत्वात् संहिताया निशमनक्रियावगतिः । शब्दध्रुवणेन हि देवोऽवर्षदिति सम्बन्धिमहिम्ना विशिष्टक्रियाप्रभावितत्वमवसीयते । केचिदियाननोरेष व्यापार इत्याहुः । स्वरूपावच्छेदेऽपि च क्रियायाः कार्यभूतसम्बन्धापेक्षयातीतत्वात् कर्म प्रोक्तवन्त इत्यर्थस्तमन्वेत्येष, वस्तुतः क्रियाफलस्यैव सम्बन्धस्य प्रकाशनात् । यथा तु तत्रभवतो भर्तृहरेस्तत्र तत्राभिप्रायो लक्ष्यते तथा निमित्तविशेषावच्छेद एव कर्मप्रवचनीयकृत इति राद्धान्तः । अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः इति परिपालनक्रियाहेतुत्वं स्वस्वामिभाषस्याधिना व्यज्यते । अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रतीत्यत्र पराजयादिकृतोऽनुकार्यानुकरणभाषः प्रतिना प्रकाश्यत इत्यादि सर्वत्र योज्यम् । सुस्तुतम् अतिस्तुतम् इत्यादौ तु सुः पूजायाम् अतिरतिक्रमणे च [१।४।९४-९५] इत्यादिना कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञाधिकारिकी स्वार्थनिरपेक्षोपसर्गसंज्ञाबाधनाय प्रवर्तते । यथोक्तम्—

कर्मप्रवचनीयत्वं क्रियायोगे विधीयते ।

पत्थादिविनिवृत्त्यर्थं स्वत्यादीनां हि धर्मिणाम् ॥”[वा० प० २।२०४]

इति । आर्थेन तु रूपेण विभागे प्रस्तुते क्रियाविशेषावद्योतकत्वा-
दुपसर्गपदे स्वत्यादिरन्तर्भवतीति नाव्याप्तिः ।

Bhoja says in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa :

प्रादय एव क्रियाविशेषोपजनितसम्बन्धावच्छेदहेतवः कर्म-
प्रवचनीयाः । तदाह —

क्रियाविशेषजन्यानां सम्बन्धानां प्रकाशने ।

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः स्युर्निमित्तमवधारिताः ॥

इति । किं पुनरमीषामवधारणम् ? कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञाधिकारे
अनुप्रभृतयः शब्दा एकादश लक्षणादयोऽर्था द्वाविंशतिरिति ।
तद्यथा—अनुर्लक्षणे । तृतीयार्थे । हीने । उपोऽधिके च । अपपरी
वर्जने ॥ आङ् मर्यादावचने ॥ लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु
प्रतिपर्यन्तवः ॥ अभिरभागे ॥ प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः ॥ अधि-
परी अनर्थकौ ॥ सुः पूजायाम् ॥ अतिरतिक्रमणे च ॥ अपिः
पदार्थसम्भावनान्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ॥ अधिरीश्वरे । विभाषा
कृञि । [पा० १।१।८४-९८] एवम् अनु उप अप परि आङ् प्रति
अभि अधि सु अति अपि इत्येकादश शब्दाः । हेतुलक्षणम्, सहार्थः,
हीनता, आधिक्यम्, वर्जनम्, मर्यादावचनम्, लक्षणम्, इत्थम्भूता-
ख्यानम्, भागः, वीप्सा, प्रतिनिधिः, प्रतिदानम्, आनर्थक्यम्, पूजा,
अतिक्रमणम्, पदार्थः, सम्भावना, अन्ववसर्गः, गर्हा, समुच्चयः,
स्वाम्यम्, अधिकारः इति द्वाविंशतिरर्थाः । तत्रानुः सप्तार्थः,
प्रतिपरी षडर्थः, अपिः पञ्चार्थः, अत्यमी त्र्यर्थः, उपाती द्वार्थः,
आङ्पसव एकार्था इति ।

NIPĀTA

Nipāta is explained thus in the Nirukta : अथ निपाताः ।
उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्ति । अप्युपमार्थे, अपि कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थे,
अपि पदपूरणः । 1. 4.1-2.

‘These are known as nipātas as they are used in diverse senses, as well in the sense of conjunction as in the sense of comparison, as also as expletives.’ BD also says : उच्चावचेषु चार्थेषु निपाताः समुदाहृताः ii. 89. And this sense is generally accepted by later grammarians also. The Cidasthimālā says : नियमेन पातयन्ति स्वार्थमन्यस्मिन्, But the word nipāta is often used in the sense of accidental appearance in the Nirukta, Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra, Bṛhaddevatā etc. Rk Prātiśākhya says distinctly : nipātaḥ padapūraṇaḥ xii. 25. From this it is clear that Nipātas were so called because of their subsidiary character, because they were not regarded as essential parts of the sentence nor as having an independent existence. In the Nirukta we find : सूक्तभाजो हविर्भाज ऋग्भाजश्च भूयिष्ठाः । काश्चिन्निपातभाजः vii. 13.5-7. Again, यस्तु सूक्तं भजते यस्मै हविर्निरूप्यतेऽयमेव सोऽग्निर्जातवेदाः, निपातमेवैते उत्तरे ज्योतिषी एतेन नामधेयेन भजते । Nir. vii. 20.4 In BD. also we find :

निरूप्यते हविर्यस्यै सूक्तं च भजते च या ।

सैव तत्र प्रधानं स्यान्न निपातेन या स्तुता ॥ १।७८

“That deity to whom the oblation is offered, and to whom the hymn belongs, will there be the chief object (of praise), not (the deity) who is praised *incidentally*” . . प्रधान्याद्वा निपाताद्

वा स्तूयते ब्रह्मणस्पतिः viii. 60.”.....Brahmaṇaspati is praised either as the chief object or *incidentally*“.

The nature of the nipāta is best described in BD. :

उच्चावचेषु चार्थेषु निपाताः समुदाहृताः ।
 कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थे च कचिच्चौपम्यकारणात् ॥
 ऊनानां पूरणार्था वा पदानामपरे कचित् ।
 मिताक्षरेषु ग्रन्थेषु पूरणार्थास्त्वनर्थकाः ॥
 इयन्त इति संख्यानं निपातानां न विद्यते ।
 वशात् प्रकरणस्तैते* निपात्यन्ते पदे पदे ॥ ii. 89-90, 93

“Particles are enumerated in various senses—both for the purpose of connecting actions and occasionally for the sake of comparison. Others again (are) occasionally (used) for the purpose of filling up defective verses (pāda). Those (particles) which in metrical books have the purpose of filling up (the verse) are meaningless.... There does not exist an enumeration of the particles (stating explicitly) ‘there are so many’. These particles are used at every turn on account of the subject-matter.” Macdonell.

With this may be compared the following from RP.

इतरे निपाताः । १२।२१
 निपातः पदपूरणः । १२।२५
 निपातानामर्थवशान्निपातनादनर्थकानामितरे च सार्थकाः ।
 नेयन्त इत्यस्ति संख्येह वाङ्मये मिताक्षरे चाप्यमिताक्षरे च ये ॥

१२।२६

* प्रयोजनवशादेति इति पाठान्तरम् ।

Kauṭilya says in his Arthaśāstra : क्रियाविशेषिताः (v. 1. विशेषकाः) प्रादय उपसर्गाः, अव्ययाश्चादयो निपाताः । ८२।१

The Nāṭyaśāstra (xv) of Bharata defines nipāta thus :

प्रातिपदिकार्थयोगाद्वातुच्छन्दो निरुक्तयुक्तया च ।

यस्मान्निपतन्ति पदे तस्मात्प्रोक्ता निपातास्तु ॥

K. uses nipāta without defining it ; e.g., ओदन्ता अ इ उ आ निपाताः स्वरे प्रकृत्या । i. 3. 1. Durga, the commentator, explains it thus : निश्चितः पात एषामिति निपाताः । अर्थाभिधानेषु स्वक्रियायामसमर्थाश्चादयोऽव्ययाः सिद्धाः । तथा चाह—नामाख्यातप्रयोगेष्वर्थादभिन्ना निपतन्तीति निपाताः ।

J. uses the first syllable ni for nipāta. Mu. follows J. Śāk. uses cādi for nipāta. Hc. follows Śāk. Sam. uses avyaya for nipāta also. Su. follows Pāṇini. Following in the foot-steps of K, PR. uses nipāta without defining it in ओदन्ता निपाता अ इ उ च केवलास्तद्वत् i. 79. The commentary Prabhā-prakāśikā says : निपात्यन्ते यथाकथञ्चित् साधु क्रियन्त इति कर्मणि घञ् । ते चात्राव्ययाः ।

निपाताश्चोपसर्गाश्च धातवश्चेति ते त्रयः ।

अनेकार्थाः स्मृताः सर्वे पाठस्तेषां निदर्शनम् ॥

इयन्त इति संख्यानां निपातानां न विद्यते ।

प्रयोजनवशादेते निपतन्ति पदे पदे ॥

Curiously enough HN. does not disdain to use the term nipāta.

पा० । प्रागोश्वरान्निपाताः । चादयोऽसत्त्वे । प्रादयः ।

१।४।५६-५८

जै० । निः । चादिरसत्त्वे । प्रादिः । १।२।१५६-१५८

स० क० । प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः । १।१।११७

हृदयहारिणी । अर्थाश्चैषां समुच्चयादयोऽनेकप्रकारा लोकोतो
वेदतश्चावगन्तव्याः । यदाहुः—उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्तीति निपाताः ।

केऽप्येषां द्योतकाः केऽपि वाचकाः कोऽप्यनर्थकाः ।

आगमा इव कोऽपि स्युः सम्भूयार्थस्य वाचकाः ॥

[Cf. वा० प० २।१९४]

भोजः । जात्यादिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानुपग्राहित्वेनासत्त्वभूतार्थाभि-
धायिनोऽलिङ्गसंख्याशक्तय उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्तीत्यव्ययविशेषा
एव चादयो निपाताः ।...ते खलु विध्यर्था अर्थवादाः अनु-
वादार्था निषेधार्था विधिनिषेधार्था अविधिनिषेधार्थाश्चेति षोढा
सम्भवन्ति ।

है० । चादयोऽसत्त्वे १।१।३१

मु० । चादिर्निर्निः । १६ ।

सा० । चादिर्निपातः । ७।१९

ह० । चादयो निपातसंज्ञाः । १।३६२

It is interesting to note that nipāta is used in practically
the opposite sense of accidentally by Aśvaghoṣa in his Buddha-
carita ii. 54 :

एवं स धर्मे विविधं चकार सद्भिर्निपातं स्तुतितश्च सिद्धम् ।

दृष्ट्वा कथं पुत्रमुखं सुतो मे वनं न यायादिति नाथमानः ॥

Similarly in Saundaranada xvii. 31 also nipāta is used in
the sense of established, observed. In cases like these the
word is the past participle of the root pā to protect preceded
by ni.

Nipāta is used in its technical sense by Aśvaghoṣa in Saundara xii. 12 :

न तु कामात्मनस्तस्य केन चिज्जगृहे धृतिः ।
त्रिषु कालेषु सर्वेषु निपातोऽस्तिरिव स्मृतः ॥

This stanza has been misunderstood by many scholars. The reference here is to sentences like Bhavabhūti's :

उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा ।
कालो ह्ययं निर्वधिर्निपुला च पृथ्वो ॥

AVYAYA

Avyaya literally means that which undergoes no change and was probably applied first to the supreme deity. Transferred to the province of grammar it meant indeclinable. We find in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 6) :

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥ [महाभाष्यम् १।१।३७]

This is expanded in the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1.38) into :

न व्येतीत्यव्ययमिति । क पुन न व्येति ? स्त्रीपुत्रपुंसकानि
सत्त्वगुणाः, एकत्वद्वित्वबहुत्वानि च । एतानर्थान् केचिद् वियन्ति,
केचिन्न वियन्ति । ये न वियन्ति तदव्ययम् ।

Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabdakaustubha on "svarādi-nipātam avyayam" i. 1.37: अव्ययसंज्ञाया अन्वर्थत्वम् आथर्वणे प्रणवविद्यायां
श्रुतिरपि दर्शयति—सदृशम्...इति । एतेषु यन्न व्येति किन्तु
सदृशम् एकप्रकारम् तद् अव्ययमिति योजना । यद् वा, यस्मान्न

व्येति तस्मादव्ययमिति । त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सदृशम्, लिङ्गविशेष-
प्रतिपादने सामर्थ्याभावादिति भावः । विभक्तिषु कारकेषु, वचनेषु
चैकत्वादिसंख्यासु । अव्ययीभावस्य यद्यपि लिङ्गकारकसंख्या-
योगोऽस्ति तथापि वचनादव्ययत्वम् ।

“Vyaya” is found in the Nirukta in the sense in which it
occurs in “avyaya” . दृष्टव्यं तु भवति उत त्वं सख्ये स्थिरपीतमाहुः
i.8. Here Yāska says that not only the form ‘tvah’ occurs, the
forms ‘tvam’ etc. containing different case-endings are also met
with. . “Dr̥ṣṭa-vyaya” occurs again in Nirukta v. 23 in the same
sense. Similarly in VP. we find “vyayavānś cāntah” ii. 26
which is explained thus by Uvaṭa : अन्तःशब्दो द्विविधः—व्ययवान्
अव्ययवांश्च । यस्य विभक्त्यादिभिर्विकारो न क्रियते सोऽव्ययवान् ।
तथात्रोक्तम्—सदृशम्...इति । यस्य पुनर्विभक्त्यादिभर्विकारः
क्रियते स व्ययवान् ।

In BD. also we find “saṁkhyā vibhakti-vyaya-liṅga-yukto
bhāvah’ i. 45.

The word “Avyaya” is also found in CA. (ii. 48, iv. 71). APr.
(ii. 2) and Uṇādisūtra ii 65.

Upasarga and Nipāta would appear to be older terms than
Avyaya, since it is not mentioned in the traditional enumeration
of parts of speech, viz., nāman, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipāta.

Pāṇini evidently divides all parts of speech into ‘subanta’,
and ‘tīñanta’ (vyayavant’ of the older grammarians) and
‘avyay’. The last embraces nipāta, gati, upasarga, karma-prava-
canīya and other indeclinables. In more ancient times the
upasargas were probably more numerous comprising some later

“gatis (cf. BD. ii. 95) and all those indeclinables that were not regarded as upasarga were designated nipāta.

Pāṇini does not define ‘avyaya’. He simply enumerates them in svarādi-nipātam avyayam i. 1.37 and following rules.

K., Candra, Sāk., Hc., Su, Sam (i. 102 ff.) and PR. also use the word.

J. uses “jhi” for ‘avyaya’. (cf. *gi*, *ni*, and *ti*). Probably the author took the word ‘jhaṭiti’ as the type of avyas. It is clear from his definition “asaṁkhyam jhi” i.1.74 that ‘asaṁkhyā’ was the word in general use in his circle and Candra actually uses it for avyāya. Asaṁkhyā, no doubt can be much more easily understood than avyaya, but in such rules as ṣaṣṭyāḍer asaṁkhyādeh (Candra iv. 2. 54) etc. it causes ambiguity. Candra also uses “sasaṁkhyā” (cf. early ‘vyayavant’) for “anavyaya”, e.g., sasaṁkhyād amah kyaj vā i. 1. 24.

“Asaṁkhyā” is preferred to “aliṅga”, because “yuṣmad,” “asmad” etc, show no difference of gender (nāntā samkhyā ḍatir yuṣmad asmacca syur aliṅgakāh PR.), though they are not indeclinables. “Aliṅge yuṣmad-asmaḍi” is a well-known grammatical dictum. In the Śākaṭāyana-prakriyā-saṁgraha the declension of ‘yuṣmad’ and ‘asmaḍ’ is shown under the heading : athāliṅgam. yuṣmad-asmaḍ-chabdhāv ucyete.

Jhi did not commend itself to Vopadeva (who generally avoids jh in his technical terms), because it bears no resemblance to the word ‘avyaya’ and probably also because in the system of Pāṇini it stands for a well-known verbal ending (-anti). So

he used the second syllable 'vya' to denote 'avyaya'. In the Jainendra system 'vya' stands for the kṛtya suffixes, being the second syllable of 'tavya'. In RT. 'vya' stands for 'tālavya' being its last syllable.

पा० । स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् । १।१।३७ ।

जै० । तत्तस्मात्त्राशसकृत्वसुसुज्वद्धाम्नामनुसुम्भिडाभत्य-
न्यक्स्वारादयो भिः १।१।८८ । असंख्यं भिः । महावृत्तिः १।१।७४ ।

शा० । तस्-वन्-डाम्-अघण्तस्यांक्लान्तुन्तिसुङ्गभास्वरादी-
न्यव्ययम् १।१।३९ ।

शृङ्गारप्रकाशः । प्रायेणालिङ्गसंख्याशक्तीन्यव्ययानि । तानि
पोढा— अव्ययनिपातगत्युपसर्ग-कर्मप्रवचनीय-विभक्तिप्रतिरूपक-
भेदात् । तेषु प्रायेण शक्तिसंख्यायोगात् स्वरादिन्यव्ययानि ।

हे० । स्वरादयोऽव्ययम् । चादयोऽसत्त्वे । १।१।३०।३१

अन्वर्थसंज्ञा चेयमव्ययमिति । लिङ्ग-कारक-विभक्ति-नानात्वेऽपि
न नानारूपतां प्रतिपद्यते । बृहद्वृत्तिः । न व्येति न नानात्वं गच्छति
सत्त्वधर्मान् न गृह्णातीत्यन्वर्थसिद्धिः । न्यासः ।

मु० । स्वरादि-नि-चित्-त्यं व्यम् । ९५ [नि=निपात, त्य=
प्रत्यय, व्य=अव्यय ।]

सु० । स्वरादि-चादि-वदादि-तद्धित-क्त्वा-मान्तकृदव्ययम् ।

१।१।२५

प्र० । स्वरादि-प्रादि-रूर्यादिरा वतेर्धादितद्धिताः ।

विभक्त्याभाः कामसन्ध्यक्षरान्ताश्च कृतोऽव्ययाः ॥

१।४५० वृत्तिः ।

ह० । स्वरादि-चादि-वदादि-तद्धिताः का मान्तश्च कृदव्ययम् ।

१।३६०

श्रीसहस्रनामसमर्पणमस्तु ।

Appendix-I

Pāṇini as a Poet

Kshitish Ch. Chatterji

Indian tradition has since a fairly early period connected the grammarian Pāṇini with a poem entitled the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* or *Pātālaviijaya*. There can be no doubt that these two names refer to the same poem, for we often find quotations with इति विजयः at the end. Cf., e.g., *Durghaṭavṛtti* on III.2.162 करीन्द्रबन्धच्छिदुरं मृगेन्द्रमिति विजयः and *Supadmamakaraṇḍa* on II.3.79 कथमपश्यती वत्समिवेन्दुबिम्बमिति विजयकाव्यम्? तत्र मुनिः प्रष्टव्यः।* Now if these were two different works, commentators would not have simply mentioned विजय but would have stated the names in full in order to avoid confusion.

Several verses, some of them of exquisite beauty, are also ascribed to Pāṇini in the anthologies, but it is difficult to say whether they are from the *Vijayakāvya* or not as no manuscript of the poem has yet been discovered. The verses, however, do not appear to be the work of one author and, in all probability, most of them do not occur in the *Vijayakāvya*.

The following verse from the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* distinctly refers to the son of Dākṣī as a great poet :

सुबन्धौ भक्तिर्नः क इह रघुकारे न रमते
धृतिर्दाक्षीपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि हृदयम्।
विशुद्धोक्तिः शूरः प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिर-
स्तथाप्यन्तर्मोदं कमपि भवभूतिर्वितनुते ॥

We have reverence for Subandhu. Who is there in this world that finds no delight in the author of Raghu? We are pleased with the son of Dākṣī, and Haricandra wins our heart. Śūra excels in purity of diction and the words of Bhāravi are

* तत्र मुनिप्रदिष्टमिति पाठान्तरम्।

sweet by nature. Still Bhavabhūti affords an indescribable pleasure to our hearts.

From the *Mahābhāṣya* [१।१।२०] we learn that the prince of grammarians was the son of Dākṣī : सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः ।

In the *Hārāvali* (as also in the *Sūktimūktāvali*) there is a verse attributed to Rājaśekhara which takes us a bit farther inasmuch as it mentions the name of Pāṇini's poem.

स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रसादतः ।

आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जाम्बवतीजयम् ॥

Hail to Pāṇini who, by the grace of Rudra, first composed a grammar and then the poem *Jāmbavatījaya*.

In his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Chap. X), however, Rājaśekhara includes Pāṇini among the *Śāstrakāras* and not among the *Kāvyakāras*. Says Rājaśekhara : —

श्रूयते चोज्जयिन्यां काव्यकारपरीक्षा —

इह कालिदासमेण्ठावत्रामररूपसूरभारवयः ।

हरिचन्द्रचन्द्रगुप्तौ परीक्षिताविह विशालायाम् ॥

श्रूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रकारपरीक्षा —

अत्रोपवर्षवर्षाविह पाणिनिपिङ्गलाविह व्याडिः ।

वररुचिपतञ्जली इह परीक्षिताः ख्यातिमुपाजग्मुः ॥

Tradition tells us of the examination of the composers of poems at Ujjainī : Here were examined Kālidāsa and Meṇṭha, here Amara, Rūpa, Sūra and Bhāravi, here in this Viśālā were examined Haricandra and Candragupta.

Tradition also tells us of the examination of the composers of the *Śāstras* at Pāṭaliputra : Here were examined Upavarṣa and Varṣa, here Pāṇini and Piṅgala, here Vyāḍi, here Vararuci and Patañjali, and thereby they all attained fame.

Kṣemendra in his *Suṃvṛttatilaka* (III. 30) speaks of Pāṇini's excellence in the handling of the *Upajāti* metre.

स्पृहणीयत्वचरितं (?) पाणिनेरुपजातिभिः ।

चमत्कारैकसाराभिरुद्यानस्येव जातिभिः ॥

Pāṇini's skill in *Upajāti* makes him enviable just as a garden is lovable because of its charming jasmines.

Namisaḍhu in his commentary on Rudraṭā's *Kāvyaḷaṃkāra* II. 8. says :

“अपशब्दनिरासश्च यद्यपि व्युत्पत्तिद्वारेणैव कृतस्तथापि महाकवीनामप्य-
पशब्दपातदर्शनात् तन्निरासादरख्यापनाय पुनरभियोगः । तथाहि पाणिनेः पातालविजये महाकाव्ये
— ‘सन्ध्यावधूं गृह्य करेण’ त्यत्र गृह्येति क्त्वो ल्यवादेशः । तथा तस्यैव कवेः —

गतेऽर्धरात्रे परिमन्दमन्दं गर्जन्ति यत् प्रावृषि कालमेघाः ।

अपश्यती वत्समिवेन्दुबिम्बं तच्छर्वरी गौरिव हुङ्करोति ॥

इत्यत्र पश्यतीति लुप्तन्तीनकारं पदम्” इति ।

Though the author has already spoken of *Vyutpatti** by means of which incorrect words should find no place in a composition, yet he refers to that topic again, to show that one should take particular care to keep one's composition free from incorrect words (and expressions), because even great poets are found to have been caught in the net of *apaśabdas*. Thus in the *Pātālavijaya-kāvya* of Paṇini in the expression सन्ध्यावधूं गृह्य करेण गाढम् (having held fast the evening bride with his hand) ल्यप् has been substituted for क्त्वा (though it is grammatically indefensible). Then again in the verse गतेऽर्धरात्रे etc. of the very same writer we find the word अपश्यती where the न् of न्ती has been (wrongly) dropped.

In the fourteenth century Vidyādhara writes in his *Ekāvalī* (I. 3-6) :

पाणिनिप्रमुखैस्तैस्तैः शब्दशास्त्रविशारदैः ।

इह तावन्निधा शास्त्रमभ्यधीयत तत्र च ॥

शब्दप्रधानं वेदाख्यं प्रभुसम्मितमुच्यते ।

ईषदप्यन्यथाभावे दृश्यते दुरितं यतः ॥

इतिहासादिकं शास्त्रं मित्रसम्मितमुच्यते ।

अस्यार्थवादारूपत्वात् कथ्यतेऽर्थप्रधानता ॥

ध्वनिप्रधानं काव्यं तु कान्तासम्मितमीरितम् ।

शब्दार्थौ गुणतां नीत्वा व्यञ्जनप्रवर्णं यतः ॥

* Rudraṭā defines व्युत्पत्ति thus :

छन्दोव्याकरणकलालोकस्थितिपदपदार्थविज्ञानात् ।

युक्तायुक्तविवेको व्युत्पत्तिरियं समानेन ॥

The plain meaning of the *ślokas* is : Pāṇini and other scholars who are well-versed in all branches of learning have divided all the *Śāstras* in this world into three classes, viz., प्रभुसम्मित, मित्रसम्मित and कान्तासम्मित. Of these the Vedas where the words are of primary importance are said to be प्रभुसम्मित, because any mistake, ever so slight, in reciting the text gives rise to sin. History and allied sciences are known as मित्रसम्मित (like a friend). In them the sense is said to be of primary importance as they are of the nature of अर्थवाद. *Śāstras* where the suggested sense is prominent are said to be कान्तासम्मित (like one's beloved), because there the words and their ordinary meanings are of secondary importance, the suggested sense being of primary importance.

Now we do not find anything like such a division either explicitly stated or suggested in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. So we are driven to the conclusion that the author of the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* must have entered into such a discussion in the introduction to his poem.

Later writers have indeed tried to show that almost all the defects of composition dealt with in the science of Rhetoric have been hinted at by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and his two followers — Kātyāyana and Patāñjali. The commentator on the *Vyaktiviveka*, for instance, says :

यदेतदिह ग्रन्थकृता विचारसरणिमाश्रित्य विधेयाविमर्शादिदोषपञ्चकमुद्भावितं न तत्राद्यतनपुरुषमात्रबुद्धिप्रणयनासूययानादरः करणीयः, पूर्वैरेवंविधदोषोद्भावनरूपस्य विचारस्य प्रणीतत्वात्। तथाहि दास्याः पुत्र इत्यादावाक्रोशे षष्ठ्या अलुक् प्रतिपादयता सूत्रकृता विधेयाविमर्शः सूचित एव। तथा “स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायाद ...” [२।३।३९] इत्यत्र सूत्रे “न हि भवति गवां स्वामी अश्वेषु च” इति वदता भाष्यकृता स्फुटमेव प्रक्रमभेदः प्रतिपादितः। तथा “कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि” [३।१।४०] इत्यत्रानुप्रयोगस्यानुशब्दपर्यालोचनया व्यवहितपूर्वप्रयोगं “तं पातयां प्रथममास” [४।१।६१] इत्यादौ निषेधता, चादीनां च “न हि भवति च वृक्षः” इत्यादिना प्रयोगनियमख्यापनेन द्योतकत्वं कथयता अस्थानप्रयोगलक्षणः क्रमभेदः कटाक्षितः एव। तथा “कर्मधारयमत्वर्थीयाभ्यां बहुव्रीहिर्लघुत्वात् स्यात्” इति वृत्तिलाघवं चिन्तयता कात्यायनेन पौनरुक्त्यमपि प्रकाशितमेव।* तथा “ईषदसमाप्तौ ...” [५।३।६७] इत्यत्र

* I have not been able to trace the वार्तिक, but see Mahābhāṣya ed. Kielhorn Vol. I. p. 404.11.15-16.

प्रतिज्ञानसमधिगम्यं सूत्रकारोक्तं रूपकलक्षणमथ दूषयता प्रकृत्यर्थसदृशे कल्पबादिविधानमिति प्रतिज्ञानसमधिगम्यार्थभूतामुपमां व्यवस्थापयतोपमाश्रयेण वाच्यावचनमपि द्योतितमेव। एतेन रूपकाश्रयेणावाच्यवचनमपि द्योतितमेव। तदेवं महाविदुषां मार्गमनुसृत्य सहृदयशिक्षादराय विचारयतोऽस्य न कश्चित् पर्यनुयोगलेशस्यावसर इत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन।

[*Vyaktiviveka*, Trivandrum edition pp. 15-16].

As against this we have the general consensus of opinion that a grammarian is constitutionally incapable of composing or appreciating poetry. As Dharmadatta says :

सवासनानां सभ्यानां रसस्यास्वादानं भवेत्।
निर्वासनास्तु रङ्गान्तः काष्ठकुड्याश्मसन्निभाः ॥ —

where निर्वासनाः is explained as grammarians and Mīmāṃsakas. Similarly Kṣemendra in his *Kavikanṭhābharaṇa* remarks : —

यस्तु प्रकृत्याश्मसमान एव कष्टेन वा व्याकरणेन नष्टः।
तर्केण दग्धोऽनलधूमिना वाप्यविद्धकर्णः सुकविप्रबन्धैः ॥ १।२२ ॥
न तस्य वक्तृत्वसमुद्भवः स्याच्छिक्षाविशेषैरपि सुप्रयुक्तैः।
न गर्दभो गायति शिक्षितोऽपि सन्दर्शितः पश्यति नार्कमन्धः ॥ १।२३ ॥
कुर्वीत साहित्यविदः सकाशे श्रुतार्जनं काव्यसमुद्भवाय।
न तार्किकं केवलशाब्दिकं वा कुर्याद्गुरुं सूक्तिविकासविघ्नम् ॥ १।२५ ॥

He who is by nature like a block of stone, or has been spoiled by a grinding in grammar, or consumed by arguments about fire and smoke or whose ears have never been penetrated by the composition of good poets, in him eloquence can never be engendered even by the best training imparted in the best way; an ass, though ever so well-trained, does not sing, nor does a blind man see the sun even when pointed out. One should acquire learning from a *litterateur* for the creation of poetry. One should never have as his instructor a dialectician or a mere grammarian, both of whom are prejudicial to the unfolding of poetic genius.

Then again we find in a *subhāṣita* —

नैव व्याकरणज्ञमेति पितरं न भ्रातरं तार्किकं
दूरात् सङ्कुचितेव गच्छति पुनश्चाण्डालवच्छान्दसात्।

मीमांसानिपुणं नपुंसकमिति ज्ञात्वा निरस्तादरा
काव्यालङ्कारणज्ञमेत्य कविता कान्ता वृणीते स्वयम् ॥

The muse of poetry never comes to her father the grammarian, nor to her brother the dialectician, shrinks from and gives a wide berth to the Vedic scholar as though he were a Caṇḍāla, thinks the Mīmāṃsaka a eunuch and loses all regard for him, but when she meets the person versed in *Kāvya* and rhetoric she chooses him as her husband of her own accord.

Another *subhāṣita* tells us —

सम्पर्केण कुतर्काणां तर्कव्याकरणस्मृशाम् ।
उड्डीयते रसः खण्डैः पावकेनेव पारदः ॥

In connexion with vicious arguments relating to Logic and Grammar all poetry evaporates like mercury in fire.

It is indeed difficult to find a first-rate poet who was at the same time an expert grammarian. Kālidāsa, no doubt, was well-read in grammar as is clear from the many grammatical similes found in his works, but he never was engrossed with the mere form of words nor lavished all his skill and energy on the framing of grammatical rules. It has been well said :

यः स्यात् केवललक्ष्यणरतो नो तर्कसम्पर्कभृ-
न्नालङ्कारविचारचारुधिषणः काव्यज्ञशिक्षोज्झितः ।
तस्माच्चेद्रसशालिकाव्यमुदयेदेकान्ततः सुन्दरं
प्रासादो धवलस्तदा क्षितिपतेः काकस्य काष्ण्याद् भवेत् ॥*

We must therefore have very strong grounds before we can pronounce the prince of grammarians to be the same person as the writer of some of the exquisite verses attributed to Pāṇini.

We shall now proceed to discuss the *ślokas* one by one.

असौ गिरेः शीतलकन्दरस्थः

पारावतो मन्मथचाटुदक्षः ।

घर्मालसाङ्गीं मधुराणि कूजन्

संवीजते पक्षपुटेन कान्ताम् ॥ १ ॥

Saduktikarnāmrta V. 21.

Yonder dove, sitting in the cool cleft of the hill and skilled in love's caresses, fans with his wings his dear mate wearied with heat and coos sweet things (in her ears).

धर्मालसाङ्गी is अपाणिनीय।

मधुराणि कूजन् hardly sounds like Sanskrit. The correct reading would appear to be मधुरं हि कूजन्, as in Sanskrit adverbs are used in the singular number. In the English translation I have construed मधुराणि with a noun understood, according to Vāmana's dictum विशेषणमात्रप्रयोगो विशेष्यप्रतिपत्तौ [5.1.10] i.e. an adjective alone may be used when the sense of the substantive is clear from the context.

संवीजते is अपाणिनीय for Pāṇini does not mention the root वीज in his धातुपाठ. Further, one does not expect such loose expressions as गिरेः शीतलकन्दरस्थः from the pen of Pāṇini

This verse, however, is a fine piece of poetry, almost every epithet being highly suggestive. It is reminiscent of Māgha's हिमऋतावपि ताः स्म भृशस्विदः (VI.61). The metre is उपजाति।

उदबद्धेभ्यः सुदूरं घनजनिततमः पूरितेषु द्रुमेषु
प्रोद्ग्रीवं पश्य पादद्वयनमितभुवः श्रेणयः फेरवाणाम्।
उल्कालोकैः स्फुरद्भिर्निजवदनदरीसर्पिर्भिर्वीक्षितेभ्य-
श्च्योततू सान्द्रं वसाम्भः कथितशववपुर्मण्डलेभ्यः पिवन्ति † ॥ २ ॥

Ibid., V.363.

See how the troops of jackals plant their hind legs on the ground and, with outstretched necks, drink the thick fat that drips from the rows of boiling corpses hung too high on the trees that are enveloped in deeper and deeper darkness and revealed to them only by the light of the flickering flames that issue from the cavities of their own mouths.

Aufrecht reads उदबद्धेभ्य and construes it with सुदूरम्. He translates 'far from all beings that are lying awake' (fern von allen wachenden Wesen). Böhtlingk suggests उदबद्धेभ्यः which seems to be the correct reading, though cases of such extreme

† d (तेभ्यो) द्योततू ... रसाम्भः v.l.

दूराव्य are rare even in Sanskrit*. I do not understand why European scholars generally read कुथित for कथित. Aufrecht notices the variant रसाभः ... कथितशववपुः and in the *Mālatī-Mādhava* v. 18 (which undoubtedly is the original) we read कथनपरिगलन्मेदसः.

There is not the slightest doubt that the correct reading is कथित meaning 'that are being boiled or scorched'. उल्कालोकैः. There is a belief that when jackals howl at night their mouths emit fire, Cf. *Raghu* XVI. 12 नदन्मुखोल्काविचितामिषाभिः स बाह्यते राजपथः शिवाभिः and *Bhāgavata* 1.14.12 शिवैपोद्यन्तमादित्यमभिरौत्यमलानना.

चञ्चत्पक्षाभिघातं ज्वलितहुतवहप्रौढधाम्नश्चितायाः
क्रोडाद्व्याकृष्टमूर्तेरहमहमिकाया चण्डचञ्चु ग्रहेण ।
सद्यस्तप्तं शवस्य ज्वलदिव पिशितं भूरि जग्ध्वार्धदग्धं
पश्यान्तः प्लुष्यमाणः प्रविशति सलिलं सत्वरं गृध्रवृद्धः ॥ ३ ॥

Saduktikarṇāmṛta V. 364.

See how the old vulture, with a fierce blow of his beak, gulps down in a moment a great lump of half-burnt flesh from the corpse, hot, and seeming to be itself on fire, the body being dragged out in great eagerness from the middle of the pyre the blaze of which is heightened as its fire is fanned by the beating of his wings and then burning within, plunges eagerly into water.

As the second syllable in क्रोडाद्व्याकृष्टमूर्तेः is not distinct in Mss., Peterson following Böhtlingk reads क्रोडव्याकृष्टमूर्तेः. Aufrecht's reading क्रोडाद्व्याकृष्टमूर्तेः is better and appears to have been the original reading. Of course in both cases we must have recourse to the dictum सापेक्षत्वेऽपि गमकत्वात् समासः. अहमहमिकाया does not seem to be very appropriate here. Moreover it is अपाणिनीय.

The above two verses contain a powerful description of the burning ground and are evidently from the same pen. The metre in both is स्तम्भरा. They present several points of similarity with

* Cf., however, *Māgha* X. 56.

आवृत्तान्यपि निरन्तरमुच्चैर्योषितामुरसिजद्वितयेन ।

रागिणमित इतो विमृशद्भिः पाणिभिर्जगृहिरे हृदयानि ॥

Bhavabhūti's description in the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, act V and are clearly the production of a much later period than that of Pāṇini.

कह्लारस्पर्शगर्भैः शिशिरपरिचयात् कान्तिमद्भिः कराग्रै-
 श्चन्द्रेणालिङ्गितायास्तिमिरनिवसने स्त्रंसमाने रजन्याः ।
 अन्योन्यालोकिनीभिः परिचयजनितप्रेमनिस्स्यन्दिनीभि-
 र्दूरारूढे प्रमोदे हसितमिव परिस्पष्टमाशासखीभिः ॥ ४ ॥

Saduktikarṇāmyta I, 411.

When the moon took his lady the Night in his arms (rays) cold with the touch of white lilies and charming on account of its acquaintance with the winter and Night's garment of darkness fell, methinks her friends, the East, the West, the South and the North, looking at each other and raining down the love begotten of old acquaintance, smiled brightly in their ecstasy of delight.

The metre is *स्रग्धरा*. This is a very fine verse and fully worthy of one of the great Sanskrit poets. It is clear from the metre and diction that it could not have emanated from the pen of Pāṇini. It must have been composed by a poet or rhetorician as an instance of *समासोक्ति*. In the first line *शिशिरपरिचयात् कान्तिमद्भिः* is not quite clear, as it is difficult to understand how their acquaintance with the winter can endow them with charm. *शिशिरपरिचयात्* may also be construed with *कह्लारस्पर्शगर्भैः* though the rhythm is against such a construction, but even then the sense will not be happy. Aufrecht compares this verse with *उपोदरागेण* ।

पाणौ पद्मधिया मधूककुसुमभ्रान्त्या तथा गण्डयो-
 नीलेन्दीवरशङ्कया नयनयोर्बन्धूकबुद्ध्याधरे ।
 लीयन्ते कबरीभरे निजकुलव्यामोहजातस्पृहा
 दुर्वारा मधुपाः कियन्ति तरुणि स्थानानि रक्षिष्यसि ॥ ५ ॥

Ibid., II, 606. Given anonymously (कस्यापि) in *Subhāṣitāvalī* 2037 where the reading is slightly different.*

"They settle on your hand taking it to be a lotus, on your

* फुलेन्दीवरशङ्कया नयनयोर्बन्धूकबुद्ध्याधरे पाण्योः पद्मधिया मधूककुसुमभ्रान्त्या तथा गण्डयोः लीयन्ते कबरीषु वान्धवजनप्रीतिप्रवृद्धस्पृहा दुर्वारा मधुपाः कियन्ति भवति स्थानानि रक्षिष्यति ॥

cheeks which they mistake for Madhūka flowers, on your eyes deeming these to be blue lotuses, on your nether lip because they think that a *Bandhūka* flower, they merge in your dark tresses to which they feel attracted because they take them to be a swarm of their companions : truly the bees are hard to get rid of; how many parts of your body, my girl, will you be able to guard?"

The metre is शार्दूलविक्रीडित. This is an excellent example of the Figure of Speech known as भ्रान्तिमान्.

This verse is ascribed to अचल in the शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति and पद्यरचना and given anonymously in the सुभाषितावलि and कवीन्द्रवचनसमुच्चय. It is only in the सदुक्तिकर्णामृत of श्रीधरदास that it is attributed to Pāṇini. Acala was a great poet and it is just possible that this was from his pen. नीलेन्दीवर* is tautologous and should be read फुल्लेन्दीवर ।

पाणौ शोणतले* तनूदरि दरक्षामा कपोलस्थली
विन्यस्ताञ्जनदिग्धलोचनजलैः किं म्लानिमानीयते ।
मुग्धे चुम्बतु नाम चञ्चलतया भृङ्गः क्वचित् कन्दली-
मुन्मीलन्नवमालतीपरिमलः किं तेन विस्मर्यते ॥ ६ ॥

Skm. 2.240; *Kavīन्द्रavacanasamuccaya* (anon) 364.

Why, lady with the slender waist, do you spoil with tears stained by eyesalve the lustre of your lovely cheek which is resting on your reddened palm and which is already slightly wasted. Foolish one, the bee in fickleness may kiss the Kandali flower, but does he, on that account, forget the fragrance of the blooming young jasmine?

मुखानि चारूणि घनाः पयोधरा
नितम्बपृथ्व्यो जघनोत्तमश्रियः ।
तनूनि मध्यानि च यस्य सोऽभ्यगात्
कथं नृपाणां द्रविडीजनो हृदः ॥ ७ ॥

Saduktikarnāmṛta 2.88

The Draviḍa damsels whose faces are fair, breasts heaving, buttocks wide, and waists slender, how did even these Draviḍa damsels go out of the heart of kings?

In the printed works the last word of the third time is

* शोणतमे v.l.

सोऽभ्यगात् which cannot be construed with the ablative in हृदः. Hence I have proposed the emendation सोऽप्यगात्. The second line is open to the defect known as भग्नप्रक्रमता and the compounds नितम्बपृथ्व्यः and जघनोत्तमश्रियः are not happy. The substitution of गृहान् for हृदः as suggested by Aufrecht is out of the question, and Böhlingk's emendation of इदम् for हृदः hardly gives any meaning.

It may be noted in this connection that the word द्रविड does not occur in Pāṇini.

गतेऽर्धरात्रे परिमन्दमन्दं
गर्जन्ति यत् प्रावृषि कालमेघाः
अपश्यती वत्समिवेन्दुबिम्बं
तच्छर्वरी गौरिव हुङ्करोति ॥ ८ ॥

Quoted by Namisādhū in Rudraṭa's *Kavyālaṃkāra* II. 8 from the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* of Pāṇini; also quoted anonymously in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* I where for कालमेघाः we read नीलमेघाः and for तच्छर्वरी we read तं शर्वरी।

The very dull rumble of the dark clouds after midnight during the rains is but the low cry of the night unable to find out the disc of the moon even as the cow bellows that cannot find her calf.

परिमन्दमन्दम् is difficult to explain according to the rules of Pāṇini. We should either say परिमन्दम् or मन्दमन्दम्. It may be noted in this connection that Māgha is very fond of the word परिमन्द. In the ninth canto of the *Śiśupālavadha* we find it used thrice (in ślokas 3, 27 and 39). In the same canto the word मन्दम् is used in śl. 61, परिमुग्धताम् in śl. 32, परिमूढताम् in 70 and परिमन्थराभिः in 78. अपश्यती is incorrect on the face of it, the augment तुम् being obligatory here according to the rule of Pāṇini शपश्यनोर्नित्यम्. The figures of sense are, however, charming.

प्रकाश्य लोकान् भगवान् स्वतेजसा
प्रभादरिद्रः सवितापि जायते।
अहो चला श्रीर्बलमानदामहो
स्पृशन्ति सर्वं हि दशाविपर्यये ॥ ९ ॥

Subhāṣitāvalī 1994.

The last two lines as printed above and as found in the

Subhāṣitāvali does not yield any sense. We may, however, read श्रीर्बलमानदाप्यहो and दशाविपर्ययाः for the last words in *c* and *d* respectively and translate thus —

Even the glorious sun becomes poor in lustre after illuminating the worlds with his light. Oh, fickle is fortune though she bestows strength and fame. No one, alas! is immune from the vicissitudes of fortune.

The metre is वंशस्थविल.

तन्वङ्गीनां स्तनौ दृष्ट्वा शिरः कम्पयते युवा ।
तयोरन्तरसंलग्नां दृष्टिमुत्पाटयन्निव ॥ १० ॥

This verse is attributed to Pāṇini in the कवीन्द्रवचनसमुच्चय (186). It is also found quoted anonymously in the *Daśarūpaka* IV.53 and *Alaṃkāratilaka* p. 14 where for *a* we have स्तनावालोक्य तन्वङ्गयाः and for *c* तयोरन्तरनिर्मग्नम्. According to the *Alaṃkāratilaka* it is a समस्यापूरण with the first hemistich.

Seeing the breasts of the slender-bodied (maidens) the youth shakes his head as though to extract his gaze riveted between them.

This verse is open to grave defects according to the rhetoricians and grammarians. In the first place the word तन्वङ्गीनां has apparently been used without any special significance. As Kṣemendra points out while criticising Dharmakīrti's poem it is the poet's passion for alliteration that has led him to use the word which does not lend the least charm to the sense. The word सुन्दरी would be very appropriate here, or other words denoting exquisite beauty and loveliness. The word तन्वी or तन्वङ्गी gives rise to charming propriety of sense only when it is used in reference to ladies pining away in separation. (अत्र तन्व्या इति पदं केवलशब्दानुप्रासव्यसनितया निबद्धं न काञ्चिदर्थोचित्यचमत्कारकणिकामाविष्करोति। सुन्दर्या इत्यत्र पदमनुरूपं स्यात् अन्यानि वा निरतिशयरूपलावण्यव्यञ्जकानि। तन्वीपदं तु विरहविधुरमणीजने प्रयुक्तमर्थोचित्यशोभां जनयति। औचित्यविचारचर्चा। * p. 117.)

It may, however, be urged on behalf of the poet that the

* Arjunavarmadeva hints at the same thing when he says अयमवश्यं गृहप्रवेशो देशान्तरादागतस्यावधार्यमाणो रसपुष्टिमाधत्ते। अत एव तन्वीति। while commenting on Amaru's verse :

word च is particularly appropriate here in as much as it lays stress on the contrast presented by the slim bodies and heaving breasts of the maidens.

The next word स्तनौ also is unfortunate, though such uses are by no means infrequent in Sanskrit. We find, for instance in *Śiśupālavadha* III. 14 प्रकाशकार्कश्यगुणौ दधानाः स्तनौ तरुण्याः परिववृरेतम् and in *Naiṣadha* XVII. 12.

तत्कर्णौ भारती दूनौ विरहाद् भीमजागिराम् ।

अध्वनि ध्वनिभिर्वर्णैरनुकल्पैर्व्यनोदयत् ॥

where तत्कर्णौ means तेषां देवानां कर्णौ .

To justify these duals Vāmana has formulated the rule : स्तनादीनां द्वित्वाविष्टा जातिः प्रायेण (*Kāvya-lamkāra* V.I.17) and in his *ṛtti* he cites the example स्तनयोस्तरुणीजनस्य. Vāmana himself is unable to explain how a word denoting a class and not individuals can express the idea of duality and says that he merely accepts the views of the Jainas for the purpose of explaining grammatical forms. अथ कथं द्वित्वाविष्टत्वं जातेः ? तद्धि द्रव्ये न जातौ, अतद्रूपत्वात् तस्याः । न दोषः, तद्रूपत्वाज्जातेः । कथं तद्रूपत्वं जातेः ? तद्धि जैना जानन्ति । वयं तु लक्ष्यसिद्धौ सिद्धपरमतानुवादिनः । न चैवमतिप्रसङ्गः, लक्ष्यानुसारित्वाभ्यायस्येति ।

Now if this verse of Pāṇini had been known to Vāmana, he would have regarded the use of the dual in स्तनौ as a ज्ञापक for such cases and would have been spared the shame of having recourse to a queer theory for explaining forms of grammar, a theory which he cannot bring himself to accept.

The next word that calls for comment is कम्पयते. According to Pāṇini's rule निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च (I.3.87) the causals of verbs meaning 'to eat' and 'to move' are exclusively *Ātmanepadī*. So the correct form according to Pāṇini is कम्पयति and not कम्पयते. In

दीर्घा वन्दनमालिका विरचिता दृष्ट्यैव नेन्दीवरैः

पुष्पाणां प्रकरः स्मितेन रचितो नो कुन्दजात्यादिभिः ।

दत्तः स्वेदमुचा पयोधरभरेणार्घो न कुम्भाम्भसा

स्वैरेवावयवैः प्रियस्य विशतस्तन्व्या कृतं मङ्गलम् ॥ (अमरुशतक १४)

In Kālidāsa तन्वी स्थिता कतिचिदेव पदानि गत्वा, Amaru's तन्व्यास्तिष्ठतु निर्भरप्रणयिता मानोऽपि रम्योदयः, etc., तन्वी is used in the sense of a beautiful girl and so the poet, even if he has erred, is in very good company.

fact in both the *Kāśikā* and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* कम्पयति is given as an example under this rule. In the *Mugdhabodha* कम्प is expressly used in the *sūtra* कम्पान्नार्थेऽङ् etc. (862). It is strange that Pāṇini himself should go out of his way to violate his own rule and that his commentators should let slip this splendid opportunity of turning this into a ज्ञापक or of using their ingenuity to explain away the solecism.

कम्पयते is no doubt found in Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and other early poets but it is अपाणिनीय all the same.

The conceit is certainly bold and ingenious but still no one in his senses would for a moment suppose that this is from the pen of any grammarian.

वलोक्य सङ्गमे रागं पश्चिमाया विवस्वतः ।

कृतं कृष्ण मुखं प्राच्या न हि नाय्यो विनेर्ष्या ॥ ११ ॥

Subhāṣitāvali, 1887; *Śāraṅgadharapaddhati* (कस्यापि) 3586.

The East sees the glow of the West at her union with the Sun and her face darkens. There is no such thing as a woman without jealousy.

Keith construes रागम् with विवस्वतः and translates : "Dark groweth the face of the East as she beholdeth the glow of the sun in union with the West. What woman is free from jealousy?" This construction is to be rejected, as a contrast is here intended between the face of the East and that of the West. At her meeting with her lover the Sun, a soft blush suffuses the cheeks of the East but this sight is too much for the West who is seized by a fit of jealousy and her face grows dark. The harmonious blending of the figures समासोक्ति, अर्थान्तरन्यास, विरोध and श्लेष gives us a most charming picture.

ऐन्द्रं धनुः पाण्डुपयोधरेण

शरदधानार्द्रनखक्षताभम् ।

प्रसादयन्ती सकलङ्कमिन्दुं

तापं रवेरभ्यधिकं चकार ॥ १२ ॥

Subhāṣitāvali 1815; quoted anonymously by Vāmana (iv.

3.27); Mahimabhaṭṭa p.75; Abhinavagupta (*Dhvanyālokalocana*), Rājānaka Ruyyaka p. 184, Viśvanātha and others.

The Autumn bearing on her pale breast the rainbow which resembles the fresh wound with the nail and thus propitiating (making free from clouds) the spotted moon added to the heat (agony) of the sun.

शुद्धस्वभावान्यपि संहतानि

निनाय भेदं कुमुदानि चन्द्रः ।

अवाप्य वृद्धिं मलिनान्तरात्मा

जडो भवेत् कस्य गुणाय वक्रः ॥ *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1968

The moon separated (caused to bloom) the compactly united Kumuda flowers though they are pure in conduct. When a person whose heart is corrupt attains greatness, he is sure to become dull i.e. deprived of all sense of propriety. To whom does a crooked man ever bring profit?

क्षपाः क्षामीकृत्य प्रसभमपहृत्याम्बु सरितां

प्रताप्योर्वी कृत्स्नां तरुगहनमुच्छोष्य सकलम् ।

क्र संप्रत्युष्णांशुर्गत इति समालोकनपरा-

स्तडिदीपालोका दिशि दिशि चरन्तीव जलदाः ॥ १४ ॥

Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa Saṃyogaśṛṅgāra vi. 24 (b); *Subhāṣitaratnākara* iii, 55 (anon.); *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, 3869; *Padyaracanā* xi, 35; *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1765; *Kavīndravacana samuccyaya*, 129 (anonymous); *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* ii, 812 (Omkaṇṭhasya); *Sūktimuktivāli* (119 b).

Where is the sun gone now, after making short the night, robbing the rivers of their water, parching all the earth and drying up every thicket? Methinks the clouds wander about in every direction bent on seeking out the sun with their torch of lightning.

अथाससादास्तमनिन्द्यतेजा

जनस्य दूरोज्झितमृत्युभीतेः ।

उत्पत्तिमद्वस्तु विनाश्यवश्यं

यथाहमित्येवमिवोपदेष्टुम् ॥ १५ ॥

Subhāṣitāvali, 1898.

Then reached his setting (the sun) of unimpeachable glory to convey, as it were, to the man who has put far from him the fear of death the lesson : Everything that is born must die as I am dying.

Would Pāṇini have used अनिन्द्यतेजाः as a substantive, अवश्यम् with विनाशि and जनस्य (genitive) with उपदेष्टुम्?

सरोरुहाक्षीणि निमीलयन्त्या
रवौ गते साधु कृतं नलिन्या ।
अक्ष्णां हि दृष्ट्वापि जगत् समग्रं
फलं प्रियालोकनमात्रमेव ॥ १६ ॥ *Ibid.*, 1899.

“The lake has done well in shutting up its lotus eyes now that the sun is gone. What profit is there is eyes that see the whole world if they see not the loved one?” (Peterson).

The use of क्त्वा in दृष्ट्वा is in clear violation of Pāṇini's rule : समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले (III.4.21).

For Pāṇini to add एव after प्रियालोकनमात्रम् is like ‘gilding refined gold’ and ‘painting the lily’.

निरीक्ष्य विद्युन्नयनैः पयोदो
मुखं निशायामभिसारिकायाः ।
धारानिपातैः सह किं नु वान्त-
श्चन्द्रोऽयमित्यार्ततरं ररास ॥ १७ ॥

Subhāṣitāvali, 1943. Quoted anonymously in *Kuvalayānanda, Alamkāra-kaustubha* p. 234, *Pratāparudratikā* etc.

In the *Alamkārasarvasva* p. 95 the reading is चन्द्रो मयेत्यार्ततरं ररास.

Observing with his lightning eyes the face of the girl going out to meet her lover, the cloud thundered his loud lament, saying to himself : “Have I with my showers let fall the moon?”

It is doubtful whether अभिसारिका in its technical sense was in use at the time of Pāṇini.

उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम् ।
यथा समस्तं तिमिरांशुकं तथा पुरोऽपि रागाद् गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥ १८ ॥

This verse is attributed to Pāṇini in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* I.412, *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1969, *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, 3634 and *Śuktimuktāvali* (139 b) of Jahana. Quoted anonymously in *Subhāṣitaratnākara* 33a 169 ii.27, *Dhvanyāloka* p. 35, *Alaṅkārasarvasva* p.83 Hc., p.274; *Alaṅkāratilaka* p.36; *Vyaktiviveka* p.2, etc.

The Moon, red with love's passion, caught the face of the Night with all her quivering starry eyes in such a manner that she noticed not how her whole mantle of darkness had slipped in answering passion to her feet.

अस्ति प्रतीच्यां दिशि सागरस्य
 वेलोर्मिगूढे हिमशैलकुक्षौ ।
 पुरातनी विक्षुतपुण्यशब्दा
 महापुरी द्वारवती च नाम्ना ॥ १९ ॥ *

Quoted as occurring in the second canto of Pāṇini's *Jāmbavatīvijaya* in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* on IV.3.23.

There is, in the cave of the Himālayas, concealed by the waves on the sea-shore in the western sea a great city named Dvāravatī hoary with age, the renown for whose sanctity has spread far and wide.

Since a very early period a fierce controversy has raged round the question as to whether यङ्लुक् is to be admitted in classical literature or not. On the question of usage Haradatta remarks : प्रसिद्धश्च तथा छान्दसो यङ्लुगिति, प्रयोगश्च चिरन्तनः पद्ये गद्ये च काव्याख्यायिकादौ विकटपदोपन्यासप्रधानैरपि कविभिर्न कृतौ दृश्यते । [पदमञ्जरी २।४।७४]

"It is well-known that यङ्लुक् is confined to the Vedas. Ancient usages, in prose and poetry, in *kāvya*s and *ākhyāyikā*s,

* Cf. अङ्गुलिभिरिव केशसञ्चयं
 सन्निगृह्य तिमिरं मरीचिभिः ।
 कुट्मलीकृतसरोजलोचनं
 चुम्बतीव रजनीमुखं शशी ॥

काव्यादर्शटीका

चञ्चच्चन्द्रकरस्पर्शहर्षोन्मीलितलोचनः ।
 अहो रागवती सन्ध्या जहाति स्वयमम्बरम् ॥
 रामायणम् ।

even in the writings of poets fond of grandiloquent phraseology, are not met with."

The *Kāśikā* does not want to restrict the scope of the *sūtra* to the Vedas. According to the author of the *Bhāgavṛtti* the form बोभवीति alone is not exclusively Vedic, all other यङ्लुगन्तु forms are purely Vedic. भागवृत्तिकारस्तु बोभवीतीत्येव न छन्दसमिति मन्यते। कातन्त्रपरिशिष्ट I.33. इह चकारेण बहुलग्रहणमनुकृष्यते, न तु छन्दसीति। तेन भाषायामन्यपि यङ्लुक्। लालपीति वावदीतीति जयादित्यः। चकाराद् बहुलं छन्दसीति सर्वमनुवर्तते। तेन बाहुल्यादन्यपि छन्दस्येव यङ्लुक्। भाष्ये तु हुश्रुग्रहणज्ञापकबलाद् बोभवीतीत्येव पदं भाषायां साधु नान्यदिति भागवृत्तिः। *Bhāṣāvṛtti* II.4.74.

The *Bhāṣyakāra* says on VI.4.87; एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद्बुश्रुग्रहणं तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो यङ्लुग् भाषायां भवतीति। किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्? वेभिदीति चेच्छिदीतीत्येतत् सिद्धं भवति भाषायामपि।

It is remarkable that neither Patañjali, nor Vāmana, nor Jayāditya, nor Jinendrabuddhi nor Haradatta nor Vimalamati should refer to जावटीति in Pāṇini's poem.

अनेन यत्रानुचितं धराधरैः
पुरातनं साजलतं महीक्षिताम्।
ददर्श सेतुं महतो जरन्तया
विशीर्णसीमन्त इवोदयश्रिया ॥ २० ॥

Quoted from the fourth canto of the same work in *Durghaṭavṛtti* IV.3.23. The *śloka* has become hopelessly corrupt and it is idle to attempt to translate it.

त्वया सहार्जितं यच्च यच्च सख्यं पुरातनम्।
चिराय चेतसि पुरस्तरुणीकृतमद्य मे ॥ २१ ॥

Quoted from the 18th canto of the same poem in *Durghaṭavṛtti* IV.3.23.

The friendship which I formed with you, the friendship which has subsisted from of old, that friendship has after a long period been renewed in my heart.

The printed *Durghaṭavṛtti* shows पुरः is *c* but sense requires पुनः. These three verses have been quoted in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* to justify the use of the word पुरातन by poets. Śaraṇadeva says : कथं दधतः पुरातनमुनेर्मुनिताम् इति भारविः, "पुराणप्रोक्तेषु —" [४।३।१०५] इत्यनेन ऋ-ऋलोर्बाधात्?

उच्यते। “अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि भवन्ति” इति ट्युट्युलौ च। “बाधकान्येव निपातनानि भवन्ति” इति भाष्ये स्थितम्। पुरातनमुनिरित्यादयः कालदुष्टा एवापशब्दा इति भागवृत्तिः। नेतत्तथा, यतः “पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः” [८।४।३] इत्यत्र भाष्ये एवोक्तम् “अनृगयनादिभ्यः” [४।३।१०५] इति निपातनाद् ऋगयनमिति सिद्धे अग इति प्रतिषेधो ज्ञापयति अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि भवन्तीति। तथा च जाम्बवतीविजये पाणिनिनोक्तम् — अस्ति प्रतीच्याम् इति द्वितीये सर्गे, अनेन यत्रानुचितम् इति चतुर्थे, त्वया सहेत्यष्टादशे च। कैयटेन तु पृषोदरादित्वात् सिद्धिरुक्ता, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि इत्यत्रोक्तम्। i.e., How is Bhāravi's line दधतः पुरातनमुनेर्मुनिताम् justifiable, for (in the case of पुरातन) ट्यु and ट्युल् have been superseded by the use of the word पुराण in the rule पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु (i.e., since Pāṇini himself has used the word पुराण derived from the word पुरा, in the sense of तत्र भवः, the rule सायंचिरम् etc. prescribing the suffixes ट्यु and ट्युल् in the case of indeclinables cannot operate in the case of पुरा though पुरा is an indeclinable, and thus the form पुरातन is incorrect). The reply is ट्यु and ट्युल् also may be added after पुरा according to the परिभाषा “अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि भवन्ति” i.e., “when forms which are contrary to ordinary rules of grammar are used in rules of Pāṇini they do not always supersede those ordinary rules”. The author of the *Bhāṅavṛtti* says : Forms in violation of ordinary rules of grammar used in the rules do supersede these ordinary rules — this is what we find in the *Bhāṣya*. Hence expressions like पुरातनमुनेः are incorrect. This is not so for it is in the *Bhāṣya* on पूर्वपदान् संज्ञायामगः that it has been said that though the absence of the substitution of ण for न in the word ऋगयन is clear from the use of the word अनृगयन with the dental न in the rule अनृगयनादिभ्यः, the prohibition of the substitution in the case of ग shows that there are निपातन; which do not supersede the ordinary rules. Thus we find Pāṇini using the word पुरातन in the *Jāmbavatīvijayakāvya* in the second, fourth and eighteenth cantos. Kaiyaṭa however justifies it by including it under the पृषोदर group. He says this on the rule सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि।

The view attributed here to the author of the *Bhāṅavṛtti* receives confirmation from the परिभाषावृत्ति of Siradeva who says on p. 79.

अन्ये त्वाहुः नेयं परिभाषा नापि भाष्यकारवचनम्। बाधकान्येव निपातनानीति “सर्वादीनि — ” [१।११।२७] इत्यादिसूत्रे व्याख्यातम्। अतएव तत्रैव सूत्रे भागवृत्तिः — पुरातनमुनेर्मुनिताम् इति [किरात ६।१९] पुरातनीर्नदीरिति [शिशुपाल ९।१०] च

प्रमादपाठावेतौ गतानुगतिकतया कवयः प्रयुञ्जते, न तेषां लक्षणं चक्षुः। [Paribhāṣāvṛtti, Benares edition pp. 139-40].

It is probably Jayāditya who first laid down the dictum अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि भवन्ति in the *Kāśikā* on IV.3.105. In the printed *Kāśikā* we read : पुराण इति निपातनानुडभावः। न वात्यन्तबाधैव तेन पुरातनमित्यपि भवति. That this was not the original reading is clear from the *Nyāsa* : पुराण इति कोऽयं शब्दः ? यावता “सायं चिरम् — ” [४।३।२३] इत्यादिना ट्युट्युलोः सन्नियोगेन टुटि कृते पुरातनमिति भवितव्यम् इत्यत आह — “पुराण इति निपातनानुडभावः।” यद्येवं, न भवति पुरातनमित्याह — न चेत्यादि। ननु बाधकान्येव निपातनानीत्यतो भवितव्यमेव बाधकेनेति — अबाधकान्यपि। अबाधकान्यपि भवन्ति। एतच्च शदेरगतौ तः [७।३।४२] इत्यत्र प्रतिपादितम्*।

This is also supported by what पुरुषोत्तमदेव says in his ललितपरिभाषाम् — अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि भवन्ति। नेयं परिभाषा नापि भाष्यवचनम्। बाधकान्येव निपातनाति भवन्तीति व्यवस्थापनाद् भाष्ये। जयादित्येन तु लक्ष्यस्थित्यनुरोधादयं दर्शितः — अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि भवन्तीति। तेन पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेष्विति निपातनस्याबाधकत्वात् “सायंचिरंप्राहेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यष्ट्यु” — इति पुराशब्दात् ट्युट्युलौ तुडागमश्च भवति। तेन दधतः पुरातनमुनेर्मुनितामिति भारवेः पुरातनी नदीरिति माधस्य च प्रयोग उपपन्नो भवति।

Bhaṭṭoji echoes this view in his शब्दकौस्तुभ on पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु. But it is strange that neither Jayāditya nor his commentators nor Bhaṭṭoji and other followers of Pāṇini should invoke the aid of one of these numerous प्रयोग's by Pāṇini himself to justify the usage. It is clear from the expressions used by the भागवृत्तिकार that in his time the *Vijayakāvya* was unknown.

हरिणा सह सख्यं ते बोभूत्विति यदब्रवीः।

न जाघटीति युक्तौ तत् सिंहद्विरदयोर्वि ॥ २२ ॥

Quoted from Pāṇini's *Jāmbavatīvijaya* in *Kātantrapariśiṣṭa* I.33. Manoramā on *Gaṇapradīpa* II.41, *Bhāṣāvṛtti* II.4.74.

What you said, viz, let there be friendship between you and Hari, cannot be supported by reason like the friendship between the lion and the elephant.

* Is प्रतिपादयिष्यते the right reading?

† Ms. in the collection of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.

The construction, as will be evident from the translation, is vicious. तत् refers to the whole sentence हरिणा सह सख्यं ते बोधूतु but इव has to be construed with सख्यम् understood after सिंहद्विरदयोः.

This verse has been quoted in almost all the later commentaries on grammar but it is significant that Jayāditya and Vāmana, Jinendrabuddhi and writers anterior to them know nothing of this verse.

अहो अहं नमो मह्यं यदुद्धृत्य सुमध्यया ।
उल्लास्य नयने दीर्घे साकाडक्षमहमीक्षितः ॥ २३ ॥

This verse is quoted 1 by सृष्टिधर in his भाषावृत्त्यर्थविवृति 1.1.15 with the remark :

इति जाम्बवतीविजयकाव्ये जाम्बवतीदर्शनोत्तरं श्रीकृष्णस्योक्तिः ।

Oh blessed am I, I bow down to myself that the girl with the slender waist turned towards me and having dilated her wide eyes cast looks of longing at me.

In the *Subhāṣitāvali* (No. 1243) it is given anonymously in a slightly different form :

अहो अहं नमो मह्यं यदहं वीक्षितोऽनया ।
वालया त्रस्तसारङ्गचपलायतनेत्रया ॥

In the *Sūktimuktāvali* it is attributed to चीयाक.

करीन्द्रदर्पच्छिदुरं मृगेन्द्रम् ॥ २४ ॥

The lion that destroys the pride of the prince of elephants.

This line is quoted from Pāṇini's *Jāmbavatīvijayakāvya* in *Bhāṣāvṛtti* III.2.162, *Supadnamakaranda* (4.1.136 करीन्द्रदर्पच्छिदुरं मृगेन्द्रमिति जाम्बवतीविजये पाणिनिः), anonymously in the *सुपन्नवृत्ति*, Rāmatarakavāgīśa's commentary on the *Mugdhabodha* (sūtra 1117) etc.

According to Jayāditya कुरच् is added to विद्, भिद् and छिद् in the कर्मकर्तृवाच्य only. Jinendrabuddhi is also of the same opinion. Vāmana, the author of the *Kāvya-lamkārasūtravṛtti* frames the rule : भिदुरादयः कर्मकर्तरि च (V.2.38) and quotes several instances of the use of भिदुर and छिदुर but करीन्द्रदर्पच्छिदुरं मृगेन्द्रं so well-known to

later commentators on grammar is conspicuous by its absence. Haradatta quotes from Māgha but not from the *Jāmbavatīvijaya*: माघस्तु शुद्धे कर्तरि प्रयुङ्क्ते — ‘गुरुमत्सरच्छिदुरयादुरयाचितमङ्गनाः. Durgasiṃha in his *vr̥tti* on Vararuci’s rule छिदिभिदिविदां कुरः says छिदिविद्योः कर्मकर्तर्येवाभिधानात्। केचिदकर्मकर्तर्यपि। दोषान्धकाराभिदुरः, दृसारिपक्षच्छिदुर इत्यपि।

If Pāṇini the grammarian had really been the author of the *Jāmbavatīvijaya*, is it conceivable that Jayāditya, Vāmana, Haradatta and others would not have invoked his authority.

पयःपृषन्तिभिः स्मृष्टा वान्ति वाताः शनैः शनैः ॥ २५ ॥

Gently blow the breezes charged with particles of water.

This is quoted from the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* in Rāyamukūṭa’s commentary on *Amara* १।६।९ [मृषन्तिविन्दुपृषता इति त्रिभिर्द्वन्द्व इत्यन्ये। तथाच ‘पयः’ ... शनैः’ इति जाम्बवतीविजयकाव्यम्] and anonymously by Raghunātha Cakravartin.

स सृक्कणीप्रान्तमसृक्प्रदिग्धं प्रलेलिहानो हरिणारिरुच्चैः ॥ २९ ॥

The lion smacking the corners of his lips besmeared with blood.

Quoted as Pāṇini’s in Rāyamukūṭa [*Amara* II.6.91 “स सृक्कणी ... उच्चैः’ इति पाणिनेर्डीवन्ता च] and anonymously in Raghunātha Cakravartin’s commentary.

रुद्रैर्बलाढ्यैर्वृषभाधिरुद्वैः सपार्षदैरम्बरमापुपूरे ॥ २७ ॥

The sky was filled with mighty Rudras seated on bulls and accompanied by their attendants.

The second half is quoted by Rāyamukūṭa on *Amara* I.1.35 (सपार्षदैरम्बरमापुपूरे इति जाम्बवत्यां पाणिनिः) and the entire hemistich quoted anonymously by Raghunātha Cakravartin.

सन्ध्यावधूं गृह्य करेण गाढम् ॥ २८ ॥

Embracing fast his bride the night with his arms (rays).

Quoted (with the exception of the last word) as Pāṇini’s by Namisādhu in his commentary on Rudraṭa’s *Kavyālaṃkāra* II.8 and anonymously in Durgādāsa’s commentary on the *Mughdhabodha* (sūtra 1277) as also on Jumarānandin’s *vr̥tti* on the *Saṅkṣiptasāra*, *Kṛdantapāda* 484.

Can any one imagine for a moment that Pāṇini the greatest grammarian that India ever produced would go out of his way to use such a vicious form as गृह्य in direct violation of his rule समासेऽनञ्पूर्वे को ल्यप् [७।१।३७]? Is there a single instance in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* where ल्यप् has been used by Pāṇini where strict grammar requires क्त्वा?

Mr. F. W. Thomas wrote in 1912 in his Introduction to the कवीन्द्रवचनसमुच्चयः "The question as to the relation between the poet and the grammarian Pāṇini and also the question as to whether the *Pātālaviṇaya* and *Jāmbavatīviṇaya* are one poem or two still await a final decision". I believe I have been able to show conclusively that the poet and the grammarian are two entirely different persons and that the *Pātālaviṇaya* and *Jāmbavatīviṇaya* are one and the same poem.

It is remarkable that the *Mahābhāṣya* which gives us so much information about the great grammarian* and which takes so much pains to turn and twist the rules of Pāṇini to make them more elastic never mentions any of Pāṇini's poems nor makes use of any of the grammatical forms contained therein as a ज्ञापक.

Not only Patañjali, Bhartṛhari, Jayāditya, Vāmana, Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta, Mādhava, Bhaṭṭoji, Nāgeśa — none of these great followers of Pāṇini mention his poem or make use of it in any way, though in some cases forms like जाघटीति would have been simply invaluable to them.

Then again, the verses that are not distinctly mentioned as belonging to the *Jāmbavatīviṇaya* contain words and expressions that would make Pāṇini stare and gasp. It cannot be urged that Pāṇini has violated his own rules in framing the sūtras of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and so there is nothing strange in his using words and

* सर्वे सर्वपदादेशः दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः (I.1.211; III.1.27).

आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः (I.4.89)

पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य (II.2.11).

शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य कृतिः (II.3.46)

उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् (III.2.108)

expressions not sanctioned by his grammar in the poem and that he might well say with the author of the *Vyaktiviveka* :

स्वकृतिष्वयन्त्रितः कथमनुशिष्यादन्यमयमिति न वाच्यम् ।

वारयति भिषगपथ्यादितराम् स्वयमाचरन्नपि तत् ॥

In the first place some latitude must always be allowed to the authors of the sūtras because they aim at securing brevity at any cost. There is a परिभाषा — अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः i.e. grammarians rejoice as at the birth of a son, if they can save merely half a *mātrā*. It is for this reason that Patañjali says छन्दोवत् सूत्राणि भवन्ति and this is why Pāṇini uses the expression लक्षणहेत्वोः instead of हेतुलक्षणयोः and समुद्राभ्रात् instead of अभ्रसमुद्रात्. These he uses deliberately with a specific end in view and consequently अश्वारूढाः कथं चाश्वान् विस्मरेयुः सचेतेसः does not apply to him. But this latitude has never been extended to poets in whose case च्युतसंस्कृति had always been held to be a नित्य fault from which there is no निष्कृति, and we can easily understand that Pāṇini would be the last person to stop to such forms as गृह्य, अपश्यती etc. The analogy of the physician also does not hold good in this case, for in the matter of language grammatical purity marks off the gentleman from the vulgar mass and so Pāṇini could never dream of using words like गृह्य and अपश्यती.

Then again, the *ślokas* attributed to Pāṇini easily fall into two groups. Those belonging to the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* often show some grammatical peculiarities and might have been written by one who dabbled in grammar. But the other *ślokas* illustrating figures of speech are of a high order and do not bear the stamp of the hard clear intellect of a grammarian, but seem to be the work of a rhetorician.*

The fact that Pāṇini as a poet is nowhere mentioned in

* In the writings of a grammarian one naturally expects to find words and expressions which have been particularly dealt with in grammatical treatises as also a certain amount of harshness. Hence the rhetorician regards harshness not as a defect but as a merit in the speech of a grammarian. As Mammaṭa says : वैयाकरणादौ वक्तरि प्रतिपाद्ये च रौद्रादौ च रसे व्यङ्ग्ये कष्टत्वं गुणः. Similarly Viśvanātha lays down :

the *Mahābhāṣya* or in any of the later first-rate works of the Pāṇini school and that annotators and commentators have racked their brains to explain away ungrammatical forms instead of regarding the uses in the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* as ज्ञापक's, that some of the verses attributed to Pāṇini in one anthology are attributed to other poets in others, that some of these verses show distinct traces of borrowings of a much later period, that none of the verses not belonging to the *Jāmbavatīvijaya* bear the stamp of the grammarian on them, that some of them seem to be composed as examples for a work on rhetoric of a much later period, clearly indicate that the verses cannot have been the work of the poet Pāṇini. The *Jāmbavatīvijaya Kāvya* or the *Pātālaviijaya Kāvya* must have been composed by a poetaster of about the ninth century A.D. who made use of many peculiar grammatical forms in it and fathered it on Pāṇini, the great grammarian.

Notes

1. घर्म्मीलसाङ्गीम् in this *śloka* and तन्वङ्गीनाम् or तन्वङ्ग्याः in *śloka* 10 are अपाणिनीय, for Pāṇini does not sanction the feminine suffix ई after a बहुव्रीहि compound ending in अङ्ग. His rule स्वाङ्गाश्चोपसर्जनदसंयोगोपधात् [IV.1.54] does not apply here, as अङ्ग has a conjunct for its penult. Nor is the word अङ्ग included in the next rule : नासिकोदरोष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च. It was Jayāditya who first formulated the rule : अङ्गात्रकण्ठेभ्यश्च in the *Kāśikā*. Cf. Haradatta on *Kāśikā* IV.1.54: अङ्गात्रेत्यादि भाष्येऽनुक्तमप्येतत् प्रयोगबाहुल्यादुक्तिकारेणोक्तम्।

वैयाकरणमुख्ये तु प्रतिपाद्येऽथ वक्तिर।

कष्टत्वं दुःश्रवत्वं वा।

So we find Bhaṭṭoji writing at the beginning of his *Śabdakaustubha*

विश्वेशं सच्चिदानन्दं वन्देऽहं योऽखिलं जगत्।

चरीकर्ति बरीभर्ति सञ्जरीहर्ति सर्वदा ॥

But this characteristic is conspicuous by its absence in the verses attributed to Pāṇini (except those in the *Jāmbavatīvijaya*).

2. On p. 26 घनजनिततमः पूरितेषु has been translated 'enveloped in deeper and deeper darkness' following Peterson and regarding the णिच् in जनित as pleonastic. It appears at first sight better to take घन in the sense of cloud and translate 'enveloped in darkness brought on by clouds' (welchen in wolkenerzeugtes Dunkel gehüllt ind — Aufrecht.) But it is doubtful whether the poet wants to speak of clouds here.

गृध्रवृद्धः has evidently been used in the sense of वृद्धः गृध्रः, though we can also expound it after Pāṇini as गृध्रेषु वृद्धः ।

3. अहमहमिका is explained thus in the *Amarakoṣa* : अहमहमिका तु सा स्यात् परस्परं वो भवत्यहङ्कारः and consequently it is hardly proper to use the word in connection with a single object. Then again, though the word is found in the मयूरव्यंसकादि group in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*, *Śabdakaustubha* etc, it does not occur in the *Kāśikā*.

The different readings noted by Aufrecht are पक्षाग्रिघातज्वलित which is distinctly better and should be adopted in our text on p. 27 and प्रौढधर्मश (the scribe probably intended this for प्रौढधर्मश).

5. The different readings are : *c* पाण्योः, मधूकमुकुल. *c* निजकुले, व्यामोहमुग्धाशया, (*d*) कियन्ति सुतनु.

6. Kvs. reads दरक्षामं कपोलस्थलं विन्यस्य. The printed edition of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* reads विस्मर्यते for विस्मर्यते.

7. The difficulty here arises out of our ignorance of the context. This verse is given in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* under दाक्षिणात्यस्त्री. If, as seems probable, the poet means how can kings ever forget Draviḍa damsels of forms so fair and charms so rare, सोऽप्यगात् will improve the verse to a certain extent, though even then we should expect निरगात् rather than अगात्. If, however, the poet means, how could ladies of such heaving breasts and protruding buttocks effect an entrance into the hearts of kings, there are two courses left open to us. We may either take the bull by the horns and regard हृदः as the acce. pl. of हृदय used for हृदि for the sake of metre or accept the slight emendation proposed by Böhtlingk. Though in the *Amarakoṣa* we find चित्तं तु चेतो हृदयं स्वान्तं हन्मानसं मनः where हत् has to be regarded as neuter by

the principle of association because the words preceding and following it are all neuter, Vāmana in his *Liṅgānuśāsanam* distinctly says that हत् is feminine. Cf. Kārikā 23 :

भाट्टाः पूरुडुकाकुप्रियङ्गु हत्स्नायुरज्जुचञ्चुतनुः

So according to Vāmana's view हद्: as acc. pl. is quite normal मखानि चारूणि and तनूनि मध्यानि however are not very significant in the case of the second explanation.

10. कम्पयते Cf. एकोदकत्वं खलु नाम लोके मनस्विनां कम्पयते मनांसि (पञ्चरात्र २।९) ; हस्तं कम्पयते (मालविका ४।१५) ।

14. The different readings are : *a* क्षपां *b* प्रताप्योर्वी सर्वा वनगहन *c* समन्वेषणपरा *d* दीपालोकैर्दिशि, चरन्तीह, तरन्तीव, चलन्तीव ।

16. *c* मोहाद् *v* *b*.

18. f.n. चञ्चच्चंद्र etc. The verse is attributed to Yuvarāja in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* II.146.1 where the reading is निशाकरकर etc.

Appendix-II

The Anubandhas of Pāṇini

Kshitish Ch. Chatterji

Sanskrit grammarians often add one or more letters to the stem, root, augment, substitute etc. to show that certain grammatical operations are to take place in connexion with them. The letter or letters, thus added, are known as “*anubandhas*” and they help greatly in securing brevity. Thus instead of saying that the suffix अ is added to the root त्यञ् to form an abstract noun, Pāṇini says that the suffix घञ् is to be added, thereby showing that the penult is to get *vyddhi*, the ञ् is to be changed into ग् and the first syllable is to be accented. When, however, a letter is added for no specific purpose but merely for ease of utterance, it is not regarded as an “*anubandha*”. We often find in grammatical literature इकारो मुखसुखार्थः, नानुबन्धः etc.

अ — (1) In the *Dhātupāṭha* an unaccented अ indicates *Ātmanepada*; as एध वृद्धौ — एधते। (अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्। पा० १।३।१२).

[Unlike later grammarians Pāṇini has not read all the *Ātmanepadin* roots with an indicator ङ्, but has divided them into two classes — those with an indicator ङ् and those with an indicator *anudatta* vowel. This has been necessary for the purpose of the rule अनुदात्तेश्च हलादेः (३।२।१४६) which prescribes युच् for roots with an indicator अनुदात्त.]

(2) In the *Dhātupāṭha*, a *svarita* अ indicates that the root is used in the *Ātmanepada* when the benefit of the action accrues to the agent (स्वरितङितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले। १।३।१२).

[Here the two different *anubandhas* for the same purpose are difficult to account for. Later grammarians generally read all such roots with an indicator ञ्. Probably the two *anubandhas* are due to a desire to make the rule symmetrical with the other rule अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्].

(3) According to Bhaṭṭoji and others the अ of the fourteenth *Śivasūtra* लण् is for the purpose of the प्रत्याहार 'र' so that in the rule उरण् रपरः (१।१।५१) र may stand for both र् and ल् thus giving us अर् as the *guṇa* of ऋ and अल् as that of लृ. Subsequent commentators, however, repudiate this view, accepting the *Vārttika* लपर इति वक्तव्यम्।*

(4) Roots with an indicatory unaccented अ admit युच् in the active voice : अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः (पा. ३।२।१४९).

[अ is often added to consonants for ease of utterance; सुखोच्चारणार्थः or मुखसुखार्थः as ह य व र ट, णमुल्, etc. In such cases it is not regarded as an *anubandha*]

आ— (1) In the *Dhātupāṭha* shows that the root does not admit the augment इट् before the suffixes क्त and क्तवतु and admits it optionally when these suffixes are added in the भाववाच्य or in the sense of आदिकर्म (the beginning of an action). आदितश्च। विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः (७।२।१६-१७)।

(2) In the *Dhātupāṭha* an unaccented आ indicates *Ātmanepada*, श्रिता वर्णे। श्वेतते।

इ— (1) An *anudātta* इ denotes *Ātmanepada*; as, स्यदि किञ्चिच्चलने — स्यन्दते।

(2) Denotes a root according to the *Vārttika* इक्षितौ धातुनिर्देशे (३।३।१०८।२); as, वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति (६।१।१५), जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः (१।४।३०), जनिवध्योश्च (७।३।३५).

(3) In the *Dhātupāṭha* indicates that the root will admit a nasal augment after its vowel ; इदितो नुम् धातोः (७।१।५८).

[This roundabout process has been resorted to in the *Dhātupāṭha* instead of reading the roots with a penultimate न् with a view to show that in the case of these

* लण्सूत्रेऽकारश्चेति। तेन रप्रत्याहारसिद्धिः। अनन्त्यत्वात् पृथगुक्तिः। इदं तुल्यास्यसूत्रस्थकैयटानुरोधेन। परे त्वस्यानुनासिकत्वेऽतो लृति सूत्रे [७।२।१२] पाणिनिर्लकारं नोच्चारयेत्, प्रत्याहारेणैव निर्वाहात्। किञ्चास्येत्संज्ञकत्वे बहुषु यण् घटितसूत्रध्वेमात्रालाघवानुरोधेन रप्रत्याहारेणैव व्यवहरेत्। किञ्चानुबन्धानामचप्रत्याहारग्रहणाभावे "आचाराद्रप्रधानत्वाल्लोपश्च बलवत्तरः" इति भाष्योक्तस्य तृतीयहेतोरव्यापकत्वापत्तिः। ... तस्मादसानुनासिकत्वमप्रामाणिकम्। 'उरण् रपरः' इत्यत्र लग्रहणं कर्तव्यमेव, ऋलृवर्णयोः सावर्ण्यवदित्याहुः। — लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर।

roots the penultimate न् is never elided before a weak (क्त् or डित्) termination etc. अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्किडति (६।४।२४). Thus in भाववाच्य we get सस्यते for the root सन्स् with the loss of the penult nasal but in the case of निन्द् which is read in the धातुपाठ as णिदि कुत्सायाम्, the form is निन्द्यते which keeps the nasal intact.]

(4) At the end of suffixes like विनि, णिनि, ग्मिनि, इनि etc. it serves to prevent the preceding consonant from being regarded as इत् by the rule हलन्त्यम्। (इदित्करणं नकारपरित्राणार्थम्)।

(5) In the case of the termination डसि it serves to distinguish it from डस् as in the *a*-declension, the Abl. and Gen. singulars are not identical in form

N.B. इ is often added to consonants for ease of utterance; as, इमनिच्, घिनुण् etc. The इ in जसि in the *sūtra* रात्रेश्चाजसौ (४।१।३१) and in आहि in the *Vārttika* आहौ प्रभूतादिभ्यः (४।४१।२) is for ease of utterance according to most grammarians, “इकार उच्चारणार्थः। आहौ प्रभूतादिभ्य इतिवत्।”—*Subodhini*. Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the *Nyāsa*, however, makes capital of the इ in रात्रेश्चाजसौ in this way : इहलाघवार्थमजसि इति वक्तव्येऽजसावित्युक्तम्, मात्राधिक्यादर्थाधिक्यसूचनार्थम्। तेनाजसादिषु डीब् भवतीति। (*Nyāsa* IV.1.31).

There is a good deal of difference of opinion among grammarians as to the *anubandhas* इ and ड in the case of the root चक्षिङ्. Though either of them would have been sufficient to indicate *Ātmanepada*, युच् (अन) can only be obtained by means of the *anubandha* इ according to the rule अनुदात्तेश्च हलादेः. Hence grammarians generally hold that the double *anubandha* merely shows that the *Ātmanepada* indicated by an indicatory *anudatta* does not hold good in all cases.

इ— (1) In the *Dhātupāṭha* shows that the root does not admit the augment इ before the past participial suffixes क्त and क्तवन् (श्रीदितो निष्ठायाम्। ७।२।१४). Thus ओ लजी — लग्नः, ओ विजी — उद्विग्नः.

(2) An *anudatta* ई shows that the root is *Ātmanepada*; as स्फायी वृद्धौ — स्फायते। जुषीप्रीतिसेवनयोः — जुषते। ओ लसजी व्रीडायाम् — लज्जते।

उ — (1) To indicate roots according to the dictum : इक्श्तिपौ धातुनिर्देशे, as नाग्लोपिशास्वृदिताम् (७।४।२) where शासु means the root शास्.

(2) An *anudātta* उ indicates *Ātmanepada*; as श्रन्भु प्रमादे — श्रम्भते.

(3) A स्वरित उ indicates *Ātmanepada* when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent; as, खनु अवदारणे, षणु दाने etc.

(4) उ with the harsh unaspirate mutes indicates the entire *varga*; thus कु stands for कवर्ग, चु for चवर्ग and so on. अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (१।१।१६).

(5) उ in the *Dhātupāṭha* shows that the root admits the augment इ optionally before the gerundial suffix क्त्वा. उदितो वा (७।२।५६). Thus शमु — शमित्वा शान्त्वा।

(6) उ in a suffix shows that the feminine of the word ending in that suffix is to be formed with डीप्. उगितश्च (४।१।६). Thus कवतु — गतवती। डवतु — भवती। ईयसुन् — लघीयसी। मतुप् — श्रीमती। क्सु — सेदुषी. Such suffixes are : अतु, असुङ्, ईयसुन्, कवतु, क्सु, इमतुप्, मतुप्, वतुप्, वसु.

(7) A word technically termed नदी formed with a suffix with an indicatory उ shortens its final vowel optionally before the suffixes तर, तम् etc. विदुषितरा, विदुषीतरा; श्रेयसितरा, श्रेयसीतरा etc. उगितश्च (६।३।४५)।

[Bhaṭṭoji considers forms like विदुषीतरा incorrect. According to him there will be two forms only, one with the short vowel and the other with पुंवद्भाव. Thus विदुषितरा and विद्वत्तरा are the only two forms available. वृत्त्यादिषु विदुषीतरेत्यप्युदाहृतं तन्निर्मूलम्. The *Bhāṣāvṛttī*, however, quotes : शक्तिं दधानं महतीतमां तम्. The quotation is found in the *Rāvaṇārjunīya* or *Vyoṣakāvya* (XIX.19) the printed edition of which reads महतीतराम्.]

(8) shows that the stem will add the augment न् (नुम्) after the last vowel before the terminations technically known as सर्वनामस्थान. This does not apply to *roots* with an indicatory उ. उगित्त्वां सर्वनामस्थानेऽघातोः (७।१।१०). Thus भवान्, श्रेयान् etc.

(9) The उ of सु according to some commentators, is for the purpose of the rule : अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः ६।४।१२७ where त्रसनङ् would mean the final of अर्वन् is changed into त् except before terminations beginning with स्.

[Like अ, इ and त् उ is often added merely for ease of utterance; e.g. धिनुण्.]

ऊ — (1) In the *Dhātupāṭha* shows that the root admits the augment इद् optionally before *Ārdhadhātuka* suffixes beginning with बल्. स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूजूदितो वा (७।१४४). Thus गुप् — गोपिता, गोप्ता।

(2) An *anudātta* ऊ shows that the root is *Ātmanepadin*; as, त्रपूप् लज्जायाम् — त्रपते। क्षमूप् सहने — क्षमते। अशू व्यासौ सङ्घाते च — अशनुते।

(3) A *svarita* ऊ indicates *Atm.* where the benefit of the action accrues to the agent, as, गूहू संवरणो — गूहते.

ऋ — (1) denotes roots according to the dictum इक्षितपौ धातुनिर्देशे.

[According to grammar such इक्'s are suffixes and not *anubandhas*.]

(2) An *anudātta* ऋ indicates *Ātm.*; as बाधू — बाधते, नाधू — नाधते.

(3) A *svarita* ऋ indicates that the root is *Atm.* when the benefit of the action accrues to the agent; as, टु याचू याच्ञायाम् — याचति, याचते.

(4) shows that the root does not shorten its penult in the reduplicated aorist. नाग्लोपिशास्वृदिताम् (७।४।१२) Thus बाधू — अब्रबाधत्, याचू — अययाचत्, ढौकू — अडुढौकत्.

(5) In a suffix shows that the feminine is formed with ई; उगितश्च ४।३।६. as, शतृ — पचन्ती.

Such suffixes are : अतृन् [३।१२।१०४], तृ [६।४।१२७], शेत्.

(6) shows that the stem will admit the augment न् (नुम्) after its last vowel before the terminations technically known as सर्वनामस्थाने; उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः (७।१।७०). Thus गच्छन्, तिष्ठन् etc.

(7) A word technically known as नदी formed with a suffix with an indicatory ऋ shrotens its final vowel optionally before the suffixes तर, तम etc. Thus दात्रीतरा, दात्रितरा, दात्रीतमा, दात्रितमा.

[It is difficult to understand why in the *Kāśikā*, *Bhāṣāvṛtti Siddhāntakaumudī* etc. examples of नदी's from words with indicatory ऋ have not been given.]

लृ — shows that अङ् is to be substituted for च्लि in the Aorist *Parasmaipada*. पुषादिद्युतादयलृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ३।१।५५. Thus गम्लृ अगमत्, शक्लृ, अशक्लृ.

ए — shows that the root does not lengthen its vowel in Aorist *Parasmaipada* before स preceded by इ ह्यम्यन्तक्षणश्चसजागृणि-इव्येदिताम् ७।२।५. Thus, कटे वर्षावरणयोः अकटीत्.

ओ — shows that the root forms its past participle with न instead of त. ओदितश्च ८।२।४५. Thus रुजो भङ्गे रुग्णः.

क — (1) In the second *Śivasūtra* क's for forming the प्रत्याहार's अक्, इक् and उक् (अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ६।१।१०१ इको गुणवद्धी १।१।१३, उगितश्च ४।१।६).

(2) In an augment indicates that it is to be added at the end; as, आद्यन्तौ टकितौ १।१।४६. [The augments with an indicatory क are अदुक्, असुक्, आनुक्, इथुक्, कुक्, जुक्, दुक्, तिथुक्, तुक्, थुक्, दुक्, नोक्, नुक्, पुक्, मुक्, यक्, रिक्, रीक्, रुक्, लुक्, वुक्, पुक्, सक्].

(3) shows that the *abhyāsa* does not undergo lengthening in यङ् and यङ् लुक् दीर्घोऽकितः ७।४।८३; as, यंयम्यते (because it has taken नुक् with an indicatory क् according to the rule नुगतोऽनुनासिकान्तस्य) but पापच्यते.

(4) shows that the termination is weak and that before the termination there is to be neither *guṇa* nor *vrddhi*, but the radical vowel is to undergo reduction or सम्प्रसारण in some cases, etc. किङिति च १।१।५ वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ६।१।१५ अनदितां हल उपधायाः किङिति ६।४।२४ अदो जग्धिर्त्यसि किति २।४।३६ श्रुकः किति ७।२।११.

Such कृत् suffixes are : क, कञ्, कध्वै, कध्वैन्, कप्, कमुल्, कसुन्, कसेन्, कानच्, कि, किन्, कुरच्, केन्, केन्य, क्त, क्तवत्, क्तिच्, क्तिन्, क्ति, क्त्वा, क्तु,

क्मरच्, क्य, क्यङ्, क्यच्, क्यप्, क्यष्, कृ, कृकन्, कृनिप्, कृरप्, कृसु, कृि, कृिन्, कृिप्, क्स, क्से, क्सु, टक्, यक्.

(5) In the case of तद्धित suffixes indicates that the last syllable will have the acute. कितः-६।१।१६५ Thus नाडायन formed from नड with the addition of the फक् has its last syllable acute.

(6) and that the first syllable will take *vrddhi*; किति च - ७।२।११८ Thus वेद + ठक् — वैदिक.

[The तद्धित suffixes with an indicatory क् are आरक्, ईक-क्, ऐरक्, कक्, ठक्, ढक्, ढिनुक्, त्यक्, फक्, यक्, वुक्, षफक्].

(7) Before a suffix with an indicatory क् or इ a stem ending in a nasal lengthens its penult; अनुनासिकस्य क्रिझलोः किङिति ६।४।१५ as, प्रशान्, प्रतान् etc.

(8) Under similar circumstances a penultimate न् of a root is dropped; अनिदितां हल उपधायाः किङिति ६।४।२४. Thus स्रस्तः, स्रस्यते. from स्रन्स्

(9) Before an affix with an indicatory क् or इ the roots वन् तन् etc. drop their nasals: अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि किङिति ६।४।३७. Thus वन् with क् gives वत, गम् with क् गत and so on.

ख — (1) A word ending in a vowel as also the words अरुष् and द्विष्त् admit the augment म् (मुम्) if they are the *upapadas* of the root to which a suffix with an indicatory ख् is added; अरुद्विषदजन्तस्य ६।३।६७ as अरुनुद, विधुनुद.

(2) When a word of one syllable ending in any vowel except अ or आ is the *upapada* of a word formed with a suffix with an indicatory ख् this word admits the augment अम् which behaves exactly like the अम् of the accusative singular. इच एकाचोऽम् प्रत्ययवच्च ६।३।६८; as, गाम्मन्यः, स्त्रीम्मन्यः, स्त्रियम्मन्यः, भुवम्मन्यः।

(3) Before a root with a suffix having an indicatory ख् all words shorten their final vowels except indeclinables; as, कलिम्मन्या, हरणिम्मन्या. This rule does not hold good in the case of *avyayas*. खित्यनव्ययस्य ६।३।६६; e.g., दिवामन्या रात्रिः, दोषामन्यमहः

The कृत् suffixes with an indicatory ख् are खच्, खमुञ्, खल्, खश्, खिष्णुच्, खुक्ञ् and ख्युन्।

[ख् at the beginning of तद्धित suffixes is not an *anubandha* but stands for ईन.].

- ग — According to later grammarians, an indicatory ग् shows the weak character of the suffix किङिति च — अत्र गकारोऽपि चर्त्तृभूतो निर्दिश्यते। There is only one suffix with an indicatory ग् viz. गस्तु (ग्लाजिस्थश्च गस्तु ३।२।१३९). Many grammarians however regard the suffix as कस्तु।

[In the तद्धित suffix ग्मिनि (५।२।१२४) ग is not an अनुबन्ध, but is a part of the suffix.]

- घ — Before a कृत् suffix with an indicatory घ — the palata's च् and ज्ञ् are changed into their corresponding gutturals क् and ग्. Thus पच् + घञ् = पाक, त्यज् + घञ् = त्याग (चजोः कुधिण्यतोः ७।३।५२. The कृत् suffixes with an indicatory घ् are घ, घञ्, घिनुण् and घुरच्।

[The संज्ञा घ stands for the suffixes तर and तम — तरत्तमपौ धः १।१।२२. At the beginning of a तद्धित suffix घ is not an *anubandha* but stands for इय].

- ङ — (1) In the *Dhātupāṭha* as also in root-forming suffixes indicates *Ātmanepada*; अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् १।३।१२ as शीङ् — शेते; पूङ् — सूते. The verb-forming suffixes with an indicatory ङ् are ईयङ्, कयङ्, णिङ् and यङ्.

[In the case of चक्षिङ् the *Ātmanepada* is due to डित्व and not to अनुदात्तेत्त्व according to the परिभाषा — विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् १।४।२ as in the rule अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् १।३।१२ ङ् comes after अनुदात्त This is known as शब्दपरविप्रतिषेध.]

(2) shows that the suffix or termination is weak; thus neither गुण nor वृद्धि of इक् can take place before a डित् suffix, but the root undergoes weakening in various ways :

किङिति च १।१।५

ग्रहिज्याव्ययिव्यधिवष्टिवचितिवृश्चितिभृज्जतीनां डिति च ६।१।१६

लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम् ६।१।१७

The suffixes and terminations with an indicatory ङ् are अङ्, ईयङ्, इवनिप्, चङ्, तङ्, तवेङ्, तातङ्, नङ्, नजिङ्, यङ्.

[In the case of णिङ् वृद्धि takes place because it is not इक्, but अ that gets वृद्धि].

(4) ङ् in the case of the four *lakāras* लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् shows certain terminational changes common to all of

them; e.g., नित्यं डितः ३।४।९९ (in the case of *lakāras* with an indicative इ the स् of the terminations for the endings of the 1st person is always elided) इतश्च ३।४।९०० and तस्थस्थमिपां तान्तन्तामः ३।४।९०१.

(5) In the case of the *sup* terminations डे, डसि, डस् and डि, the indicative ड has been made the common element to show certain changes in the stem before all these endings :

घेर्डिति ७।३।१११

आण् नद्याः ७।३।११२

याडापः ७।३।११३

सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्ध्रस्वश्च ७।३।११४

विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् ७।३।११५

डिति ह्रस्वश्च — १।४।६

(6) In the case of आदेश (substitutes) an indicative इ shows that it is the substitute for the final letter of the stem (according to डिच्च १।१।५३) and not for the whole stem, though the आदेश may consist of more than one letter and should thus be the substitute for the whole according to अनेकाल्शित् सर्वस्य २।१।५५.

Such substitutes are : अनङ् अयङ् अवङ् असुङ् आनङ् इनङ् इयङ् जयङ् निङ् यङ् रिङ् रीङ् प्यङ्

[In the case of तातङ् since इ serves certain other purposes viz. the prohibition of गुण as in कुरुतात् and वृद्धि as in स्तुतात्, the reduction of य, व etc. into इ, उ etc. (सम्प्रसारण, as in वश from उष्ठात् etc. it does not indicate सर्वदेश].

(7) इ in the 3rd Śivasūtra is for the purpose of the *pratyāhāra* एङ्.

(8) In the case of the three feminine suffixes डीप्, डीष् and डीन्, the indicative इ helps to bring together all the three suffixes under a convenient designation डी for the purposes of the rules : इयाप्प्रातिपदिकात् iv.1.1 हलइयाबभ्यो दीर्घात् सुतिस्पृक्तं हल् vi.1.68 इयाश्छन्दसि बहुलम् vi.1.178 घरूपकल्पचेल — vi.3.43 इयापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् vi.3.63. त्वे च vi.3.64 इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य vi.3.61.

च (1) shows that the final vowel of the word formed with the suffix is to take the acute accent (उदात्त) चितः ६।१।१६३.

(2) The च of वृच् serves to distinguish it from वृन् and at the same time enables it to be included under the general category वृ in the rules तुरिष्टेमेयः सु vi.4.154 तुश्छन्दसि v.3.59 etc. otherwise it would have been excluded according to the *paribhāṣā* निरनुबन्धग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणम्.*

च् in खच् serves merely to distinguish it from खश् for the purpose of the rules खचि ह्रस्वः vi.4.94 etc.†

ज — occurs in जस् only where it merely serves to distinguish it from शस् for the purposes of the rules जसः शी viii.1.17 तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि vi.1.103 etc.

ञ — (1) In the *Dhātupāṭha* shows that the root takes *Ātmanepadin* terminations when the benefit of the action accrues to the agent स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले 1.3.72. Thus णीञ् प्रापणे नयते।

(2) In a कृत् suffix shows that the suffix is strong and causes the *vyddhi* of the final vowel or penultimate अ of the root अचोञ्जिति and अत उपधायाः vii.2.115-116. Thus त्यञ् with घञ् yield त्यागः; नो with घञ् — नाय. Such suffixes are: इञ्, उकञ्, कञ्, खमुञ्, खुकञ्, घञ्, व्युट्, वुञ्।

(3) shows that the word formed with this suffix is accented on the first syllable; जित्यादिर्नित्यम् vi.1.197.

(4) In a तद्धित suffix shows that the first syllable of the word to which the suffix is added is to undergo *vyddhi*: तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ७।२।११७. Thus रजत + अञ् = राजतः; दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षि.

* “तृचश्चकारः ‘तुरिष्टेमेयः’ सु ‘तुच्छन्दसि’ इत्यादौ सामान्यग्रहणाविधातार्थः। ‘चितः’ (पा. ६।१।१६३) इत्यन्तोदात्तार्थस्तु न भवति, ‘आद्युदात्तश्च’ (पा. ३।१।१३) इत्यनेनैव सिद्धेः। एवं च ‘अपतृन्—’ (पा. ६।४।११) इति सूत्रे तृन्तृचोः पृथग् ग्रहणं विहाय ‘अपतृस्वसु’ इत्येव सुवचमित्येके। अन्ये तु सामान्यग्रहणेऽपि क्वचिद्विशेषस्यैव ग्रहणं भवतीति ज्ञापनार्थम् ‘अपतृन्—’ इति सूत्रे तृन्तृचोरभयोरग्रहणम्। तेन कोपधग्रहणे तद्धितवुग्रहणमित्येतत् सिद्धमित्याहुः।” तत्त्वबोधिनी २८९५.

† खकारो सुमर्थः, चकारस्तु ‘खचि ह्रस्वः’ इति विशेषणार्थ इति वृत्तिः, खे ह्रस्व इत्युच्यमान एजेः खंशि जनमेजय इत्यत्रापि स्यादिति तदाशयः। “एकानुबन्धग्रहणे द्वयानुबन्धस्य न ग्रहणम्” इति खशि न भविष्यतीत्यादिना वृत्तिग्रन्थस्यायुक्तत्वमाहुः॥ खशि प्रकृते प्रत्ययान्तरकरणमुत्तरार्थम्। द्विषन्तपा इत्यत्र ह्रस्वणिलोपौ यथा स्यातां शप् च मा भूदिति। नन्वेवमुत्तरत्रैव क्रियताम् इति चेत्, सत्यम्। इह करणम् अन्यतोऽपि क्वचिद्ववतीति ज्ञापनार्थम्, तेनागमेः सुपीति नापुर्वं वार्तिकम् किन्तु ज्ञापकसिद्धमेव।

The तद्धित suffixes with an indicatory ज् are अज्, इज्, उकज्, स्वज्, च्फज्, जिट्, ज्य, ज्यङ्, ज्यट्, ठज्, ढकज्, ढज्, धमुज्, ध्यमुज्, नज्, नाज्, फज्, फिज्, यज्, वुज्, प्यज्, प्लज्, स्रज्।

(5) The suffix अज् is added to a stem which has already been formed in the sense of विकार or अवयव with a suffix with an indicatory ज्. जितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् iv.3.155.

(6) A युवप्रत्यय after a word formed with a suffix ण्य with an indicatory ज् is dropped ण्यक्षत्रियार्षजितो यूनि लुगणिजोः II.4.58.

[In कृञानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि III.1.40 ज् serves to form the प्रत्याहार कृज् according to later grammarians, but this is simply absurd.] जि — In the *Dhātupāṭha* shows the root admits कृ to signify present time. जीतः कृः III.2.187.

ट — (1) shows that the augment is to be placed at the beginning : आद्यन्तौ टकितौ I.1.46. Such augments are : अट्, आट्, इट्, ईट्, उमुट्, तुट्, धुट्, नुट्, याट्, यासुट्, यिट्, युट्, रुट्, सीयुट्, सुट्, स्याट्.

(2) In suffixes, *dhātupāṭha*, *gaṇapāṭha*, आकालिकट् V.1.114 and ऐकागारिकट् V.1.113 shows that the feminine is formed with डीप् टिङ्ढाणज् — IV.1.15. Such suffixes are ज्यट्, ज्युट्, ट, टक्, टच्, टिटन्, टेण्यण, ट्यण्, ट्यु, ट्युल्, ढट्, ण्युट्, तमट्, थट्, मट्, मयट्, ल्युट्।

(3) In औट् serves to form the प्रत्याहार सुट् for the purpose of the rule सुडनपुंसकस्य I.1.43.

[This, however, is hardly proper. Since the nom. and acc. duals are identical in form in *all* cases, the termination ought to be the same for both.]

(4) In टा serves to distinguish the Instr. sing. for the purpose of the rule: द्वितीया टौस्स्वेनः II.4.34; otherwise द्वितीयौस्स्वेनः would mean द्वितीया, औस् and सु excluding the Instr. sing.

(5) In लट्, लोट् etc. serves to distinguish them from the डित् लकार's for the purposes of the rule टित् आत्मनेपदानां टेरे III.4.79.

(6) In the feminine suffix टाप् merely serves to distinguish the suffix from चाप् and

Though according to the *paribhāṣā* — तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणम्, आप without any ट् could have been

distinguished from चाप् and डाप् still आप् is required to denote all three suffixes for the purpose of the rules: ड्याप् प्रातिपादिकात् IV.1.1 हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात् सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् VI.1.68 औङ आपः VII.1.18 ह्रस्वनद्याप्यो नुट् VII.1.54 आङि चापः VII.3.105 अव्ययादाप् सुपः II.4.82 etc.

टु — In the *Dhātupāṭha* shows that the root will admit the suffix अथुच्; त्वितोऽथुच् III.3.89. Thus दु वम उद्विरणे वमथुः.

[When टु is not an *anubandha* it means ट्वर्ग i.e. ट, ठ, ड, ढ and ण. अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः I.1.69.]

ठ — [At the beginning of तद्धित suffixes ठ is not an *anubandha* but is replaced by इक or क. ठस्येकः and इसुसुकान्तात् कः VII.3.50-51].

ड — Indicates that before the suffix the टि portion of the stem is to be dropped. (टे : — VI.4.143.) Thus किम् + डति — कति. The suffixes with an indicatory इ are डच्, डट्, डण्, डतरच्, डतमच्, डति, डा डाच्, डाप्, डु, डुपच्, ड्मतुप्, ड्य, ड्यण्, ड्यत्, ड्या, इवलच्, and इवुन्.

Though Pāṇini lays down that the टि portion of a stem technically known as भ is to be dropped before a termination with an indicatory इ, still because of the presence of the *anubandha* ड, टि is elided in those cases also where the stem is not भ; e.g., before the डा of लुट्. डित्वसामर्थ्यादभस्यापि टेलोपः — *Siddhānta Kaumudī*.

डु — In the *Dhātupāṭha* shows that the root admits the affix क्रि with the augment मप्; इवतः क्रिः III.3.88. क्त्रेर्मम् नित्यम् IV.4.20. Thus डुपच पाके — पक्रिम.

ढ — [It is not an *anubandha* but represents एय at the beginning of तद्धित suffixes. आयनेयीनीयियः फट्खलुधां प्रत्ययादीनाम् VII.1.2.]

ण — (1) In a कृत् affix shows that the final vowel or penultimate short अ is to take *vrddhi*. अचवोञ्जिति, अत उपधायाः VII.2.115-116. Such suffixes are अण्, इनुण्, घिनुण्, चिण्, ण, णच्, णमुल्, णल्, णि, णिङ्, णिच्, णिनि, ण्यत्, ण्युट्, ण्वि, ण्विनि, ण्वुच्, ण्वुल्।

(2) In a तद्धित affix shows that the first vowel is to undergo *vrddhi*, तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ७।२।११७; गुरु with अण् gives गौरव.

Such suffixes are अण्, छेण्, टेण्यण्, ट्यण्, डण्, ङ्यण्, ण, णिनि, ण्य, ण्यत्।

(3) The ण् of the root दाण् serves to distinguish it from the दा-roots.

त — (1) shows that the vowel to which it is suffixed will denote itself alone and not its सवर्णs containing a greater or less number of *mātrās* (morae). Thus अत उपधायाः VII.2.116 means that the penultimate short अ is to undergo lengthening before a suffix with an indicatory ज् and ण्, but अस्य च्चौ VII.4.32 means that before the suffix च्चि, 'a' short or long* is changed into ई. Thus the rule applies to शुक्ल as well as to लता, so that we get शुक्लीकृत and लतीकृत. But if we change अस्य च्चौ into अतश्चौ the rule will be applicable to short अ alone. तपरस्तत्कालस्य I.1.70.†

(2) shows that the suffix is स्वरित. तित् स्वरितम् VI.1.185. Such suffixes are ळ्यत्, रायत्, तज्यत्, यत्, व्यत्।

[त is often added to a letter for ease of utterance. Thus on the rule : आदृगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट् च III.2.171 the Kāśikā says : आदिति तकारो मुखसुखार्थः, न त्वयं तपरः। मा भूत् तादपि परस्तपर इति ऋकारे तत्कालग्रहणम् The same appears to be the case with most of the त's after long vowels.]

न — (1) shows that the word formed with the suffix is accented on the first syllable. जित्यादिर्नित्यम् VI.1.197.

(2) In the case of a कृत् suffix with an indicatory न् except one with तु, an immediately preceding word technically known as गति retains its own accent; e.g.; प्रकृतिः. Here कृति is formed with the कृत् suffix क्तिन् which has an indicatory न् It is immediately preceded by प्र which is

* A vowel when mentioned without an indicatory त् denotes itself as well as its *savarnas* i.e. letters homogeneous with it according to the rule अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः I.1.69.

† Patañjali explains तपर in this rule to mean both तः परो यस्मात् and तात् परः. Thus in the rule अदेङ् गुणः I.1.2. अत् denotes short अ and एङ् denotes long ए and ओ to the exclusion of pluta or prolated ए and ओ The same is the case with वृद्धिरादैच् I.1.2.

technically known as गति (गतिश्च I.4.60). Hence in प्रकृति, प्र will retain its accent and कृति will be unaccented.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ VI.2.50. Suffixes with an indicatory न् are अतृन्, अध्यैन्, अन्, असेन्, इन्, इष्ठन्, ईकन्, ईयसुन्, ईरन्, कन्, कसुन्, कसेन्, किन्, केन्, क्तिन्, क्लुकन्, क्रिन्, ख्युन्, घन्, द्विन्, टन्, इव्ङन्, ण्विन्, तवेन्, तिकन्, तुमुन्, तृन्, तोसुन्, त्यकन्, व्रन्, त्वन्, थकन्, थ्यन्, नन्, फिन्, मनिन्, यन्, वुन्, व्यन्, शध्यैन्, शानन्, श्यन्, षाकन्, ष्कन्, घ्नन्, छन्, ष्वुन्, सन्, सेन्।

प — (1) shows that the suffix is strong i.e., before the suffix गुण or वृद्धि takes place.

(2) Before a कृत् affix with an indicatory प् a short vowel admits the augment त्, ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् VI.1.71. Thus अग्रि चिनोति अग्रिचित् formed by adding क्रिप् (o) to अग्रिचि.

(3) shows that the suffix is unaccented. Such are; अप्, आप्, एनप्, कप्, कल्पप्, कुणप्, डीप्, चणप्, चुञ्चुप्, टाप्, ठप्, डाप्, दमतुप्, तनप्, तप्, तमप्, तयप्, तरप्, त्यप्, पाशप्, मतुप्, मप्, मिप्, यप्, रूपप्, बतुप्, सिप्.

पित् कृत् suffixes are : क्यप्, क्निप्, क्ररप्, क्रिप्, इवनिप्, ल्यप्, वनिप्।

(4) The प् of सुप् forms the प्रत्याहार's सुप् and आप् ७।२।११२.

(5) The प् of चाप् serves to connect it closely with टाप् and डाप् so that all three are denoted by आप्.

[पु is not an 'anubandha' but means पवर्ग]

[फ at the beginning of तद्धित suffixes is not an 'anubandha' but means आयन.]

म — (1) Roots with an indicatory म् or that are regarded as having an indicatory म् do not take *vrddhi* before णित् suffixes etc.

(2) An augment with an indicatory म् comes in after the final vowel of the word. मिदचोऽन्यात् परः I.1.47. Such augments are : आम्, इम्, उम्, नुम्, पुम्, मुम्, रम्, श्रम्।

* In case of a शित् substitute it is often very difficult to say whether the सर्वादेश is due to अनेकाल्त्व or शित्व, for we often find that addition of श् makes the substitute अनेकाल् and though there is the *paribhāṣā* नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वम् grammarians have often drawn a subtle distinction between अनेकाल्त्व and शित्व. Thus according to Bhaṭṭoji the substitution of ईश् for जस् is due to अनेकाल्त्व — अनेकाल्त्वात् सर्वादेशः, न च "अवर्णस्तु" VI.4.127 इत्यादावि नानुबन्धकृतम् अनेकाल्त्वम् इति वाच्यम्, सर्वादेशत्वात् प्राग् इत्संज्ञाया एवाभावात्।

- र — Shows that the last vowel but one of the word formed with the suffix is उदात्त — उपोत्तमं रिति VI.1.217. The three suffixes with an inidcatory र are अनीयर्, जातीयर्, देशीयर्।
- ल — shows that the vowel immediately preceding the suffix is actue. लिति VI.1.193 (प्रत्ययात् पूर्वमुदात्तम्). Such suffixes are आल्, कमल्, खल्, ट्युल्, णमुल्, णल्, ण्वुल्, तल्, तसिल्, तातिल्, तिल्, त्रल्, थल्, थाल्, भक्तल् [IV.2.54]. यल्, हिल्, ल्यप्, ल्यु, ल्युट्, विधल्, [IV.2.54] षल्. [In लट्, लोट् etc. and च्लि, ल is not an *anubandha*].
- श — (1) An आदेश with an indicatory श becomes the substitute for the entire word and not as usual for the final letter : अनेकालशिच् सर्वस्य I.1.55. Such substitutes are : अश्, इश्, ईश्, एश्, औश्, शि, शी, शे.
- (2) A suffix with an indicatory श is regarded as सार्वधातुक; तिङ्शिच् सार्वधातुकम् III.4.113 (cf. आदेच उपदेशेऽशिति VI.1.45 ण्वुक्लमुचमां शिति VII.3.75). Such suffixes are खश्, श, शत्, शध्य, शध्येन, शप, शानच्, शानन्, शायच्, श्रम्, श्रा, श्रु, श्लु.
- ष — (1) In the *Dhātupāṭha* shows that the root may admit the suffix अङ्, पिद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ् III.3.104 त्रपूष लजायाम् — त्रपा.
- (2) A word formed with a तद्धित affix with an indicatory ष admits डीप् in the feminine. पिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च IV.1.41. Suffixes with an indicatory ष are : ष, षव्, षाकत्, ष्कत्, ष्रव्, ष्रन्, ष्व, षन्, षल्, ष्क, ष्कक, ष्यङ्, ष्यञ्, ष्यञ्, ष्वन्.
- (3) The ष of the suffix डीप् simply serves to bind the three suffixes together under on name डी. But for this ष, डी would have meant this suffix alone to the exclusion of डीप् and डीन् according to the *paribhāṣā* — तदनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणम्।
- स — Before an affix with an indicatory स्, a base is technically termed पद. सिति च I.4.16. Such suffixes are घस्, छस्, यस्, युस्, and णस् (वार्तिक). Thus when the suffix छ is added to यावत् we get यावतीय but when छस् is added to भवत् we get भवदीय. Before the ईय of छ, यावत् is not a पद but भ hence the rule झलां जशोऽन्ते VIII.2.39 does not apply, but since छस् has an indicatory स, before this suffix भवत् is regarded as a पद and so the rule झलां जशोऽन्ते applies and changes the त् into द्.*

* I need hardly mention here that in compiling the above list I have derived great help from Böhtlingk's excellent index in his edition of Pāṇini.

The Vibhaktis

सु— According to modern commentators of Pāṇini the *anubandha* उ serves to distinguish it from other स's in the rule अर्वणस्त्रसवनजः VI.4.127. But for this *anubandha* the *sūtra* would be read अर्वणस्त्रस्यनजः and mean अर्वन् will substitute तृ for its final except before endings beginning with स् and thus the form अर्वत्सु will not be correct. This, however, reminds one of the sayings भक्षितेऽपि लशुने न शान्तो व्याधिः and व्रतभङ्गेऽपि न सुखावाप्तिः, for in the case of the rule सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः VI.1.168, the *anubandha* उ causes confusion and we are at a loss to determine whether the सु is the nom. sing. or loc. pl. or both, until obliging commentators, inform us that सु here refers to the loc. pl. It is, therefore, best to regard the उ as being inserted for ease of utterance, for though in स्वौजसमौद् etc. सु is followed by the vowel औ and so there will not be the slightest difficulty in pronunciation even if we drop the उ, yet in such cases as एतत्तदोः सुलोपोऽकोरनजसमासे हलि VI.1.132 and in the case of the प्रत्याहार सुट् the consonant being immediately followed by another consonant there will be considerable difficulty in pronunciation.

It is unfortunate that Pāṇini should cause this confusion between the first and the last endings by adding this उ to स्. The followers of the Aindra school, Śarvavarman, Hemacandra, Vopadeva and others read सि for this सु but even then the locative singular of both being सौ a certain amount of confusion becomes inevitable.

जस्— This is the only instance where ज् occurs as an *anubandha*. It is necessary for the purpose of the rules जसः शी VII.1.17 तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि VI.1.103. etc. where जस् and शस् both consisting

* जस्-शसोर्जकारशकारी "जसः शी" (७।१।१७) "तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि" (६।१।१०३) इत्यनयोर्विषयविभागाथौ। नन्वन्यतरस्य निरनुबन्धकत्वमेवास्त्विति चेन्न, जसो जकाराभावे औ इत्यस्य आव् स्यात् ततश्च प्रत्ययस्य वकारान्तात्ता सम्भाव्येत, एवं शसः शकाराभावे औटो डित्वं सम्भाव्येत, तथा च तेजस इत्यादौ टिलोपः स्यात्, अथवा लिहावित्यादौ डित्वसामर्थ्यादभस्यापि टेलोपः सम्भाव्येत।

of अस् have to be kept separate. It may be said that the two endings may be distinguished by adding an *anubandha* to any one of them i.e., by saying either अस् and शस् or जस् and अस् for nom. and acc. pls. respectively. *Tattvabodhini* following in the footsteps of Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta answers: If you say सुऔ अस् then by *Sandhi* you will get स्वावस् and people might think that the termination is आव् and not औ. If, on the other hand, you drop the श् of शस् then अम् औद् अस् will give अमौडस् and people might think that the termination is औड् with an indicatory ड signifying that before the termination the टि portion of the stem is to be dropped, so that तेजस् + औ would become तेजी and not तेजसी. This explanation is most unsatisfactory and hardly requires any refutation. सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी VI.2.117 etc. will clearly indicate that the termination is not डित्. The fact is that it is merely for the purpose of symmetry and euphony that Pāṇini reads both जस् and शस् with *anubandha*.

औद् — The *anubandha* ट is for the formation of the प्रत्याहार सुद् (सु औ जस् अम् and औ) for the purpose of the rule सुडनपुंसकस्य I.1.43. It would have been better to make the ending for the nom. dual and acc. du. identical as there is not a single instance where the actual nom. du. form differs from the acc. du. It may be noted in this connexion that the technical term for सर्वनामस्थान in *Kātantra*, Hemacandra etc. is धुद् which appears to be coined after this सुद्. *Samkṣiptasāra* and *Supadma* also use the *pratyāhāra* सुद्. Śarvavarman, Hemacandra, Vopadeva and others who are followers of the Aindra school read औ for both.

शस् — See जस्.

टा — found in practically all the systems with the *anubandha* ट though the earlier form would appear to be आड् used by Pāṇini in the rule आडो नास्त्रियाम् VII.3.120. The ट here serves to distinguish it for the purpose of the rule द्वितीया टौस्स्वेनः II.4.34 which without the ट would read द्वितीयौस्स्वेनः and mean द्वितीया, ओस् and सु thus excluding the Instr. Sing.

डे — The *anubandha* ड is used in practically all the systems and enables us to bring together the terminations डे, डसि,

डस् and डि under the common name डित् for the purposes of the following rules : चेडिति । आण्नाद्याः । याङापः । सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्द्वस्वश्च । विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् VII.3.111-115 and डिति हस्वश्च I.4.6.

डसि — For ड see डे. The इ of डसि serves to distinguish it from डस्, as in the *a*-declension and in the case of pronouns, the Abl. and Gen. singular differ from each other. Cf. टाडसिड्सामिनात्स्याः VII.1.12 and डसिडयोः स्मात्स्मिनौ VII.1.15. _

डस् — For ड see डे.

डि — For ड see डे.

सुप् — प is for the formation of प्रत्याहार's सुप् and आप्.

तिङ् — In the तिङ् विभक्ति's the प् in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् shows that the terminations are strong and unaccented. The ट् of इट्स्ये serves to distinguish it from other इ's for the purpose of the rule इटोऽत् ३ ४ १०६ which prescribes the substitute अ for इ in लिङ्. If we simply say एरत् instead of इटोऽत्, would be the substitute for the इ of वहि and महि also, and so the forms एधेवहि and एधेमहि would become एधेवह and एधेमह respectively. Some say the ट् in इट्स्ये serves no useful purpose, for even if we say एरत् we get लिङ् by अनुवृत्ति from the previous rule and as इ is the only लिङादेश consisting of short इ only, the rule applies to इ alone and not to वहि and महि. But this view is not correct. Since इ is विशेषण to लिङादेश, इ would mean इकारान्त according to येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य - १ १ ७२ and thus वहि and महि being इकारान्त will come within the scope of the rule. Therefore the ट् of इट्स्ये is not at all superfluous.* The इ in मडिङ् helps to form the प्रत्याहार's तिङ् (including all the तिङ् विभक्ति's) and तङ्. Śākāṭyāna has a new प्रत्याहार "सुङ्" to denote all विभक्ति's सुप् and तिङ्. The ण of णल् indicates *vrddhi* of the final vowel or penultimate short अ.

* "इट्टकार आगमलिङ्गं न भवति, सप्तदशभिरादेशैः समभिव्याहारात्, किन्तु इटोऽत् इति विशेषणार्थः । 'एरत्' इत्युच्यमाने एधेमहीत्यत्रापि स्यात्, वर्णग्रहणे प्रत्ययग्रहणार्थवत्परिभाषयोरप्रवृत्तेः । केचित्तु 'इटोऽत्' इत्यत्र लिङ् इत्यनुवर्तनाल्लिङादेशस्येवर्णस्येति सामानाधिकरण्येन व्याख्याने एधेवहि हत्यादावतिप्रसङ्गो नास्त्येव । न हि तत्र इकारमात्रमादेशो भवति । तेन 'इटोऽत्' इयत्र टकारः स्पष्टप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् एवेत्याहुः । तच्चिन्त्यम्, इकारस्य विशेषणत्वे विशेषणेन तदन्तग्रहणाद् 'इवर्णान्तस्य लिङोऽत् स्यात्' इत्यर्थप्रसक्त्या उक्तातिप्रसङ्गस्य तदवस्थत्वात् । वहिमहीत्यस्यापि स्थानिवत्त्वेन लिङ्त्वात्" इति तत्त्वबोधिनी ।

Feminine Suffixes

Of the three feminine suffixes टप्, चाप् and डाप् only आ remains ट्, च्, इ and प् being regarded as 'anubandha's. The आ of आप् is accented, whereas the आ of टप् and डाप् are unaccented. Then again in the case of डाप् since इ is an 'anubandha' the टि portion of the stem is elided (टि: ६।४।१४३). Thus सीमन् डाप् सीम्आ सीमा. The प् of चाप् simply serves to include all the three suffixes under one designation आप्, whereas the प् of चाप् and डाप् indicates that the suffix is unaccented. In the case of चाप् though there is a conflict between the rules चित्: ६।१।१६३ (i.e. a word formed with an affix with an indicator च् has its last syllable accented) and अनुदात्तौ सुपपितौ ३।१।४ (i.e., case-terminations are unaccented and so are suffixes with an indicator प्), still according to the *paribhāṣā* विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (in cases of conflict between equals it is the subsequent rule that will prevail), चित्: being the subsequent rule prevails and words formed with the suffix चाप् like आम्बष्ठ्या, कौसल्या etc. accent their final syllables. If we had read आप् instead of चाप्, आप् in such rules as इयाप्प्रातिपादिकात् ४।१।१ हलइयाब्भ्यो दीर्घात् सुतिस्पर्कं हल् ६।१।६८ etc. would have signified आप् alone to the exclusion of टप् and डाप् for there is the परिभाषा, एकानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणे न द्वयनुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणम् i.e., when a suffix, augment etc., are mentioned with one "anubandha", suffixes, augments etc. with two anubandhas are excluded. ट् has been attached as an anubandha to टप् for the same reason, for without ट्, this suffix alone would be denoted by आप् to the exclusion of चाप् and डाप्. चाप् occurs in IV.1.74-75, टप् in IV.1.4.9, डाप् in IV.1.13 and आप् in II.4.82, IV.1.1., VI.1.68, 3.63-64, VII.1.18, 54, 3.44, 105, 113, 116, 4.15.

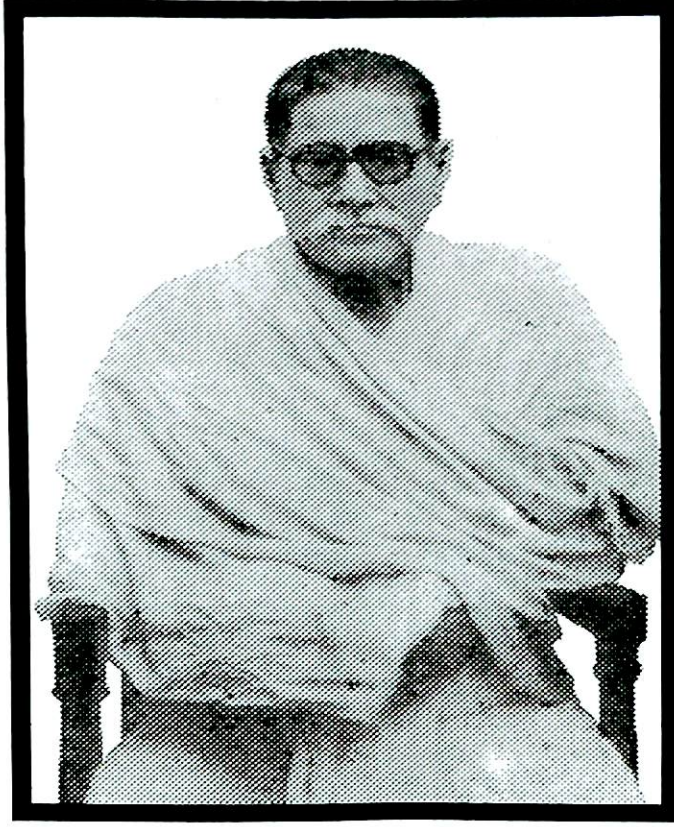
Of डीप्, डीष् and डीन् only ई remains, इ, प्, ष् and न् being "anubandhas". प् shows that the suffix is unaccented and न् indicates that the word formed with the suffix has its first syllable accented (ञित्यादिर्नित्यम् ६।१।१९७). इ serves to bring all of them together under a convenient designation डी, for though even without इ we could have denoted all the three suffixes by

ई still that would have led to confusion with ई's other than those of the feminine suffixes. Similarly the ष् of डीष् serves to include it under the general name डी for without the ष् or some other letter डी would be एकानुबन्ध and the *paribhāṣā* एकानुबन्धग्रहणे न द्वयनुबन्धग्रहणम् would have excluded डीष् and डीन् from the scope of डी in such rules as IV.1.1 etc. डीन् occurs only in IV.1.73; डीष् in IV.1.5-12, 15-16, 20-21, 24, 26, 39, डीष् in IV.1.25, 40-55, 59, 61-65 and डी in IV.1.1. VI.1.68, 178; 3, 43, 61, 63, 64, 66.

Another feminine suffix is ऊङ् (ऊङुत ४।१।९९). ङ् has been tagged on as "*anubandha*" to the ऊ simply to distinguish this feminine suffix ऊ from other ऊ's. Thus the rule नोङ्धात्वोः ६।१।१७५ applies only to words ending with the feminine suffix ऊ like ब्रह्मवन्धू etc. and not to words ending with other ऊ's.

Several *Kṛt* and *Taddhita* suffixes will be dealt with in the next issue.

N.B. On page 453, line 9 "and the first syllable is to be accented" is to be omitted. Though this *anubandha* indicates that the first syllable takes the *udātta* accent according to Pāṇini VI.1. 197 still in this particular case the last syllable will be accented according to Pāṇini VI.1.159.



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Technical Terms of Sanskrit Grammar

Kshitish Chandra Chatterji

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